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Some Problems of Indian Philosophy

In a most interesting discussion[1] Professor Jacobi has endeavoured to date with a measure of precision the *Mīmāṃsā Sūtra* and to assign it definitely to the period between 300 and 200 B.C. It would be so satisfactory to have a definite date for the Sūtra that it is well worth while to consider how far the evidence adduced is adequate to establish the principle contended for.

Professor Jacobi's contention rests essentially on comparison of the Sūtra with the doctrines of the grammarians Kātyāyana and Patañjali, his view being that there is evidence to show that the author of the *Mīmāṃsā Sūtra* and Kātyāyana were of the same period, and that the Mīmāṃsā is definitely earlier than Patañjali. A certain element of doubt, of course, would remain as to the cogency of the upper date assigned, for the date of Kātyāyana is still not wholly certain, and there are those who believe that Pāṇini must be ascribed to an earlier date than even 350 or 400 B.C.[2] But the essential question is whether there is proof of priority to Patañjali as is claimed. We may at once admit that the *Mīmāṃsā Sūtra* shows close affinities with the doctrines

1 *Indian Studies in Honour of Charles Rockwell Lanman* (1929), pp. 145-165.
2 Compare Keith, *Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 425, 426.

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of the grammarians. Professor Jacobi stresses the three doctrines common to both, the natural and permanent connection between the word and its meaning (*autpattikaḥ śabdasyārthena sambandhaḥ*, *Mīmāṃsā Sūtra*, i. 1. 5) the eternal character of the word and of sound, which on utterance is manifested, not created (i. 1. 6-23), and the view that the word denotes, not the individual (*dravya*), but the species (*ākṛti*), which is set out in i. 3. 30-33. That these issues were first discussed in the schools of the grammarians may not be possible of strict proof; Kātyāyana is clearly familiar with issues which busied the Mīmāṃsakas such as Vedic prescriptions (*codanā*), which he deals with in his observations on Pāṇini i. 2. 64 (vv. 44 and 47), and in the same discussion of what the word denotes, mentions (v. 39) the Dharmaśāstra. But the suggestion is made by Professor Jacobi that weight attaches to the fact that, while the *MS.* and Kātyāyana use in their discussion of the denotation of the word the terms *dravya* and *ākṛti* for individual and species, later usage in philosophical works prefers the terms *vyakti* and *jāti* (*sāmānya*); now Patañjali has both sets of terms, and it may thus be held that he wrote later than the *MS.* This argument, however, can hardly be ascribed any weight. The fact that grammar and Mīmāṃsā are two distinct sciences renders it impossible to argue with any confidence from terminology; the *MS.* may well simply have adopted the terminology current in the school, and that terminology may have persisted long after the date of Patañjali. If any conclusions are to be drawn much stronger evidence has to be adduced.

Such evidence Professor Jacobi finds in the arguments used to establish the doctrine that the word denotes the species, not the individual. Kātyāyana, in his discussion of Pāṇini, i. 2. 64 meets the objection (v. 43) of an opponent of the view that the word denotes the species: *naikam anekādhikaraṇastham yugapat*, i.e., if there were only one, the species, it could not appear simultaneously in all the individuals pertaining thereto, which is elucidated by Patañjali by the observation that the one Devadatta cannot be at once at Srughna and Mathurā. The reply of Kātyāyana to this objection appears in v. 56 *ādityavad viṣayaḥ*. This means, as Patañjali explains, that the sun is perceived simultaneously in many places. But Patañjali continues with the

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observation that the application of this principle to the argument is inadequate; the sun is not seen contemporaneously by the same spectator in different places. He prefers, therefore, the explanation *Indravad viṣayaḥ*. Indra, invited to many hundreds of sacrifices, is perceived simultaneously at each. Patañjali thus shows himself dissatisfied with an explanation which Kātyāyana found adequate. Now in the *MS.* the issue is discussed not in respect of the meaning of the word but in respect of its eternity. The objection is raised that the same word is heard in different places (i. 19), and thus we have the same dilemma as in Kātyāyana; if the word is one, like the species, how is it present at the same time in different localities? The answer is (i. 1. 15) *ādityavad yaugapadyam*, that is, the simile of the sun is held sufficient to explain the simultaneous apprehension of the sound in diverse places. From this Professor Jacobi concludes that the *MS.* is older than Patañjali because it remains contented with the old, imperfectly thought-out, contention which satisfied Kātyāyana, while Patañjali throws it aside in favour of another version.

The contention is ingenious and interesting, but the immediate point arises; is there anything superior in the view of Patañjali which would cause the *MS.* to adopt his simile in place of that of Kātyāyana, assuming that the *MS.* was later in date? Clearly, unless the new explanation is obviously more helpful, there would be no ground for the *MS.* accepting it in place of the old. And it seems quite impossible to see any good reason for preferring the comparison with Indra to that with the sun. Patañjali does not seem to have noted that his new comparison is just as imperfect as the old; his objection that the sun simile does not assert that one spectator sees simultaneously the sun in different places applies precisely to the case of Indra. The god is seen at each sacrifice by the worshippers, but he is not seen by any single worshipper simultaneously at the many sacrifices, and, this being the case, there is no reason whatever why the *MS.* should adopt a different simile from the standing and effective one of the sun. On this score, therefore, the posteriority of the *MS.* to Patañjali is clearly incapable of proof, even leaving out of account altogether the absence of any reason to suppose that the *MS.* must have followed Patañjali if it was composed after his work. It must be added that it is by no

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means clear that Kātyāyana did not know the simile with Indra; if we trust Professor Kielhorn's view, we find it expressly set out by Kātyāyana in v. 40 in the earlier part of the same discussion, and Professor Jacobi is driven to assume that that *vārttika*, and probably v. 41 also, are later additions to the text. What really is curious is the inability of Patañjali to see that his own objection to the simile of the sun applies as well to that of Indra. What, however, appears clear is that the arguments for the age of the *MS.* derived from comparison with Patañjali are inadequate. It may be the case that the *MS.* goes back to before 200 B. C.; it remains, however, without any valid support from the new evidence suggested.

On the other hand, there is every reason to accept the view that the *Vaiśeṣika Sūtra* represents a definitely later stratum of thought. The primitive magic view of the essential connection of the name and the individual thing is found in the grammarians and in the *MS.* refined into the doctrine of the essential connection of word and meaning, and of the denotation of species by the word. On the other hand, in the *VS.*, vii. 2. 14-20 we find physical arguments adduced to destroy the doctrine of the natural connection of word and meaning and of the eternity of sound. While the *VS.* is far from lucid, and the absence of any early commentary adds to the uncertainty of its interpretation, it seems clear that Professor Jacobi is right in rejecting Professor Dasgupta's[3] ingenious effort to read into *VS.*, ii. 2. 36, 37 the doctrine of the eternity of sound, and his suggestion that the Vaiśeṣikas represented a school of Mīmāṃsā thought which supplemented a metaphysics to strengthen the grounds of the Vedas. The Vaiśeṣika again marks a definite advance beyond the standpoint of the Mīmāṃsā in its attitude towards Dharma. The Mīmāṃsā confines its attention to Dharma as the source of *abhyudaya*, the attainment of temporal benefits whether in the present or later lives; the Vaiśeṣika concerns itself (i. 1. 2) also with the summum bonum, *niḥśreyasa*, and in v. 2. 16-18 with the idea of release (*mokṣa*); in this connection (v. 2. 16-18) we find also the doctrine of Yoga, and it seems quite legi-

3 *History of Indian Philosophy*, i. 284. See also Keith, *Indian Logic and Atomism*, pp. 229-232.

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timate to accept the view that the Vaiśeṣika no less than the Nyāya accepts Yoga practices (iv. 2.46) as an essential part of the road to salvation. In this tendency the Vaiśeṣika shows itself essentially in harmony with the movement of spirit which marks all Indian[4] mysticism, and stands out as a worthy exponent of the Jñānamārga as against the Karmamārga of the Mīmāṃsā. Another characteristic which can be adduced to support the early date of the Vaiśeṣika is the fact that it accepts the authority of the Veda, though it may be that Kaṇāda did not admit the existence of an Iśvara to reveal it, and was content with ascribing its revelation from time to time to persons distinguished from ordinary men (ii. 1. 18) by the fact that they were not enclosed in normal human bodies, but were *ayonija* (iv. 2. 5-10) and possessed complete insight. This acceptance of the Veda indicates clearly that, while the impetus to the introduction of ideas based on natural philosophy may conceivably have come, as Professor Jacobi assumes, from the Lokāyatas, that movement was not the dominating factor in the evolution of the Vaiśeṣika school.

The new evidence, while it does not help very definitely to date the Vaiśesika strengthens the impression that it is anterior to the Nyāya. The distance between it and the Mīmāṃsā induces Professor Jacobi to place the *Vaiśeṣika Sūtra* in the first century B. C. or the first century A. D. The latter date is probably not illegitimate, for the Nyāya was clearly aware of the doctrines of the Mādhyamika school of Buddhism, even if we cannot be certain that it knew Nāgārjuna, or that in turn Nāgārjuna contended against doctrines which are preserved in the existing *Nyāya Sūtra*.

The Vaiśeṣika is well aware of the doctrine of the multitude of souls and of their distinct existence, which remains in Mokṣa, despite the fact that there is *aikātmyam* (iii. 2. 19), which must denote that there is unity of character and no difference of species among souls, despite their being many. This doctrine, together with that of Yoga, is a significant reminiscence of the importance of that older Yoga philosophy which Professor Jacobi has striven to reveal as

4 Louis de La Vallée Poussin, *Le Dogme et la Philosophie du Bouddhisme* (1930), pp. 209, 210.

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underlying the later Yoga[5] known to us from the *Yoga Sūtra*, which with the *Yogabhāṣya* makes the *Pātañjala Yogaśāstra*, whose close relation with the Sāṃkhya is attested by the stylo *Sāṃkhyapravacana*. That the *YogaSūtra* is late has always been claimed by Professor Jacobi and it is difficult to resist the cumulative weight of evidence which he has adduced. The attempt to hold that Patañjali is identic with the author of the *Mahābhāṣya*, which is regarded as quite possible by Professor Dasgupta,[6] he has met with a philological argument of great interest,[7] and in all probability of decisive weight. He has compared the vocabulary of the Sūtra with that of the *Mahābhāṣya*, and the result shows that, when we pass over technical terms of the Yoga which might quite well be missing in the *Mahābhāṣya*, of the 491 words left over, only 204 are found in the latter text. So marked a divergence of linguistic usage is frankly incredible if the author of the two texts were identical, and the identification, which rests on no early evidence—for the Maṅgala of the *Yogabhāṣya* is not explained by Vācaspati Miśra—no longer can stand in the way of the frank acceptance of Professor Jacobi's view that the *Yoga Sūtra* is the work of a period when the doctrines of Vasubandhu and Vijñānavāda of the Buddhists were well known and powerfully influenced the Yoga school. The view that Pāda IV of the Sūtra is a later addition as held by Professor Dasgupta[8] is certainly difficult to accept; apart from the fact that Pāda naturally implies a fourfold division, it is clear that the polemic included in IV is a natural part of the work, which could not properly have been omitted, while the subject matter covers points which could not easily be included in the first three parts. More serious is the suggestion of Professor Dasgupta[9] that the critical section of the Sūtra, iv. 16 which proves knowledge of the Vijñānavāda is not really a part of the text, but merely a sentence of the *Yogabhāṣya*, since Bhoja does not treat it in his commentary as part of the Sūtra. But this view will not

5 *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1929, pp. 581-624; 1930, pp. 322-332.

6 *Yoga Philosophy* (1930), p. 59.

7 *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik* VIII (1931), 80-88.

8 *Yoga Philosophy* (1930), p 52.

9 *op. cit.*, p. 59, n. 1.

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stand examination of the text; iv. 15 runs *vastusāmye cittabhedāt tayor viviktaḥ panthāḥ;* 16 *na caikacittatantraṃ vastu; tadapramāṇakaṃ tadā kiṃ syāt?* The sense is clear; 15 asserts the difference of thought and thing because one and the same thing affects the different *cittas* in various ways; 16 denies that a thing can depend for its existence on a single *citta*, since, when it ceased to be the object of that *citta*, what would become of it? It is clear that the *na ca* connects the two *sūtras* indissolubly, and that it is far more difficult to interpret the text if an effort is made to relegate 16 to the *Yogabhāṣya*. Exactly how Bhoja took the sentence may be disputed, but Professor Jacobi seems right in holding that his mode of dealing with the passage can be explained without assuming that the *sūtra* 16 was not part of the original text. Bhoja, however, it must be admitted, is not an authority on whom to rely implicitly, for his own profession of purpose in composing the commentary implies that he exercised an independent judgment as to the soundness of his predecessors' views of the text, so that we cannot rely on him as expressing the authoritative tradition of the Yoga school. No doubt this merely proves that the Sūtra knew the doctrines of the Vijñānavāda, not that it used Vasubandhu, and, if this is to be established, further evidence is necessary. Professor Jacobi suggests that this can be found in the mode in which the Bhāṣya, and presumably the Sūtra in view of iii. 13, handles the doctrine of *pariṇāma*, the issue of future and past, in view of the Sāṃkhya principle of Satkāryavāda. He sees in this treatment the deliberate adoption of a Satkāryavāda. He compares the *Abhidharmakośa* of Vasubandhu[10] where four theories of *pariṇāma* are set forth, with those of Dharmatrāta, Ghoṣa, Vasumitra, and Buddhadeva. Dharmatrāta's view recognises no change of *dravya*, but of *bhāva;* thus, when a golden plate is broken, there is no change of substance but of character. Ghoṣa holds a doctrine of time characteristics (*lakṣaṇa*) of a *dharma;* a *dharma* in its present existence is not wholly removed from contact with present and past characteristics, as a man who is enamoured of a woman is nevertheless not without capacity of love for others. Vasumitra's

10 V. 25, trans. by L. de La Vallée Poussin; Stcherbatsky. *The Central Conception of Buddhism*, pp. 78-80.

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doctrine is one of change of *avasthās;* when a *dharma* is in a condition in which it does not exercise its function, it is called future; present when it exercises it; past when the exercise is over; but its essence remains unchanged. This is illustrated by the fact that on an abacus a ball has different values according as it is laid in the place for units, hundreds, or thousands.[11] Buddhadeva holds that a *dharma* is named on the principle of its relation (*apekṣā*) to the preceding or following *kṣaṇa;* a woman can be called mother with relation to her children, but daughter with relation to her own mother. The *Yogabhāṣya* on iii. 13 follows closely these views, as is proved by the use of the same illustrations; the opinion of Buddhadeva is not indeed expressly dealt with, but his illustration is combined with that given for Vasumitra's doctrine of *avasthāpariṇāma*, which is the accepted doctrine of the Sarvāstivādins. The *Yogabhāṣya*, which recognising the three aspects of *pariṇāma, dharma-, avasthā-, lakṣaṇa-, pariṇāma,*" is clear that they all can be reduced to a *dharma-pariṇāma* in the widest sense, for all mutation in the Sāṃkhya view, which the Yoga adopts, may be treated as the rise of another aspect (*dharma*) in a permanent matter (*dharmin*) after the suppression of an earlier aspect.[12]

Though the *Yogabhāṣya* thus cleverly enough fits in the Buddhist views with the essential Sāṃkhya doctrine of the permanent substrate, it is clear that it is Sāṃkhya doctrine of mutation to a different form, which is preserved in the Bhāṣya on ii. 19. Here we have (1) *guṇānāṃ ṣoḍaśako viśeṣapariṇāmaḥ*, a view based on the five elements as *viśeṣas* as opposed to the five *tanmātras*, and the five organs of intellect and those of action with mind as eleven *viśeṣas* as opposed to *asmitāmātra*, (2) the *tanmātras* and *asmitāmātra* as the *ṣaḍ aviśeṣapariṇāmāḥ* as opposed to Mahān or Buddhi; (3) Mahān as the *aliṅgamātrapariṇāma* of *prakṛti;* (4) the last as the *aliṅgapariṇāma*. The essential feature

11 This is a very important piece of evidence as to knowledge of the place system of the value of numbers, on which see W. E. Clark, *Indian Studies*, pp. 235, 236.

12 *avasthitasya dravyasya pūrvadharmanivṛttau dharmāntarotpattiḥ pariṇāmaḥ*. So also *Nyāyabhāṣya*, iii, 1. 15, which, however, is not the source of *Yogabhāṣya*. See *SPAW.*, 1929, p. 585 n. 1.

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of mutation in this sense is the development of another entity (*tattvāntara*), but in the case of the *viśeṣas* there can be no mutation into another entity, and to the *viśeṣas* applies the doctrine of iii. 13. It is clear that the Buddhist doctrine has been superinduced, not very cleverly, on the Sāṃkhya foundation, and, though it is possible to dispute the view that this had happened by the time of the Sūtra, it is certain that it is most natural to assume that this was the case. The Sūtra shows other signs of contact with the *Abhidharmakośa* doctrines; its account of ignorance (ii. 3, 5) is parallel to the *Abhidharmakośa* view of the four *viparyayas* (v. 8), and it uses the curious Buddhist terms *ālambana*, 'object of *vijñāna*,' and *asampramoṣa* in the definition of forgetfulness. Moreover, its set of *bhāvanās* (*maitrīkaruṇāmuditopekṣāḥ*), and its five *upāyas* for the attainment of Yoga (*śraddhā. vīrya, smṛti, samādhi*, and *prajñā*), have close parallels in the *bhāvanās* or *brahmavihāras*, and the *pañcendriyāṇi* or *pañca balāni* of the Buddhists. Of more uncertain value is the suggestion, based on a notice of Vācaspati Miśra in the *Bhāmatī* (ii. 1. 3), that Vārsagaṇya, an older contemporary of Vasubandhu, was the introducer of the Sāṃkhya doctrines into the Yoga as a precursor of Patañjali, while the author of the *Yogabhāṣya* is held to have used Dignāga in defining inference.[13]

On the whole, the evidence certainly favours the use not of an indefinite Vijñānavāda but rather of the doctrine of Asaṅga and Vasubandhu. We may readily admit that Vijñānavāda ideas were current before these authors, and of course the *Mahāyānaśraddhotpāda* has an idealistic monism. But there is weight in the view current in Japan[14] that the text cannot safely be assigned to a period before Asaṅga and Vasubandhu, seeing that Nāgārjuna does not combat its doctrines and that its standpoint seems more advanced in the direction of Vedantic doctrine than the views of the great masters of the Vijñānavāda. On the whole, therefore, it is probable that the *Yoga Sūtra* criticism of idealism is due to the currency of the conception in the developed Vijñānavāda school. It is only in the light of the Mahāyāna doctrine of *tathāgatagarbha*, and the Yogācāra use of the term *bīja* in this

13 *SPAW.*, 1929, p. 590 n. 1; 1930, p. 329 n. 1.

14 See R. Grousset, *Les Philosophies Indiennes* (1931), ii. 7. and for other reasons, Keith, *Buddhist Philosophy*, p. 228.

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connection, that we can understand the statement of Iśvara in *Yoga Sūtra*, i. 25; *tatra niratiśayaṃ sarvajñabījam*, "in him the germ of the omniscient reaches its highest stage."

How far is it possible to go beyond this comparatively late doctrine of Yoga, permeated by the influence of the Sāṃkhya and of the Buddhist schools? A most interesting suggestion is made by Professor Jacobi on the strength of an assertion ascribed in the *Yogabhāṣya*, iv. 10 to the Ācārya: *vṛttir evāsya vibhunaś cittasya saṃkośavikāśinī*. The sense of this seems to be that it is only the function of the all pervading *citta* which expands and contracts. The context suggests that this is parallel with the action of the lamp which can illumine a pot or a palace alike. The natural meaning of this statement must be that the Yoga of the Ācārya recognised a single *citta* of a cosmic character, not as the classical Yoga a multitude of individual *cittas*. Vācaspati Miśra tells us, no doubt rightly, that the Ācārya here is not Patañjali but Svayambhū, the mythical founder of the Yoga. Clearly we have an old doctrine that has passed away from the classical Yoga, which no longer uses the term *vṛtti*, which with the acceptance of a multitude of finite *cittas* became out of place. This cosmic *citta* is clearly allied to the cosmic Mahān or Buddhi of the Sāṃkhya and the equally cosmic Ahaṃkāra, and, like these, it points unmistakably to the derivation of the Yoga and Sāṃkhya ideas from the *brahman* speculations of the Upaniṣads. The Brāhmanical doctrine of the primeval being, whence develops matter, which then is permeated by Hiraṇyagarbha, is the source of the series of the Sāṃkhya, Puruṣa, Prakṛti and Buddhi, though the classical Sāṃkhya departs from this vitally by the doctrine of a multitude of spirits. Whence was this new doctrine derived? The source, it is held by Professor Jacobi, was popular religious feeling, which introduced into the intellectualism of Brāhmanical doctrine two vitally important principles, first, the doctrine of the personal immortality of the soul, and, secondly, the demand for moral doctrines as opposed to the unmoral attitude of Brāhmanical speculation. This popular feeling developed, in his opinion, towards the end of the period of the older Upaniṣads, when it reached such an intensity as to make a mark in philosophical thought. The nature of this popular belief may be guessed in part from the conception of the

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souls in Jainism, where the *jīvas* are either bound in transmigration (*saṃsāriṇaḥ*) or freed and perfect (*siddhāḥ*). The *jīva* in transmigration is essentially of the same dimensions as the body, a fact which is parallel to the expansion or contraction of the *vṛtti* of the *citta* of the early Yoga. The Sāṃkhya and Yoga, however, had to make fundamental changes in their views which were not necessary in Jainism with its adherence to primitive popular opinions. They had to discard their universal spirit and to replace it by innumerable individual spirits, *puruṣas* or *cittas*. To the *cittas* belong the capacity of equating themselves to their material framework, as with the *jīvas* of the Jains, while the *puruṣas* are accorded the *sūkṣmaśarīras*, composed of the *tanmātras*, with psychical elements added.

The introduction of moral elements is parallel to the insistence on morality which appears in Jainism, in Buddhism, and in Baudhāyana. The *Yoga Sūtra* list (ii. 30) of the *yamas* includes beside *ahiṃsā*, *satya*, *asteya*, *brahmacarya*, the peculiarly Jain virtue of *aparigraha;* moreover, the Yoga agrees with Jainism in its view of truth, in its stressing *ahiṃsā*,[15] and in the distinction of *aṇu-* and *mahā-vratas*.

The period of this working of the popular religion on philosophy is dated by Professor Jacobi on the strength of the view that Pārśvanātha, the founder of the Jain religion died in 727 B.C., and so must have been working about 750 B.C. In this point, however, it is impossible to feel any certainty; the tradition which places Mahāvīra's death at 477 B.C. is itself uncertain; but far more dubious is the assignment of 250 years between that event and the death of Pārśvanātha. This point, therefore, is valueless. Moreover there arises, it must be confessed, one serious question regarding the alleged influence of popular religion on Sāṃkhya and Yoga. The popular view demanded immortality for individual souls, but it can hardly be said that either Sāṃkhya[16] or classical

15 The suggestion (C. Rhys Davids, *Sakya or Buddhist Origins*, p. 32) that *ahiṃsā* was not in the original Jain teaching is wholly unsupported and quite improbable. Buddhism is much less rigid; L. de La Vallée Poussin, *La Morale Bouddhique*, pp. 61-65. Yoga and Buddhism agree in subordinating truth to non-injury; Dasgupta, *Yoga Philosophy*, p. 303.

16 Keith, *The Sāṃkhya System* (2nd ed.) pp. 97-98; Dasgupta, *Yoga Philosophy*, pp. 310-11.

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Yoga gave their souls any real existence after death. In both systems the fate of the soul is far from being such as to gratify the popular feeling whose existence is asserted. Yet another difficulty must be pointed out. Professor Jacobi holds that the Yoga from the first was theistic, but he does not explain how this element developed consistently with his view of the growth of the belief in the multiplicity of souls. No doubt various ways of reconciling the ideas are possible, but none exactly commends itself, as a logical and deliberate construction.

Professor Jacobi again holds that the Sāṃkhya in its classical form with a multitude of *puruṣas* is older than the *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad*, which in i. 4-6 enumerates the chief objects of the Sāṃkhya and in v. 2 refers to Kapila. He admits that this Upaniṣad, like the *Kāṭhaka*, accepts the *brahman* doctrine of the Upaniṣads, but regards this as a modification of the true Sāṃkhya view. It still seems to me that is unnecessarily ingenious,[17] and that the true view is that *Śvetāśvatara* is anterior to the period when the Sāṃkhya adopted the view of independent souls. If this is correct, then we cannot place the evolution of the classical Sāṃkhya before the composition of the "middle" Upaniṣads, but must assign it to the close of that period at soonest.

One further point of great interest is made by Professor Jacobi in his effort to show that the remarks of Vātsyāyana in the *Nyāyabhāṣya*, i. 29 as to the distinguishing doctrines of Sāṃkhyas and Yogas really nised that souls had distinct characteristics (*svaguṇaviśiṣṭāś cetanāḥ*).[19] The name of the latter should, it is clear, rather be Yaugas—whatever its origin, and a very interesting case is made out for believing that we here have a valuable piece of evidence that the early Yoga recognised that souls had distinct characteristics (*svaguṇaviśiṣṭās cetanāḥ*).[19] Such a theory, of course, would accord excellently with the idea of *Iśvara* as soul possessed of complete knowledge and complete power, conceptions strange to the Sāṃkhya, where a soul can only attain *samyagjñāna* or *vivekakhyāti*, and where *aiśvarya* is concerned with the supernatural powers (*siddhis*) of Yogins[20] and is very different from the power

17 See Keith, *The Sāṃkhya System* (2nd ed.) pp. 11-14.
18 See K. Chaṭṭopādhyāya, *JRAS.*, 1927, p. 855.
19 The Sāṃkhya view is *niratiśayāś cetanāḥ*.
20 Keith, *op. cit.*, pp. 71, 72.

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of God, who guides nature, allotting to each man his deserts, and who is full of compassion.

If we accept this doctrine, it strengthens greatly the view that the Yoga differed essentially in inception and character from the Sāṃkhya by reason of the fact that it was essentially theistic We need not seek outside Brahmanism for a parallel movement, for we have the root of theism in the doctrine of Hiraṇyagarbha or Brahman or Prajāpati, on the one hand, and the development of the religion of Viṣṇu and Śiva, on the other, as seen in the *Śvetāvatara Upaniṣad*. The Yoga thus reduces to philosophical form one aspect of current doctrine, just as in the recommendation of processes of Yoga it takes up one side of the life of the day, which again need not have been non-Brāhmanical, and in its meditation of Iśvara it takes up the *Śvetāśvatara* meditation on *brahman*. The whole conception of Yoga processes is doubtless ethnic in character; it may have been current in non-Brāhmanical circles, but equally it may have appealed to Brahmans as well. These doctrines, if combined with a belief in the qualitative distinction of souls, would make Yoga of a strong popular appeal, explaining the stress laid on it in the Epic. On this view the Yoga conception of soul is far more popular than that of soul in the Sāṃkhya, which should be taken as representing not concession to popular feeling but the development of philosophical speculation.[21] The Yoga accepts pretty much the normal idea of a soul, which accords sufficiently with its theistic outlook, but essentially in its early form we may take it that the Yoga school was not distinguished by careful thought, but by its Yoga practices, which remain valid whatever metaphysical doctrines may be held. In short, the Yoga may best be understood as a merger of Yoga practice with popular theology, and its affinity with the Sāṃkhya may be deemed to have been later superinduced.

This view of the original independence of the Yoga may be supported by other facts. Professor Jacobi[22] has pointed out that the *Yoga Sūtra* in Pāda IV contains a doctrine of great significance for our

21 See Keith, *The Sāṃkhya System*, pp. 87, 88.

22 *SPAW.*, 1929, pp. 611-615, Vācaspati (*Nyāyavārttikatātparyaṭīkā*, p. 6) adopts the doctrine to the Nyāya, citing apparently another work of Patañjali; *SPAW.*, 1930, pp. 322, 323.

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understanding of the true Yoga idea of matter as current before the Sāṃkhya doctrines were superinduced. The Yogin, whose powers are the root of the Yoga system, can manifold himself into beings under his control, possessed of both bodies and *cittas*. The bodies he cannot create from his own; they are produced from the *prakṛtis*, which are not the Prakṛti of the Sāṃkhya but the elements of the *bhūtas;* these *prakṛtis*, like the particles of matter in Jainism, must have been regarded by the Yogas as ever ready to form aggregates, when so directed by Iśvara, whose power operates when the merit of the Yogin removes the hindrances induced by demerit. The created *cittas* (*nirmāṇacittas*) are the product only of the aspect of the Yogin's *citta* as *asmitā*, and they are impelled to action not directly by the Yogin's own *citta*, but by a *citta* which he creates for that purpose, for the Bhāṣya (iv. 5) assures us *sarvacittānāṃ prayojakaṃ cittam ekaṃ nirmimīte*. This *citta* cannot be formed of anything save the *prakṛtis*, so that we must recognise that the *citta* of the Yoga was conceived as physical in character. The same view is contained in the Yoga doctrine that *dharmādharmau* (or *karman*) are the product of the *prakṛtis*[23] and we are, of course familiar with this idea from Jainism. If *karman* is material, the *saṃskāras* it involves in the *citta* are necessarily also material, and we have a consistent view of the physical character of the *citta*. The Yoga thus has a doctrine of *cittas* and *prakṛtis*, as against the Sāṃkhya doctrine of *puruṣas* and *prakṛti*, but there is a very important distinction. Both tend to reduce to one principle the inner and the outer worlds, but in the Yoga that principle is physical, in the Sāṃkhya rather psychical,[24] for the Ahaṃkāra is made the source on the one hand of the organs of intelligence and action with mind, and on the other of the five *tanmātras* whence are derived the *bhūtas*. In this point as in others the Sāṃkhya reveals itself as the outcome of philosophical refinement of a marked character. A similar refinement is seen in its treatment of the conception of the subtle body which accompanies the soul. The Yoga needs only a simple *sūkṣmaśarīra* of the *tanmātras*, but the Sāṃkhya requires the *tanmātras*, supplemented by *buddhi*,

23 See *Yogabhāṣya*, iv. 3.

24 See Keith, *The Sāṃkhya System*, p. 84.

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ahaṃkāra, *manas*, and the five organs of intelligence and the five of action.[25] It is this difference of view which explains the addendum made by the *Nyāyavārttika* to the list of distinctive doctrines of the Sāṃkhyas and Yogas in the *Nyāyabhāṣya*: *bhautikānīndriyāṇīti Yogānām abhautikānīti Sāṃkhyānām*, for the Sāṃkhya carry back the sense organs to the Ahaṃkāra.

It would be interesting to know if to the Yogas their *prakṛtis* were, as in the case of the Jains,[26] atomic, but this cannot be determined, for the mention in *Yoga Sūtra*, i. 40 of *paramāṇu* may be merely one of the many innovations of Patañjali, and the *Nyāyavārttika* shows (p. 252) that even in the Sāṃkhya school the idea of the atom had crept: *sattvarajastamasāṃ sarvāpakṛṣṭaḥ saṃghātaḥ paramāṇur iti kasyacid darśanam*. We must assume that to the early Yoga the distinction between physical and mental was still as vague as in the case of the Jains. In this view there is nothing improbable; it was only slowly that the conception of the distinction of the two things was realised in the Upaniṣads, and we must not confuse the early tenets of a school with the elaborate metaphysics of the later systems.

Though we may fairly accept the view of Professor Jacobi that the *Yoga Sūtra* is definitely influenced by the Vijñānavāda and probably is later than Vasubandhu, unhappily we are still without sufficient evidence of the date of the latter. Nor have matters been rendered more clear by the insistence of recent workers[27] on the historical character of Maitreya or Maitreyanātha as the real author of some of the works ascribed to Asaṅga, with the result that Asaṅga may be dated a generation at least later than the date hitherto apparently assured by the fact that the *Bodhisattvabhūmyādhāra* was rendered into Chinese in 413-421 A.D. But it must be noted that the theory of an earthly Maitreya is one open to grave suspicion, and that it seems more satisfactory with Professor de La Vallée Poussin[28] to believe that Maitreya is merely the

25 For further complications see Keith, *op. cit.*, pp. 93-95.

26 For Vasubandhu's view atoms see *Abhidharmakośa*, trans. L. de La Vallée Poussin, ii., 213, 214.

27 E.g., Tucci, *Some aspects of the Doctrines of Maitreya (nātha) and Asaṅga* (1930).

28 Introd. to *Abhidharmakośa* (1931), p. XXVII.

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Bhagavat Maitreya who revealed to Asaṅga the truths which he set out in his writings. Further Professor Ui,[29] who believes in the historicity of Maitreya, still assigns Asaṅga to 310-390 A.D. and Vasubandhu to 320-400 A.D., dates a hundred years earlier than those preferred by Takakusu. It appears to me that we must place Asaṅga before 400 A.D. and that Vasubandhu must be similarly treated. The chief argument against this dating is unquestionably that of Takakusu;[30] we know that there were Chinese versions of the *Saṃyuktābhidharmahṛdaya* of Dharmatrāta in 418, 426, and 434 A.D., while the much clearer *Abhidharmakośa* of Vasubandhu had to wait until 563 A.D. for a rendering? Would this have been the case had the Kośa been in existence at the earlier dates? One objection to this argument is, of course, that it proves too much; it tends to set Vasubandhu very definitely into the early part of the sixth century A.D. which is improbable. Other grounds are also important. Dharmatrāta may have possessed a long established fame which rendered it natural to translate his treatise rather than the more recent Kośa; more important still, Vasubandhu, though in his *Kośa* he sets out the system of the Vaibhāṣikas, in his Bhāṣya is critical and reveals Sautrāntika and Yogācāra influences. This may well have led to his work being deemed as too personal, too heretical, to justify its translation until in the course of time his fame as a Vijñānavādin led Paramārtha to carry out his rendering. On the whole, therefore, it seems still probable that Vasubandhu must be dated before 400 A.D. We know now definitely that we must distinguish between the author of the *Kośa* and an older Vasubandhu, known to the author of the *Kośa*, and perhaps not far removed in date if this older Vasubandhu was the preceptor of Manoratha, a contemporary of the later Vasubandhu. It may be added that the recent publication of Dignāga's *Pramāṇasamuccaya*, restored by R. Iyengar, definitely makes Dignāga out as denying firmly the ascription to Vasubandhu of the much discussed *Vādavidhi*. Professor Tucci[31] suggests that Dignāga disliked the doctrine taught in the *Vādavidhi*, though he also raises the question

29 *Indian Studies*, p. 102.
30 *Indian Studies*, p. 86.
31 *IHQ.*, IV (1928), 636.

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whether there may not have been a tradition before Dignāga denying Vasubandhu's authorship. It seems to me that we cannot disregard the emphatic and deliberate statement of Dignāga, and that we must recognise the ascription to Vasubandhu as one of the many errors in these matters of the Chinese authors. The authority of Dignāga must rank far above them, and still more above that of Vācaspati, while Uddyotakara does not anywhere mention Vasubandhu as the author. Indeed even in the case of Vācaspati, that he ascribed the *Vādavidhi* to Vasubandhu is not absolutely proved, since the evidence consists of a disputed reading *Vāsabandhavalakṣaṇa* which has the variant *Saubandhavalakṣaṇa*. In any case, however, Vācaspati's evidence is of no weight on such an issue.

It remains to note that Professor Jacobi[32] has suggested that Dignāga cannot be placed very near in date to Vasubandhu on the ground that he, if a direct pupil of the teacher, could not have denied, as he did, the essential Vijñānavāda doctrine of *ālayavijñāna*. There seems, however, to be some mistake in this view, for the *Ālambanaparīkṣā*[33] does not suggest that Dignāga on this head really departed essentially from the doctrine of his teacher. The point is of some importance, for Professor Jacobi's view leads to the suggestion that the date of Dignāga can be referred to the sixth century A.D., which may be too late.

A. Berriedale Keith

32 *SPAW.*, 1930, p. 329, n. 1.

33 Compare Grousset, *Les Philosophies Indiennes*, II. 75-80.

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The Eastern Cālukyas*

II

Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana (A.D. 616-633)

Viṣṇuvardhana[1], the founder of the Eastern Cālukya dynasty in Andhra and Kaliṅga, was also known as Kubja Viṣṇuvardhana. He assumed the titles of Viṣamasiddhi and Makaradhvaja. His own inscription[2] tells us that he bore the surname Viṣamasiddhi because "he acquired success by land and sea, in the woods and on the mountains under difficulties and against fortresses." He was also known as Bittarasa.[3]

Three inscriptions of Viṣṇuvardhana have been discovered. The earliest one, which was issued during his viceroyalty, has already been referred to above.

(i) The Chipurapalle copper plate.[4]

This inscription was found at Chipurapalle, the chief town of the subdivision of the same name, in the Vizagapatam District. It was issued in the eighteenth year, fourth month, and fifteenth day of the king's reign. It records that Mahārāja Viṣṇuvardhana Viṣamasiddhi, the dear younger brother of Satyāśraya (i.e. Pulikeśin II), from his residence at Ceṛupura, in the Plakiviṣaya, informed the cultivators of the village of Kālvakoṇḍa, in the Dimila Viṣaya, that he, on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon, in the month of Śrāvaṇa, granted the above mentioned village of Kālvakoṇḍa to some learned Brāhmaṇas. The dūtaka of the grant was Aṭavīdurjjaya, who was a member of the Matsya family.

Of the localities, mentioned above, Ceṛupura seems to be identical with Chipurapalle where the inscription was discovered. Dimiḷa is the modern village of Dimile, in the Sarvasiddhi tāluka of the Vizagapatam District. The regnal year corresponds to 633 A.D.

* Continued from vol. VIII, no. 1, p. 29.

1 *IA.*, XIII, p. 213. 2 *EI.*, IX, p. 319; *IA.*, VII, p. 186.

3 *Ibid.*, XIX, p. 303. 4 *Ibid.*, XX, p. 16; Cf. plate XXVII *South Indian Palæography*, Burnell. Facsimile reads "Plaki" viṣaya, and not 'Pūki' as doubtfully suggested by Mr. Fleet.

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(ii) The Timmapuram inscription.[5]

This plate was found in the village of Timmapuram, in the Sarvasiddhi tāluka of the Vizagapatam District. It registers that Viṣṇuvardhana, from his residence at Piṣṭapura, granted four thousand "Nivartanas" in the fields on the eastern side of the village named Kumūlūra, in the Paḷaki Viṣaya, to forty Brāhmaṇas residing in (Poṭunūṅka).

Of the localities, Paḷaki is the same as Plaki of the Chipurapalle copper-plate. Piṣṭapura is evidently the modern Pithapuram, in the Godavari District.

The inscriptions of the subsequent Eastern Cālukya Kings state that Viṣṇuvardhana ruled over Veṅgimaṇḍala.[6] In the year twenty one of his reign (A.D. 629-30), Pulikeśin II granted some lands in the village of Irbuli, in Karmarāṣṭra. These lands were bounded on the north by the road to Koṇḍav (e) Drupur, and on the south by the road to Vīraparu. The executor of the grant was Pṛthivīduvarāja who is to be identified with Viṣṇuvardhana.[7]

Karmarāṣṭra, which was a Viṣaya, comprised the northern portion of the Nellore District and a part of the Guntur District.

From all these it appears that Viṣṇuvardhana held sway over a territory, which extended at least up to the Vizagapatam District on the north-east, and the part of the Nellore District on the south-west.

Viṣṇuvardhana had a general name Buddhavarman, the ornament of the Caturthābhijana i.e. of the family belonging to the fourth (Śūdra) caste. The latter was the founder of the Velanāṇḍu line of chiefs. He ruled over the country west of the hill (Giripaścimā śāsana) which contained seventy-three villages, and which he obtained through the favour of the King Kubja Viṣṇu along with his royal emblems.[8] The hill, in the Kistna District, and the group of seventy-three villages must have formed the eastern portion of the Sattenapalli taluka of the same District.[9] Buddhavarman's successors ruled over this province up to the 12th century A.D. as vassals of the Eastern Cālukyas. Kāla-

5 *EI.*, IX, p. 317.
6 *IA.*, XIII, p. 213, l. 8.
7 *EI.*, XVIII, p. 260.
8 *EI.*, VI, pp. 273, 275.
9 *EI.*, VI, p. 269.

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kampa of the Paṭṭavardhinī family was also a general of Viṣṇuvardhana. He fought on the side of his master, and takes credit for killing in battle one Daddara. A grant of Amma I states that,[10] "the chief of Paṭṭavardhinī family, which was (always) charged with appointments by the prosperous succession of our race, he who was famed by the name of Kālakampa, the follower of Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana, killed in battle with his permission (a king) called Daddara, whose army was difficult to be overcome, and seized his banners." Daddara's identity is not known. Kālakampa's successors were also appointed in the military service of the subsequent Eastern Cālukya rulers.[11]

There can hardly be any doubt that Viṣṇuvardhana ruled his kingdom as a vassal of his brother Pulikeśin. Pulikeśin's inscription dated A.D. 629-30, referred to above, bears testimony to that. The fact that the two brothers were in friendly terms can be gathered from Viṣṇuvardhana's inscription where he describes himself as the dear younger brother of Pulikeśin.

Viṣṇuvardhana was a great patron of learning. His court was graced by the famous poet Bhāravi.[12]

Viṣṇuvardhana was the contemporary of the Pallava Siṃhha-viṣṇu and the Western Gaṅga Durvinīta (A.D. 605-650).[13] The date of his accession can be determined with tolerable certainty. Viṣṇuvardhana II, the fourth ruler of the Eastern Cālukya dynasty, ascended the throne early in 663 A.D. A period of forty eight years elapsed between this date and the date of the accession of Viṣṇuvardhana. This fixes A.D. 615-16 as the first year of the reign of Viṣṇuvardhana. The date cannot be pushed further back as Viṣṇuvardhana was governing Mahārāṣṭra as a Yuvarāja in the 8th year of Pulikeśins reign i.e. A.D. 615-16[14]. He ruled his kingdom for eighteen years[15] and concluded his reign in 633 A.D. He had two sons Jayasiṃha and Indra Bhaṭṭāraka, of whom the first one succeeded him to the throne.

10 अस्मत्कुल-कल्पाद्यपरंपरानियोगाधिकृत पट्टवर्द्धिणी-वंशाग्रण्या कालकम्प इति विश्रुतेन कुब्जविष्णुवर्द्धनानुचरेण संग्रामे तदनुज्ञया दुर्द्धर्षबलं ददरनामानं विनिहत्य तच्छिद्रानि येन जगृहिरे। *SII*, vol. I, p 40.

11 *Ibid.* 12 *Mysore Arch. Rep.*, 1921, p. 28. 13 *Ibid.*

14 *IA.*, XX, p. 16. 15 *SII.*, I, p. 41.

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Jayasiṃha I, Pṛthvī-Vallabha, Sarvasiddhi (A.D. 633-663).

Jayasiṃha assumed the titles of Sarvasiddhi[16] and Pṛthvī-Vallabha.[17] Altogether five inscriptions of his reign have been discovered.

(i) *Pedda-Maddali inscription.*[18]

A number of plates were found in the village of Pedda-Maddali, in the Nurzivid Division of the Kistna District. They were issued from the city of Udayapur. They record the grant of the village of Peṇukapaṛu, on the east of the village of Mardavalli (Maddāvalli), in the Gudrahāra Viṣaya. The Dūtaka was Śivaśarman. The grant was issued in the eighteenth year of the King's reign which corresponds to A.D. 650-51.

Of the localities, mentioned above, Gudrahāra Viṣaya is the modern Gudivada, the head quarters of the taluka of the same name, in the Kistna District. The village Mardavalli seems to have been the same as Pedda-Maddali where the record was unearthed.

(ii) *The Pulibumra plates.*[19]

The Pulibumra plates record that Jayasiṃha made a gift of the village of Pulibumra, in the Guddavāḍi Viṣaya, to the Brāhmaṇa Rudraśarman, a resident of Asanapura.

Of the localities, referred to above, Puilbumra is to be identified with Potamuru, in the Bhīmvaram tāluk of the Kistna District.

(iii) *The Pedda-Vegi plates.*[20]

A number of plates were discovered near the village of Pedda-Vegi, the ancient Veṅgipura, in the vicinity of Ellore. The inscription reports that Jayasiṃha granted the village of Kombaru, in the Kantheruvāṭi Viṣaya at a distance of a Gavyūti to the south of Vleṇṭūru, to Somaśarman, a resident of Kukkanūr, on the 'Viṣu-vadina' of Kārttika—Pūrṇimā. The executor was the King's

16 *EI.*, XIX, p. 261. 17 *Ibid.*, p. 258. 18 *IA.*, XIII, p. 137
19 *EI.*, XIX, p. 254; *Jour. Andhra Hist. RS.*, IV, p. 76.
20 *EI.*, vol. XIX, p. 258.

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preceptor, Narasiṃhaśarman. Of the localities, Kantheruvāṭi is to be identified with the modern village of Kanteru, in the Guntur taluk of the Guntur District. Vleṇṭūru, probably a corruption of Velaṇṭūru, seems to be the same as the modern village of Vellaturu, in the Repalli taluka of the Guntur District. The village Kombaṛu is identical with the modern village of Konali in the same taluk.

(iv) *The Niḍupaṛu plate.*[21]

The Niḍupaṛu grant registers the fact that Jayasiṃha granted the village of Niḍupaṛu in the Gaṇḍeruvāṭi Viṣaya, north of the Vyaghra river, and on the bank of the Vanneṛu river, at a distance of two 'Gavyūtis', on the eastern side of the capital at Gaṇḍeru (Ganderu-rājadhānī), to Kāṭiśarmān, a resident of Asanapura.

Gaṇḍeruvāṭi is the same as Kantheruvāṭi of the above inscription. Niḍupaṛu is the modern Nidamarru which is actually about two gavyūtis (i.e. eight miles) to the east of Kanteru. Gaṇḍeru, as it appears from the inscription, seems to have been the capital of the southern division of Jayasiṃha's kingdom, south of the Kistna.

(v) *The Mṛoparṛu inscription.*[22]

The Mṛoparṛu inscription was issued by Vallabha-Mahārāja Sarvasiddhi, who was the son of Viṣṇuvardhana and the grandson of Kīrtivarman. It evidently belonged to the reign of Jayasiṃha I. It records that the king granted the village of Mṛoparṛu in Canū(rapa)lli Viṣaya to a Brāhmaṇa, a Maṇḍaśarman, a resident of Vanaparṛu. The donee was greatly attached (bhakta) to Maṅgi-yuvarāja. This Maṅgi-yuvarāja, who later on ascended the throne of Veṅgi, was the grandson of Jayasiṃha's younger brother Indra Bhaṭṭāraka.

Nothing definite is known about the military achievements of Jayasiṃha. His own inscription states that he was one who reduced the circle of the Sāmantas, was a diplomat like Bṛhaspati, disciplined like Manu, righteous like Yudhiṣṭhira, knower of the truth of the meanings of many Śāstras.[23]

21 *EI.*, XVIII, p. 57.
22 *SE.*, 1920, p. 99, APP., A, No. 9.
23 *EI.*, V, p. 127.

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Jayasiṃha's father Viṣṇuvardhana was a vassal of the Western Cālukyas of Badami. In the 4th decade of the 7th century A.D. the Western Cālukyas of Badami suffered a terrible disaster at the hand of the Pallavas of Kāñcī. Pulikeśin II, who in the early years of his reign overran the Pallava dominion, was now violently attacked by the Pallava Narasiṃhavarman I. A series of battles were fought in which Pulikeśin was ultimately worsted. Pulikeśin fled away from his capital, and the Cālukya kingdom was plundered by the Pallavas. The supremacy of the Western Cālukyas was later on re-established by Pulikeśin's son Vikramāditya I. During this period of turmoil Jayasiṃha seems to have entirely separated his Kingdom from that of his uncle. Henceforward nothing is known about the nature of the relation that existed between the Eastern and Western Cālukyas.

The Bezavada Plates[24] of Cālukya Bhīma I and almost all other Cālukya plates assign Jayasiṃha I a reign of 33 years. But the British Museum plates of Amma II give him a reign of 30 years. An inscription[25] of Viṣṇuvardhana II, son and successor of Indra-Bhaṭṭāraka, who succeeded Jayasiṃha I, states that he made a grant of land on Wednesday, 13th March, A.D. 664, in the second year of his reign. It follows from this that he came to the throne before 13th March 663 A.D. Another record[26] of the same king reports that he issued a grant on February 17, A.D. 668, which is said to be his fifth regnal year. This shows that Viṣṇuvardhana must have ascended the throne before February 17, A.D. 664, which date falls in the first year of his reign. In view of the evidence supplied by this second grant the king's accession can by no means be pushed back prior to February 17, 663 A.D. Thus it may be concluded from these two records, that Viṣṇuvardhana ascended the throne between February 17, and March 13, A.D. 663. As Indra-Bhaṭṭāraka ruled only for seven days, Jayasiṃha I must have closed his reign betwen February 9 and March 13, A.D. 663. Jayasiṃha's accession to the throne took place in 663 A.D. This gives him a reign of thirty years. He was succeeded by his younger brother Indra-Bhaṭṭāraka.

24 *IA.*, VII, p. 17.
25. *Ibid.*, VII, p. 186.
26. *Ibid.*, VII, p. 191

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Indra-Bhaṭṭāraka, Indrarāja, Indurāja, Indravarman, Siṃhavikrama, and *Tyāgadhenu,* 663 A.D.

Indra-Bhaṭṭāraka who was also known as Indrarāja, Indurāja and Indravarman,[27] bore the titles of Siṃhavikrama and Tyāgadhenu.[28] An inscription of his reign has been discovered. It records that Mahārāja Indravarman, at the request of the chief Koṇḍivarman, granted to Ceṇḍiśarman, the village of Koṇḍanaguru, which was bounded on the north by Mujumnūru, on the east by Pagunūru, on the south by Cerupūru, and on the west by Irabbali. The executor was the king's eldest son who also bore the name Indravarman. The inscription was written by Kanakarāma.

Of the localities, Cerupūru seems to be identical with Cerupūru of the Chipurupalle copper plate of Viṣṇuvardhana I,[29] which was situated in the Plaki Viṣaya. The village is to be identified with the modern Chipurupalle in the Vizagapatam District. Hence Koṇḍanaguru may be assumed to have been situated somewhere near the Chipurupalle taluka of the Vizagapatam District. Indra-Bhaṭṭāraka was pretty old man when he assumed the royalty, as his grand-son Maṅgi Yuvarāja was fairly young during the reign of Jayasiṃha I.[30] He could not rule for a long time, and died after a reign of only seven days.[31] He had two sons Indravarman[32] and Viṣṇuvardhana, of whom the second one succeeded him to the throne.

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27 *EI.*, IV, p. 226; *Ibid.*, XVIII, p. 2; *SII.*, I, p. 58; *IA.*, XX, p. 16.

28 *EI.*, VIII, p. 237; XVIII, p. 2. 29 *Ibid.*, XVIII, p. 1.

30 The Godavari grant of the Rāja Pṛthivīmūla, the son of the Mahārāja Prabhākara, states that "Adhirāja Indra, who joined in a tumultuous combat, waged by all the kings who were gladdened by having assembled in the desire to up-root by force Indra-Bhaṭṭāraka" (*J. Bo. Br.*, vol. XVI, p. 119). Mr. Fleet remarks on this—"The reference here seems to be to Indra Bhaṭṭāraka of the Eastern Cālukya dynasty; the Adhirāja Indra being possibly the Mahārāja Indravarman of the Gaṅga dynasty of Kaliṅganagara (*IA.*, vol. XIII, p. 120), whose territory lay just to the north east of the Eastern Cālukya Kingdom." (*IA.*, vol. XX. p. 97.).

The Kaliṅga King Adhirāja Indra seems to have flourished much earlier than the Cālukya Indra-Bhaṭṭāraka. I agree with Dr. G. J. Dubreuil in identifying Adhirāja Indra's rival Indra-Bhaṭṭāraka with the Viṣṇukuṇḍin King of the same name. Dubreuil's *Ancient History of the Deccan* Eng. ed., p. 91.

31 *SII.*, vol. I, p. 58. 32 *EI.*, vol. XVII, p. 4.

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Raziyya

Raziyya is the only female Muhammadan sovereign who sat on the throne of Delhi. Her's is a most atttractive but also a pathetic figure in Indian history. Endowed with many qualities and virtues, sagacious, just, beneficent, she yet failed to retain the sceptre of Hindustan for more than three years. Reviewing her career after the lapse of seven hundred years, we are struck by her boldness and determination, steadfastness and courage.

In the following pages we shall attempt to arrive at a just estimate of the illustrious queen.

Early years of Raziyya

Raziyya was the eldest daughter of Sultan Shamsuddin Altamash. We know almost nothing about her early life. The contemporary Muhammadan chronicler, Minhaj-i-siraj, tells us that she enjoyed the esteem of her father and exercised much authority during his life-time.[1] Muhammad Qasim Firishta, who wrote much later says in addition to this that Raziyya was so immeasurably superior to any of her brothers that her father appointed her regent of the kingdom while he was absent from the capital on the occasion of the campaign in Gwalior in 1232 A.D.[2] So ably did she conduct the administration that the Sultan after returning victorious from the campaign, declared her his heir-apparent and ordered Taj-ul-mulk Mahmud, the secretary to write out this decree. To this proposal the Amirs raised vehement objections, urged upon the Sultan the impropriety of placing a lady on the throne but the Sultan quieted their discontent by giving them a brief but fitting address. "My sons" he said "are engrossed in the pleasures of youth and none of

1 *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* (henceforth abbreviated as *T.N.*), p. 632.

2 Firishta (henceforth abbreviated as *F.*), I, p. 218.
Tabaqat-i-Akbari (henceforth abbreviated as *T.A.*), p. 75 says the same thing: "I see my sons indulging in drinking and gaming.....I do not think that their administration will be able to support the burden of Empire. Raziyya although she is in appearance a woman, yet in her mental qualities, she is a man."

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them possesses the ability of managing the affairs of the country. Raziyya though a woman has a man's head and heart and is more than twenty such sons."[3] The Sultan therefore set aside the claims of his sons and nominated Raziyya to be his successor.

Accession of Raziyya

Sultan Altamash died on April 29, 1236. As soon as he closed his eyes, the courtiers, disregarding his wishes, raised to the throne a younger son of the Sultan, Ruknuddin Firuz.

Firuz was a young lad when he came to the throne and when he found himself master of a vast kingdom and all that it could offer, he gave himself up entirely to pleasures. "He opened," says the contemporary historian, "the doors of the treasuries and began to spend in the most profuse fashion and in an improper manner." So wanton was his extravagance and so excessive his appetite for pleasure that the "business of the country, the concerns of the state fell into a state of disorder and confusion." His mother Shah Turkan, an extremely ambitious and power loving woman, conducted the affairs of the state.[4] Having been originally a handmaid in the harem, she now began to ill-treat the other ladies of the harem for the slights she had endured during the period of servitude. She put many of them to death and even caused Qutbuddin, a son of the late Sultan to be blinded and murdered. Her cruelty and tyranny as well as the profligacy of her son caused wide-spread discontent and rebellion broke out in every part of the kingdom.

Malik Ghiyasuddin Mahmud, brother of the Sultan, rebelled in Oudh, seized the treasures of Bengal as they were being conveyed to the imperial treasury at Delhi and sacked and looted several towns of Hindustan. Izzuddin Kabir Khan-i-Ayaz of Multan, Saifuddin Kuji of Hansi, Alauddin Jani of Lahore, Muhammad Salari, governor of Budaun raised the standard of revolt and formed a confederacy.

When Firuz awoke from the blissful dream, the conflagration had spread far and wide. He marched out with an army to crush the hostile coalition but hardly had he gone beyond the neighbourhood of the capital

3 *F.*, I, p. 218. 4 *T.N.*, p. 632.

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when a mutiny broke out amongst his own troops. His minister Junaidi deserted him and joined the camp of the rebels. The mutinous troops seized the two secretaries of the Sultan, Taj-ul-Mulk Mahmud and Amir Fakhruddin and killed them along with a number of Tajik officials.[5]

While these things were taking place, the capital, Delhi, itself became the hotbed of intrigue and was rent by a strife between Shah Turkan and Raziyya. The contemporary historian tells us that in November 1236, "Raziyya entered upon open hostility with Shah Turkan" and Firuz was compelled to come back to the capital. It appears from this that Raziyya was watching events and finding in the adversity of Firuz her opportunity, she struck the blow. Shah Turkan had also planned the destruction of Raziyya but at this critical moment the people of Delhi rose in her defence, destroyed the royal castle, and imprisoned Shah Turkan. Meanwhile the mutinous Turkish soldiers came back to Delhi pledged to Raziyya their allegiance and placed her on the throne. She immediately sent a force against Rukuuddin. He was seized, imprisoned and put to death on November 9, 1236. Thus within six months of the death of her father she succeeded in seating herself on the throne of Delhi and making her father's will a reality by her tact.

Raziyya's Rule

Raziyya had triumphed over Firuz but she was only at the threshold of her difficulties. The confederacy formed by the governors of Hansi, Lahore, Multan, and Budaun had not been broken down and the confederates refused to submit to the rule of a woman; nor would the minister, Nizam-ul-Mulk Junaidi, who deserted Firuz, submit to and acknowledge her as his sovereign.

5 *T.A., F., Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh* (henceforth abbreviated as *M.T.*) give a different story. According to them Taj-ul-Mulk Mahmud and other nobles detached themselves from the main army and returned to Delhi. It is to be noted that the account given by them is less trustworthy than that given in the *Nasiri*, because the latter is the contemporary account and has been borrowed by the later historians like Nizamuddin, Firishta and Badauni. Hence we place our reliance on Nasiri.

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These rebel governors assembled "from different parts before the gate of the city of Delhi and commenced hostilities against Sultana Raziyya." Nizamuddin Ahmed, the author of *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* tells us further that they tried to stir up a general uprising against the Sultana. They sent emissaries to the heads of the various provinces and incited them to rise in insurrection against the queen.

At this juncture, amidst general turmoil and disturbance the queen remained firm. She resolved to strike the enemy. She had been besieged but like the Austrian queen Maria Theresa she sent appeals for help. The gallant Nusratuddin Shah, whom she made governor of Oudh, responded to her call and came out with an army to help her. Before he had crossed the Ganges the confederates fell upon, and defeated him. Nusratuddin worn out by age and illness died soon after.

Raziyya's fortunes now sank to the lowest ebb; her cause seemed almost hopeless; the newly-won sovereignty was about to slip into other hands. What could not be done by open warfare was now achieved by the tact and cleverness of the queen. She issued out of the city and as the contemporary historian tells us "ordered her tents to be pitched at a place on the banks of Jun."[6] Occasional conflicts now took place between the Turkish Amirs "who served at the stirrup of sovereignty and hostile Maliks."

While these skirmishes went on, Raziyya played her cards so well that she succeeded in sowing distrust and dissension amongst the members of the confederacy. She won over Izzuddin Muhammad Salari of Badaun and Kabir Khan-i-Ayaz of Multan. They went over to the queen's side and were even induced to support the arrest and imprisonment of their associates. This news ran apace and as soon as it reached the ears of Kuji, Jani and Junaidi they became perplexed and fled in any direction they could. The queen sent her cavalry in pursuit of these rebels. Saifuddin Kuji and his brother Fakhruddin were seized and put to death later on. Alauddin Jani was similarly beheaded near Pael.[7] The Vizier Junaidi fled to the Sirmur[8] hills and died there.

6 Jumna.

7 Pael, situated 34 miles North-West of the Patiala Town. *Imp. Gaz.*, vol. XIX, p. 316.

8 Sirmur lying amid the Himalayas between 30° 20′ and 31° 5′ N. and

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Thus the rebellion was completely crushed and Raziyya stood without a peer.

Her administration

Firmly seated on the throne Raziyya's first task was to bring order into the administration. She conferred the office of Vizier on the deputy of Nizam-ul-Mulk Junaidi, Khawaja Muhazzibuddin and invested him with the same title while the army was entrusted to Saifuddin Ibak who was given the title of Kauatlugh Khan. Ayaz was rewarded with the governorship of Lahore in addition to that of Multan.

The provincial governors who had set themselves up as independent rulers during the mis-government of Firuz were now reduced to submission and as the *Taz-kirat-ul-mulk* says, even the Malik of Lakhnawati became obedient to her authority. Izzuddin Tughril-i-Tughan Khan, governor of Lakhnawati, sent an embassy to the capital offering submission. The queen as a token of her goodwill presented him with a canopy and flags. Peace and order were restored throughout the whole of Hindustan as if by magic. As the contemporary historian says, "the whole kingdom became pacified and the power of the state widely extended. From the territory of Lakhnawati to Dewal and Damrilah all the Maliks and Amirs manifested their obedience and submission."

Rising of the Carmathian and Ismailians

Not long after she had taken up the reins of government, a formidable religious rising took place in Delhi. On Friday March 5, 1237 members of the Carmathian and Ismailian[9] sects congregated in Delhi from various parts of the country and incited by the preachings of one Nuruddin entered, 1000 strong, armed with sticks and sword, into the great mosque from two different directions. Their object was to "destroy the established faith" and set up their own religion. They

77° 5′ and 77° 55′ E on the West bank of the Jumna and south of Simla. *Imp. Gaz.* vol. XXIII, p. 21.

9 The Carmathian and Ismailians are two of the many sects among the Shiahs. According to tradition a poor man, Karmata, was the founder of the Carmathian order. Both the sects have a bitter hatred against men of other religions, specially, the Muhammadans.

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laid their sword upon every follower of the prophet whom they met. There was a great tumult; in the mean time the picked warriors of the city having assembled their followers rode forward and slaughtered them to a man. The strength of the new reign was thus early tested, by this rising. The queen then turned to the recovery of the places which had been lost to the Hindus during the short rule of Firuz.[10]

Raziyya had made Saifuddin Ibak-i-Bihak the commander of her armies, but he died, and Qutbuddin Husain succeeded to his place. The Queen sent him to relieve the fortress of Ranthambhor which had been besieged by the Hindus since the death of Altamash. At the approach of Qutbuddin's army the Hindus retreated; the Muhammadan officers came out of the fortress which was then dismantled.

Emboldened by the supperession of the Carmathian fanatics and the relief of Ranthambhor, Raziyya made innovations in her dress and mode of life. Hitherto she had governed the realm from behind the purdah. Now she tore off the purdah which hid her from the gaze of men, "laid aside the female dress, issued out of seclusion, donned the tunic, assumed the head-dress of a man and appeared among the people." The contemporary historian continues and remarks as if in a mood of surprise that "when she rode on an elephant, at the time of mounting it all people used only to see her."[11] The fearless Queen made a complete breach with the past. Time-honoured customs she trampled under foot, religious injunctions she disregarded, public opinion she flouted and ignored. And she became the wonder not only of her contemporaries but of later generations as well.

Raziyya seems to have made these changes deliberately. She knew where she stood, she had occupied the throne after overcoming tremendous opposition. If she showed the slightest disposition to weak-

10 *T.N.*, p. 646.

11 *T.A.*, *F.*, and *M.T.* corroborate the statement. *T.A.*, p. 22 says "Sultana Raziyya came out of the purdah and wore the dress of a man. She put on the Kaba on her person and the Kulah on her head and sat on the throne; granted public audience." *F.*, vol. I, p. 218 says "Raziyya Begum on her accession changed her apparel, assumed the imperial robes and every day gave public audience from the throne. *M.T.*, p. 120 says, "Sultana Raziyya came out from the curtain of chastity and wearing the garments of men, regardless of propriety used to wear a tunic and kullah when seated on the throne."

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ness, the barons would bring back anarchy and disorder. By these changes she tried to show that she was no more *roi fainéant* but a strong and masterful ruler who would brook no opposition. Her innovations were actuated by political motives but her ambition over-reached itself. She transgressed the limits and committed a most fatal blunder by openly defying the Quranic injunctions and the Hadis. She roused widespread discontent which was further aggravated by the elevation of a foreigner Amir Akhur Habshi Yaqut to a very high rank.

The fall of Raziyya

Discontent soon led to rebellion. The first sign of disaffection appeared in Gwalior. After the reduction of the fortress by Altamash, Rashiduddin Ali was entrusted with its command. By the death of Rashiduddin Ali the command of the fortress fell upon Ziyauddin Junaidi, a kinsman of the late Vizier. In 1238 he became disaffected towards the queen. Troops were sent against him and on March 19, 1238 he along with the historian Minhajuddin was compelled to come back to Delhi.

Soon after a more formidable rebellion broke out in the Punjab. The queen had rewarded Ayaz with the governorship of Lahore at the very beginning of her reign. In 1238 this Ayaz began to display a hostile attitude and in the next year broke out into open rebellion. Raziyya rose to the height of the occasion; she personally advanced with an army into the Punjab. Ayaz, not daring to offer battle to the royal troops retreated towards the Indus. When he reached the neighbourhood of Sudharah he was faced by the army of Saifuddin Hasan Qarlugh who 'driven from his territory of Kirman and Ghazni' was seeking an opportunity to carve out a kingdom to the east of the Indus.[12] In pursuit of the rebel Ayaz, Raziyya pushed on as far as the bank of the Ravi. Placed between the devil and the deep sea and finding his cause almost hopeless he submitted and implored forgiveness of the queen. She no doubt pardoned him but deprived him of the fief of

12 *T.N.*, p. 644, fn.

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Lahore which was placed in charge of Malik Kara Kush Khan.[13] After suppressing the rebellion Raziyya came back to Delhi, on March 15, 1240. But before a fortnight had elapsed she was compelled once more to draw the sword. During the absence of the queen in the Punjab, the courtiers had got up a conspiracy to bring about her ruin. As soon as the queen came back to the capital, Malik Ikhtiaruddin Altuniya, governor of Bhatinda, "secretly instigated and abetted by the Amirs of the court" rose into rebellion.[14] The Queen marched out against him on April 3, 1240, but when she reached Bhatinda the troops rose against her, slew Jamaluddin Yaqut, arrested and imprisoned her.

Meanwhile in accordance with the previous plan, Muizzuddin Bahram Shah was raised to the throne on April 22, 1240. When the Turkish Amirs and the soldiers came back to Delhi they pledged their allegiance to Bahram Shah but on condition of Ikhtiaruddin Aitigin being appointed regent for one year. Aitigin soon usurped all the powers of the state and strengthened his position by marrying the sister of the Sultan.

Malik Altuniya was bitterly disappointed. He found that the courtiers had reaped all the benefits while he had none. He was not the man to submit so tamely and began to wait and see. Soon he found his opportunity. Sultan Bahram Shah finding that he was a mere puppet in the hands of Aitigin, wanted to get rid of him. Soon an opportunity presented itself. On July 30, 1240 a discourse was arranged in the royal castle in which many of the courtiers including Aitigin were present. At the end of the discourse, the Sultan incited two Turks to stab Aitigin and Nizam-ul-mulk. The former was immediately killed and the latter was severely wounded. Bahram then appointed Badruddin

13 *T.A.*, *F.*, *M.T.* differ. Each of them says that Ayaz behaved so admirable that the queen pleased with him "not only permitted him to retain his office as governor of Lahore but added to it that of Multan.....vacated by the removal of Mullik Kurragooz." *M.T.* (p. 120) says, "Sultana Raziyya having reduced him to obedience added Multan also to his Jaigir." *T.A.* says, "Sultana Raziyya made over the province of Multan.....also to Malik Izzuddin." We reject their evidence as being much later than that of the *Nasiri*.

14 *T.N.*, p. 645.

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Sunqar Lord Chamberlain, who now assumed the direction of the affairs of the state.

While Delhi had become the scene of such bloodshed and disturbance, Altuniya released Raziyya from prison and married her.[15] Taking advantage of the disturbance he marched towards the capital to reinstall the deposed queen now his wife, on the throne. Sultan Bahram Shah came forward with an army to check their advance;[16] a battle took place near Kaithal.[17] Altuniya was defeated. He and his wife fell captive into the hands of the Hindus and attained martyrdom on October 14, 1240.[18] Thus came to a tragic and untimely close the career of one of the most singular characters in history.

Character and Estimate of Raziyya

Raziyya was an accomplished and gifted queen. She possessed many qualities of head and heart and as we have seen, enjoyed greater esteem of her father. She possessed a considerable amount of education. She could read the *Quran* with correct pronunciation and with a distinct and sonorous voice.

Her brief reign was spent in continual fighting but during the brief interval of peace that she found after her accession, she revised the existing laws and confirmed those that had been abrogated during the misrule of Firuz. A woman she was but she sat on the throne, tried cases that were brought before her, and administered justice impartially between the high and the low.[19] When we examine her many sided qualities, the determination and energy that she displayed during her brief reign we are led to enquire into the causes of her sudden fall. Indeed the

15 *The Taz-kirat-ul-Mulk* and some other works say that Altuniya forced Raziyya into the marriage. See *T.A.*, p. 77n. There is no justification whatsoever for saying as Elphinstone does, that Raziyya captured Altuniya by her charms.

16 The three works *T.A.*, *F.*, and *M.T.* say that Bahram Shah himself did not lead the army. We are however bound to prefer the testimony of *Nasiri* as being more trustworthy.

17 Kaithal is a place 38 miles distant from Karnal and about 100 miles north-west of Delhi *Imp. Gaz.*, vol. 7, p. 309.

18 *T.A.*, *F.*, and *M.T.*, say that Raziyya after the first defeat gathered forces and fought a second time. It is on this occasion that she was slain by the Hindus.

19 *F.*, p. 218.

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melancholy end of such a gifted queen "just, beneficent, dispenser of justice and protector of subjects" caused surprise to the Muhammadan historians themselves who flourished after her.

In their eagerness to explain her fall they have most unjustly tarnished her fair name and cast blots upon her character. Thus the historian Muhammad Qasim Firishta concludes his chapter on Raziyya by saying "those reflect on the fate of this unfortunate princess will readily discover from whence arose the foul blast that blasted her prospects, what connection exists between the office of Ameer-ool Omrah of Delhi and an Abyssinian slave or how are we to reconcile the inconsistency of the Queen of a vast territory fixing her affections on so unworthy an object."[20] Ferishta evidently wants to ascribe the cause of her fall to her undue familiarity and love for Yakut. Similar views have been expressed by Nizamuddin Ahmad and Abdul Qadir Badauni, the authors of *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* and *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*. Thus Nizamuddin says, Yakut "attained to such a pitch of intimacy (with the queen) that when Sultana Raziyya mounted he placed his hands under her arms and placed her on the animal she rode."[21] Abdul Qadir Badauni repeats the statement of Nizamuddin and says that Yakut "became her confidante and trusted adviser to such an extent that Sultana Raziyya whenever she rode a horse or an elephant used to rest upon his arms or his shoulder."[22]

While these are the views expressed by historians who flourished long after her, the contemporary chronicler Minhaj-i-Siraj does not speak ill of her. He mentions only that Yakut "acquired favour in attendance upon the Sultan." Throughout his narrative there is not even an indirect reference to an infamy of Raziyya. According to the strict canons of historical criticism we ought to rely on *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, because *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, *Tarikhi-Ferishta* and *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh* were later compositions and borrowed the facts of this period mainly from *Nasiri*.

It appears after a careful analysis of the evidence that the story of Raziyya's love for Yakut has no foundation in fact, but is the inven-

20 *F.*, p. 222.
21 *T.A.*, p. 76.
22 *Ibid.*, p. 121.

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tion of later historians.[23] *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* does not mention it. Then again no man in his senses could believe that an intelligent woman, the mistress of a vast empire, would have allowed one of her officers practically to embrace her in public at the time of raising her on the elephant. She could have easily indulged herself in the chambers of the palace if she was so charmed with Yakut. What appears to be the case is that the simple statement of Minhaj was given a colouring and exaggerated by the later historians. Moreover her enemies must have given currency to many rumours and circulated them widely to bring about her ruin. The upshot was that popular sympathy was alienated from her, so that the centre contingent which had enthusiastically cheered and raised her up on the throne betrayed and deserted her in 1240. The truth is that Raziyya fell not through any weakness or defect in her character but because of the fact that she was a woman. Raziyya by showing favour to Yakut no doubt caused resentment but

23 Sir Welseley Haig, in the *C.H.I.*, p. 59, holds the same view. He says, "later historians suggest or insinuate that there was impropriety in her relations with him but the contemporary chronicler makes no such allegation, and it is unnecessary to believe that she stooped to such a connection."

Reverty says "the character of the princess has been assailed without just cause."

Thomas on the other hand is extremely severe. He says "it was not that a virgin queen was forbidden to love—she might have indulged herself in a submissive prince consort or revelled almost unchecked in the dark recesses of the palace harem, but wayward fancy pointed in a wrong direction and led her to prefer a person employed about her court, an Abyssinian." *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings*, p. 106.

Iswari Prasad in his *History of Mediæval India* makes a curious jumble. In the footnote of p. 150, he says that it does not appear that Raziyya's fondness for Yakut was criminal. Again in footnote of p. 152 he says "whatever the truth may be, there is no doubt that Raziyya committed an act of unpardonable indiscretion in showing such preference for the Abyasinian. Conduct like this in an eastern country is sure to excite suspicion. The queen certainly transgressed the proper limits permitted to a lady of high rank in the east particularly when she was unmarried." Elephinstone (p. 368) says, "it does not appear that her fondness for Yakut was criminal." Lane-Poole holds that the relationship between Yakut and Raziyya was perfectly innocent.

Ibn Batuta, the traveller, refers to the story of undue relationship between the queen and Yakut. But his account on this point must be accepted with an amount of caution for he must have recorded what he heard amongst the people.

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certainly it was no offence. If she had really to rule she was bound to raise some nobles and degrade others. There was no other alternative. Yakut was the superintendent of the stables at the time of her accession and might have easily earned the favour of the queen by his fidelity and zealous service. Moreover as superintendent of the stables it was probably a part of his duty to be present on the occasion when the queen mounted an elephant.

Considering the circumstances of the case we are bound to admit that this story of love affair was fabricated by the later historians or they merely recorded the popular gossip which was current in the streets and bazars. Raziyya ruled only for three years, six months and six days but this short duration of her reign is not the real criterion of her abilities as a ruler. We ought to bear in mind certain facts when we try to arrive at an estimate of the queen.

In the thirties of the thirteenth century India was in a disorganised state. The Muhammadans had no doubt conquered the whole of Hindustan from the Punjab to Bengal but they had not yet consolidated their rule. The Hindus were ever ready to rise in rebellion and recover the territories that had been taken away from them.

In addition to the opposition of the Hindus the early Muhammadan rulers had a more difficult task to perform in keeping the turbulent and unruly Turkish Amirs in check. Like the feudal nobility of Europe they were ever intent on aggrandisement and intriguing for power. They submitted only to a strong and powerful ruler. If the ruler happened to be weak, they would inevitably begin the usual scramble for power.

Above all her greatest difficulty was the fact that she was a woman. Her sex was an insuperable obstacle. The Hadis gives defnite injunctions against the choice of a woman ruler. It was this which gave the Turkish Amirs the rallying cry and brought about her fall.

When we consider this multitude of difficulties we are really amazed to find that Raziyya could overcome tremendous opposition and rule even for three years. These three years were not years of rest. She was kept busy throughout. She crushed the insubordination of her officers, put down the uprisings of the Hindus and held sway over the undiminished empire bequeathed by her father. Among the woman

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rulers of the world, Raziyya certainly occupies an honourable place. She stands infinitely above Mary Tudor who has disgraced the pages of history by wanton bloodshed or of Mary Stuart who by her romantic adventures has scandalised her name. Hers is indeed a most pathetic figure. So many qualities were in vain only because she was a woman.[42]

NIRODE BHUSAN ROY

24 Firishta (Newal Kishore Press) says Sahebi-Najarān Kār ..gahbajuz Ankh darsaruti-nasuān makluq bud, aibe daru namiaftand.

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Mahanama in the Pali Literature

There are four persons by the name of Mahānāma in the Pāli literature of whom one is a king; the second is said to be the resident monk of the Dīghasanda monastery at Anurādhapura, to whom king Moggallāna (497-515 A.C.) offered a monastery called Pabbata Vihāra built by him (*Mahāvaṃsa*, ch. 39. v. 42); the third is mentioned in the concluding lines of the commentary on the *Paṭisambhidāmagga* as the author of that work who lived in the reign of Kumāra Dhātusena, son of king Moggallāna (515-524 A.C.); and the fourth occurs in the concluding passage of the commentary on the *Mahāvaṃsa* as the author of the original work. The last two of these four Mahānāmas were undoubtedly great Pāli scholars. Let us first see who were the three Mahānāma Theras.

The commentator of the *Paṭisambhidāmagga* says that he finished his work in the third year after the death of king Moggallāna. So he must have lived at the time of king Moggallāna and his son Kumāra Dhātusena. His reference to the dead king Moggallāna but not to the reigning king Kumāra Dhātusena indicates his close association with the former. So it seems that he was the Thera Mahānāma to whom king Moggallāna presented a monastery called the Pabbata Vihāra. Again, as he was a resident of the Dīghasanda monastery he might have also been the author of the *Mahāvaṃsa* as its commentator attributes that work to Mahānāma Thera of the Dīghasanda monastery. It is, however, difficult to identify these two theras because the thera Mahānāma to whom the Pabbata monastery was presented was living at the Dīghasanda monastery at the time when that presentation was made, and afterwards he must have been living at the new monastery built by the king. But the Thera Mahānāma who wrote the commentary on the *Paṭisambhidāmagga* lived, according to his own words, in a monastery known as the Uttaramantī Pariveṇa. It is probable that the thera Mahānāma who resided at one time at the Dīghasanda monastery left it again for the Uttaramantī Pariveṇa where he wrote the commentary on the *Paṭisambhidāmagga*. It may also be that these two names, Dīghasanda Pariveṇa and Uttaramantī Pariveṇa

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referred to one and the same monastery where Mahānāma thera lived both during the life-time and after the death of king Moggallāna. The commentator of the *Mahāvaṃsa* says that Dīghasanda was a nick-name of a certain general of King Devānaṃpiya Tissa and that he built the monastery known after his name.

In the *Cūlavaṃsa* (ch. 38, v. 16-17) it is stated that king Dhātusena in his boyhood lived as a novice under a thera who was his mother's brother and who was residing at the Dīghasanda monastery. Here the name of the thera is not given. Is he the thera Mahānāma to whom king Moggallāna made a gift of the Pabbata Vihāra, and is he also the author of the *Mahāvaṃsa*?

According to a statement in the *Cūlavaṃsa* (ch. 38, v. 59) it seems that king Dhātusena was a lover of history and he was instrumental for the compilation of the *Mahāvaṃsa*. The statement referred to is that king Dhātusena at the end of an anniversary celebration held in honour of the great Mahinda thera, who introduced Buddhism into Ceylon, ordered the promulgation of the chronicle of Ceylon throughout the Island, and for that purpose he gave a thousand coins. This indicates that a new work had come into existence which was not yet become popular, and this must have been the composition of Mahānāma of the Dīghasanda Pariveṇa. All these facts go to show that the thera Mahānāma of the Dīghasanda monastery who wrote the *Mahāvaṃsa* and the thera Mahānāma of the Dīghasanda monastery who was the favourite monk of king Moggallāna, son of king Dhātusena, and the resident thera of the Dīghasanda monastery were one and the same person. King Dhātusena is said to have come to the throne in 1006 B.E. (i.e. 463 A.D.) and king Moggallāna died in 1060 B.E. (i.e. 517 A.D.). Now from the accession of king Dhātusena to the death of king Moggallāna there were only 54 years. King Dhātusena did not die an old man. He met with an unnatural death at the hands of his eldest son, king Kassapa of Sigiriya fame. So when Dhātusena came to the throne he could not have been an old man. Then at the time of king Moggallāna's death the age of Mahānāma thera could be between 79 and 89.[1]

1 I am, however, not inclined to accept that the thera Mahānāma who wrote

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The view that the uncle of King Dhātusena was the author of the Mahāvaṃsa could be proved further by the following fact:

The *Mahāvaṃsa* stops abruptly in the middle of the 37th chapter without concluding it in the usual way with a verse in a different metre. This indicates that the author either could not finish his work owing to some unexpected trouble or died before he could complete it. Or, it might have been that the original work in Sinhalese ended there and he did not add anything to it. He only put into Pāli verse what he found in the original Sinhalese version and stopped there.

The first two arguments cannot be the reasons for this abrupt ending because he had only one verse to compose to conclude it in the usual way, and this he could have done very easily. If the last one was the actual reason, it is difficult to understand why he did not finish it in the usual way. Its commentator also has not given any reason for this abrupt ending. That the old Sinhalese *Mahāvaṃsa* ended just at the point where the Pāli *Mahāvaṃsa* stops is proved by the earlier Pāli work, I mean, the *Dīpavaṃsa*. It also stops exactly at the same place. His abrupt ending, I think, is due to the fact that Mahānāma thera translated the Sinhalese *Mahāvaṃsa* into Pāli but as he wanted to write the chronicle further and bring the history up to his time he did not conclude it in the usual way. But before he could do so his benefactor king Dhātusena was put to death by his own son, Kassapa, and consequently there was much trouble in the country and the bhikkhus could not fufil his desire and the work remained unfinished till thera Dhammakitti took up the work after about seven centuries. This shows very clearly that king Dhātusena was instrumental for the writing of the *Mahāvaṃsa*, and the chronicle of Ceylon which he ordered for promulgation was none but this work. Of course, the word used for the work in narration is *Dīpavaṃsa*. But I do not think that it was used to indicate the work now known by that name. It was not used here as the special title of a particular book, but as denoting "the Vaṃsa of the Dīpa," i.e. the chronicle of the Island. It

the commentary on the *Paṭisambhidāmagga* was the same person as the author of the Pāli *Mahāvaṃsa* because a work of the former kind cannot be expected from such an old person, however clever he might have been.

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could not be that king Dhātusena wanted to propagate that work called the *Dīpavaṃsa* because it was defective and the defects were well-known. And moreover it was already popular inspite of its defects. So it is certain that the chronicle which king Dhātusena wanted to promulgate was not the work which we now call *Dīpavaṃsa*. Therefore the *Dīpavaṃsa*, that is the chronicle of the island, which he wanted to propagate was either the Sinhalese *Mahāvaṃsa* preserved in the Mahāvihāra or the new work in Pāli composed by Mahānāma thera. But, as that Sinahlese work was also already popular surely it must have been this new work that he wanted to propagate.

It should be noted here that the word *Mahāvaṃsa* was also not the name given to the book written by Mahānāma thera. It was always referred to by its commentator as the *Padyapadoruvaṃsa*. This term mean the *Mahāvaṃsa* in verse (Padyapada=metrical lines and uruvaṃsa=mahāvaṃsa). This name shows also the nature of the book. It is *Mahāvaṃsa*, but unlike the then existing *Mahāvaṃsa* it is in metrical form. This shows again that the history of Ceylon that existed in prose was known as the *Mahāvaṃsa* and the new work composed in Pāli was given the name of *Padyapadoruvaṃsa* just to distinguish it from the first one. I have found that the commentator has used this name in no less than 12 places but never the name *Mahāvaṃsa*.

It is noteworthy here that the author of the Pāli *Mahāvaṃsa* in his opening verse uses the term *Mahāvaṃsa*. But the commentator says that the author referred by that word to the then existing Sinhalese *Mahāvaṃsa* and not to the one composed in Pāli.

R. SIDDHARTHA

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Was Candragupta low-born ?

In a paper published in the *JBORS.* (1918, pp. 91 ff.), I tried to show that Candragupta, the founder of the Maurya dynasty, was a high-born prince, being a descendant of the *pūrva*-Nandas or Earlier Nandas, as distinguished from the *nava*-Nandas or Later Nandas, Mahāpadma and his sons who were base-born according to the Purāṇas. This view was adopted by the late Dr. Vincent A. Smith in his *Oxford History of India* (Additions and Corrections) and the same scholar, in the 3rd edition of his monograph on *Aśoka*, published in 1920, abandoned his former description of Candragupta as "an illegitimate scion of the Nanda dynasty" and described him instead as simply "a scion of the Nanda dynasty." The older view, thus displaced by wieghty authority, has recently been pressed again for acceptance by Dr. O. Stein.[1] I propose therefore to consider the question once again, and place before scholars the results of my recent investigations.

I suggested in 1918 that the term *vṛṣala*, applied in the *Mudrā-Rākṣasa* to Candragupta, should be read as *vṛṣabha*, a reading actually found in a Ms. of the drama belonging to the Bengal Asiatic Society's collection.

On further study I find that *vṛṣala* is the correct reading. This follows from two passages in the drama:—

(1) In Act III, just after v. 15, we read—

तत् स्थाने खलु वृषलोऽद्यश्चन्द्रगुप्त इति

where vṛṣalo'dya is explained as vṛṣalaśabdena vaditum arhaḥ, and vṛṣabho'dya would not yield satisfactory sense. It is possible that the text is faulty here, and the real reading is neither vṛṣalo'dya nor vṛṣabho'dya, but something altogether different. Dr. O. Stein (*op. cit.*, p. 360) adopts the reading (1) tataḥ sthāne'sya (scil. Nandasya) vṛṣalo devaś Candraguptaḥ.

1 *Journal of the Czecho-Slovak Oriental Institute* (Prague), vol. I, no. 3, pp. 354 ff.

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(2) In Act VI, v. 6, we read—

पतिं त्यक्त्वा देवं भुवनपतिमुच्चैरभिजनं
गता छिद्रेण श्रीर्वृषलमविनीतेव वृषली।

where *vṛṣala* goes most consistently with *vṛṣalī*—a word signifying, by a *double entendre*, (1) consort of *vṛṣala*, (2) a woman who leaves her own husband and goes over to another (s.v. *Vṛṣalī* in *Śabdakalpadruma*).

There are, besides, other passages in the drama, clearly alluding to Candragupta's low origin. For instance, in Act II, v. 7, we read—

पृथिव्यां किं दग्धाः प्रथितकुलजा भूमिपतयः
पतिं पापे मौर्य्यं यदसि कुलहीनं वृतवती ?

where the Maurya is distinctly stated to be "of ignoble birth." (1) Cf. O. Stein, *op. cit.*, p. 361, n. 2.

We have, moreover, definite references to Candragupta having been regarded as in some way connected with the Nanda family, though not as a direct legitimate descendant of the Nandas:—

(i) In Act I, after v. 13, we find Cāṇakya saying—

अहो राक्षसस्य नन्दवंशे निरतिशयो भक्तिगुणः। स खलु कस्मिंश्चिदपि जीवति नन्दान्वयावयवे वृषलस्य साचिव्यं ग्राहयितुं न शक्यते। अनयैव बुद्ध्या तपोवनगतोऽपि घातितस्तपस्वी नन्दवंशीयः सर्व्वार्थसिद्धिः। and

(ii) in Act II, after v. 19, we find Rākṣasa saying—

वयमेवात्र शोच्या ये नन्दकुलविनाशेऽपि जीवितुम् इच्छामः।

which seem to show that the Nanda family had been entirely destroyed. But (iii) in Act IV, after v. 7, we find Bhāgurāyaṇa saying—

.....ततो नन्दकुलभक्त्या नन्दान्वय एवायमिति सुहृज्जनापेक्षया चामात्यराक्षसश्चन्द्रगुप्तेन सह संदधीत। चन्द्रगुप्तोऽपि पितृपर्य्यायागत एवायमिति संधिमनुमन्येत।

(iv) in Act IV, after v. 12, Rākṣasa is made to say—

तास्तु खलु नन्दकुलमनेन पितृकुलभूतं कृत्स्नं कृतघ्नेन घातितं.....चन्द्रगुप्तमेवानुवर्त्तन्ते।

(v) in Act II, v. 8, we read—

इष्टात्मजः सपदि सान्वय एव देवः
शार्दूलपोतमिव यं परिपोष्य नष्टः।

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(vi) in Act V. v. 5, we read—

भक्त्या नन्दकुलानुरागदृढ़या नन्दान्वयालम्बिना
किं चाणक्यनिराकृतेन कृतिना मौर्य्येण संधास्यते।

(vii) in Act V. v. 19, we read—

मौर्य्योऽसौ स्वामिपुत्रः

coming from Malayaketu first, then being repeated by Rākṣasa.

It must, therefore, be conceded that, according to the drama, the Nandas overthrown by Cāṇakya were well-born, and that according to the drama, Candragupta was a base-born descendant of one of these well-born Nandas. What value should be set upon this view, we shall discuss later on. For the present, it may be noted that Dr .Stein (*op. cit.*, p. 360) accepts the Puranic tradition that the Nandas supplanted by the Mauryas were base-born, as against the view represented by the *Mudrā-Rākṣasa.*

(II)

As regards vṛṣala, however, I do not think it means *Śūdra* in the drama. The royal dramatist, in a drama that is decidedly a masterpiece, would be guilty of gross impropriety if he made Cāṇakya address his own king, in season and out of season, as a *Śūdra*. The term vṛṣala is significantly applied to Candragupta by practically none of the *dramatis personae* except Cāṇakya: an apparent deviation from this rule occurs in a monologue in Act III, after v. 15, but there, as pointed out above, the transmitted text seems faulty, and the reading adopted by Dr. O. Stein (vṛṣalo devaś Candraguptaḥ) precludes any depreciatory sense being implied by the term *vṛṣala* which is combined here with the very respectful epithet *deva*. Had *vṛṣala* been a term of reproach, denoting *Śūdra*, the dramatist would surely have put it oftener in the mouths of characters belonging to the anti-Candragupta party than in an isolated allusion by Rākṣasa, in course of his anguished utterances (Act VI, v. 6) where, again, as pointed out above, the allusion is needed only to achieve a *double entendre*. Most instructive in this connexion is the dialogue, in Act I, after v. 19, between Cāṇakya and a *cara* (agent):

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चाणक्यः। भद्र, वर्णयेदानीं स्वनियोगवृत्तान्तम्। अपि वृषलमनुरक्ताः प्रकृतयः ?

चरः। अह इस। अज्जेण खु तेसु तेसु विराअकारणेसु परिहरिअन्तेसु सुगहीदनामहेए देवे चन्दगुत्ते दिढ़मनुरत्ता पकिदिओ।

Translation

Cāṇakya Well, now, tell me how you were engaged yourself; are the people well-disposed towards Vṛṣala?

Cara What then? As a result of Your Excellency's having baffled all sources of disaffection, the people are firmly attached to His Sacred Majesty (*deva*) Candragupta, of well-adopted designation (sugṛhītanāmadheya).

Vṛṣala, therefore, appears to have been, according to the dramatist, applied by Cāṇakya to Candragupta as a *personal name*, his style, on coronation, being *Candragupta*, with a variant in *Candra-Śrī*.[2] We are not called upon to interpret personal names: to take an instance near at hand, the minister Rākṣasa need not be connected with the demoniac progeny of Rāvaṇa. And it is quite likely that, in reality, Candragupta had no such personal name: *vṛṣala* may have been no more than a 'permanent epithet' traditionally applied to him, and the dramatist, or the tradition he followed, may have converted the epithet into a name. Jaina accounts point that way. If we trust these accounts and picture Candragupta as embracing Jainism, we may imagine him being traditionally described by the orthodox community as a *vṛṣala* or a "heretic." What the orthodox Hindu community understood by the term a few centuries before the composition of the *Mudrā-Rākṣasa* may be gathered from the *Mānava Dharmaśāstra*, VIII, 16.

वृषो हि भगवान् धर्म्मस्तस्य यः कुरुते ह्यलम्।
वृषलं तं विदुर्देवास्तस्माद्धर्मं न लोपयेत्॥

2 The author of the Medinī-lexicon looked upon *vṛṣala* as another name of king Candragupta.

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Translation

"The exalted *dharma* is known as vṛṣa; whoever opposes it would be known to the devas as vṛṣala. Hence, *dharma* should not be made to vanish."

Again, in the same Code, X. 43-4, we read—

कैस्तु क्रियालोपादिमाः क्षत्रियजातयः।
वृषलत्वं गता लोके ब्राह्मणादर्शनेन च ॥ ४३
पौण्ड्रकाश्चोड्र-द्रविड़ाः कम्बोजा यवनाः शकाः।
पारदा पह्लवाश्चीनाः किराता दरदाः खसाः ॥ ४४

Translation

"Gradually, by non-performance of ceremonies, and as a result of not seeing Brāhmaṇas, the following Kṣatriya tribes have been reduced to the vṛṣala state:

Paunḍrakas, Uḍras, Draviḍas, Kambojas, Yavanas, Śakas, Pahlavas, Cīnas, Kirātas, Daradas and Khasas."

The process of transformation from the Kṣatriya-caste to the *vṛṣala*-state is here conceived to be simply through unorthodox living, away from Brāhmaṇas. A *vṛṣala*, therefore, need not have been a Śūdra by caste; he is merely a man who has fallen away from *dharma*, that is to say, from Brāhmaṇic *dharma*. Yet another piece of evidence pointing in the same direction is furnished by the *Kauṭlīya Arthaśāstra*, a treatise for which the latest date proposed is the 3rd century A.D. In the *Kauṭilīya*, III, 20, we are told

.....शाक्याजीवकादीन् वृषलप्रव्रजितान् देवपितृकार्य्येषु भोजयतश्शत्यो दण्डः।

Translation

".....Whoever gives feasts, in ceremonies connected with the gods and the ancestors, to Śākyas, Ājīvikas, etc., who are vṛṣalas and ascetics, is to be fined one hundred (paṇas)."[3]

3 Shamasastry's translation is faulty: it implies a conjunctive particle after *vṛṣalapravrajitān*, which expression, in the text as it stands, is in apposition to the expression *Śākyājīvakādīn*.

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Vṛṣala here denotes 'heretic' or 'outcaste' and cannot possibly mean 'Śūdra' by caste. It is true that, in later usage, the word acquired the meaning 'Śūdra.' But the *Mudrā-Rākṣasa* probably belongs to the Gupta period (see. *infra*, p. 8, n. 1); and there is not an iota of evidence to show that the word *vṛṣala* had already changed in meaning from 'heretic' or 'outcaste' to 'Śūdra, by caste.'

(III)

I have so far discussed Candragupta from the standpoint of the *Mudrā-Rākṣasa*, on the assumption that this drama possibly transmits genuine tradition regarding the Maurya monarch. I shall now proceed to show that this assumption even is not justified.

In the first place, it is a mere drama. The exigencies of art notoriously distort facts. Secondly, it is several centuries later than Candragupta. Thirdly, it has a set purpose, namely, of proving the superiority of Cāṇakya to every other character in the drama. For this purpose, even Candragupta, his king, is made to look like an imbecile—a puppet in his hands. There is little that is kingly in Viśākhadatta's Candragupta. This fact induces a suspicion. Viśākhadatta was himself a prince; this is a claim corroborated by the general trend of the drama, the reader's interest being throughout kept alive by a skilful exhibition of political intrigue and state-craft hardly feasible in a writer not born in the purple. He moreover belonged very probably to the

There is a passage in the *Suttanipāta* (Vasalasutta, v. 21—v. 27) which runs as follows:

na jaccā vasalo hoti na jaccā hoti brāhmaṇo/
kammunā vasalo hoti kammunā hoti brāhmaṇo//

The statement implies, because it contradicts, an existing opinion that one could be by birth (*jāti*) a *vṛṣala* or a brāhmaṇa; so that the term *vṛṣala*, like the term Brāhmaṇa, must have already come to be regarded as a caste-designation—a view taken exception to in this passage. But a scrutiny of the *Vasalasutta* as a whole reveals that verses 21 to 27 are a later addition. The previous verses 1 to 19 all terminate with *taṃ jaññā vasalo 'ti*, the last being

yo buddhaṃ paribhāsati athavā tassa sāvakaṃ
paribbājaṃ gahaṭṭhaṃ vā taṃ jaññā vasalo 'ti.

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Gupta period.[4] The Imperial Guptas apparently believed in the greatness of Candragupta and could scarcely have believed in his ignoble origin; for, no less than two of their conquering monarchs are known to have adopted the style *Candragupta*. Why was Prince Viśākhadatta seeking to belittle the Mauryan model of his contemporaries, the Imperial Guptas? Is it not possible, or even likely, that the princely dramatist was intent on impressing a moral by telling a tale?

Whatever the author's object might have been, the drama, in its details, cannot be relied on for a reconstruction of Mauryan history. It mentions unhistorical royal names, simply to achieve verisimilitude. It abounds in anachronisms. Numerous peoples are named—Śakas, Pahlavas, Cīnas, Hūṇas—who could not have, in Candragupta's time,

Here is attained a climax in the rising series of damning definitions of a *vṛṣala*. Rhetorically, this verse ought to close the series. Its propriety as a terminal verse will be evident when we remember that the verses defining a *vṛṣala* are alleged to have been called forth from the Buddha himself by the brāhmaṇa Aggika-Bhāradvāja abusing him as a *vṛṣala*. "Do you know who is a *vṛṣala*, or what goes to the making of a *vṛṣala*?" asks the Buddha. The brāhmaṇa Aggika-Bhāradvāja replying in the negative, the Buddha proceeds to explain, with verses 1 ff., what sinful acts make a person *vṛṣala*. Since an abuse of the Buddha furnished the occasion for the verses, they would most appropriately close on the the same note—abuse of the Buddha as in verse 19. To clinch the series, verse 20 is added:—

yo vā anarahā saṃto arahaṃ paṭijānāti/
coro sabrahmake loke esa kho vasalādhamo//

Anger has here reached its height; and there should be no more to be said. Accordingly, we find a half-verse added, by way of summing up *ete kho vasalā vuttā mayā vo ye pakāsitā*. There could be no clearer indication that the *Vasalasutta*, as originally composed, ended here. The succeeding verses (21 to 27) must consequently be considered a late addition. It will be observed that, in the original portion, a *vṛṣala* is defined broadly as a sinning man—sinning against *dharma* as understood by the Buddhists. This is of a piece with the *Mānava* definition, cited above, that *vṛṣa* is *dharma* and he who goes against *dharma* (as understood, of course, by the followers of the Mānava school) is called a *vṛṣala*.

I may add that Mr. Munindra Lal Barua, M.A., first drew my attention to the *Vasalasutta* and suggested to me that it might have a bearing on my discussion of the meaning of *vṛṣala*. I have used Mr. P. V. Bapat's edition of the *Suttanipāta* (Poona, 1924).

4 *JBORS.*, 1928, p. 236. A later date, if preferred, will reduce its evidentiary value for the Maurya period.

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taken part in the conflicts portrayed in the drama.[5] It makes Hellenistic astrology flourish in Mauryan India. It pictures *Suruṅga* in actual use in the days of Candragupta, a contingency legitimately ruled out of court by Dr. O. Stein himself.[6] Finally, it goes against the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*.

The evidence of the *Arthaśāstra* has been conveniently ignored by Dr. Stein. It was indeed not fully marshalled out in my paper published in *JBORS.*, 1918. But the little that was set forth therein sufficed to weigh considerably with the late Dr. Vincent Smith. I have developed the argument in another paper, justifying the conclusion that whereas pre-Kauṭiliyan political philosophers, who were partisans of the low-born Nandas, had avowed preference for a strong, though low-born, king, with no hereditary right to the throne, Kauṭilya definitely declares himself in favour of a high-born king, with a hereditary right to the throne (*Artha-ś.*, Bk. VIII, ch. 2). Dr. Stein, it is true, considers the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* to be a production, not from the pen of Candragupta's minister, but from the pen of some writer of a much later date, probably the 3rd century A.D. The problem is too vast to be envisaged within the compass of this paper and must be reserved for separate treatment. I may say however that a careful study of this remarkable book on politics leaves no reasonable doubt that it has a nucleus of original matter, dating back beyond Aśoka, around which has gathered a mass of accretions of a somewhat later date. Supposing with Dr. Stein, that the *Kauṭilīya* as a whole belongs to the 3rd century A.D., it must be conceded that the writer, who had opportunities for looking back upon the careers of Mahāpadma Nanda and Candragupta Maurya and Kauṭilya, as depicted by the then current tradition, represented the minister of Candragupta to have been strongly against low-born monarchs and definitely in favour of a high-born, hereditary king. Does it not follow that, even as late as the composition of the *Kauṭilīya*, Candragupta was believed to have been a high-born monarch? For, if a contrary tradition were current, the 'Paṇḍit' of the 3rd century A.D., who is supposed to have composed the *Kauṭilīya* and to

5 Cf. O. Stein, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 354, 359.
6 *Zeit. f. Ind. u. Iran*, 1925, pp. 280 ff.

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have modestly ascribed its authorship to the traditional minister of Candragupta and whose intelligence is manifest from the treatise, would make himself appear utterly foolish, were he to represent that very minister as supporting the claims of a high-born, hereditary prince, against a low-born, non-hereditary monarch. It cannot be urged that the hypothetical 'Paṇḍit' is giving here a view that is reasonable *per se*, not pausing to ponder over the propriety of its ascription to Kauṭilya. That he did pause and ponder is clear from the circumstance that he ascribes an opposite view to the professors who preceded Kauṭilya and Kauṭilya is represented to contradict them—a symptom, not of carelessness, but of meticulous reflection.

(IV)

Dr. Stein has found fault with me for my reliance on the mediaeval productions, the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* and the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, in reconstructing the history of Candragupta Maurya. Strictly speaking, since we have absolutely no records contemporary with the founder of the Maurya dynasty, neither myself nor even Dr. O. Stein can pretend to vouch for the accuracy of any particular reconstruction which must necessarily be based upon later evidence. Although the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* and the *Kathāsaritsāgara* were actually composed about 1100 A.D., they claim to be based upon Guṇāḍhya's *Bṛhatkathā*, which is referred to the time of "Sātavāhana," a dynasty that flourished between the 3rd century B.C. and the 3rd century A.D.[7] Dr. Stein himself (*op. cit.*, p. 358) cites both these "works of fiction" to show that King Nanda's Śūdra origin was "apparently already a tradition in

7 Keith (*Classical Skt. Lit.*, p. 90) finds it "impossible to place Guṇāḍhya with any certainty before the fifth century A.D., unless we hold that Bhāsa (fourth century) derived from him, and not from tradition, some of his themes." He urges (*ibid.*) that "Sātavāhana is a dynastic name which may denote any of several kings" but does not seem to recognize the conclusion of archæologists that the last of the 'several king' belongs to the 3rd cent. A.D. Keith seems right when he agrees with Bloch, *ibid.*, that the Sātavāhanas were at first patrons of Prākṛt and only gradually adopted Sanskrit as a court-language; so that Guṇāḍhya may be placed between the 2nd and 3rd Cent. A.D.

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Guṇāḍhya's time." Curiously enough after thus appreciating the evidentiary value of these documents, he sets out to find fault with me (*ibid.*, p. 360) over my citation of the very same sources in my reconstruction of Candragupta's history. On the question of reliability of Kṣemendra's *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī*, it is worth noting that Prof. Keith[8] believes in the fidelity of Kṣemendra to his original inasmuch as his *mañjarī* of the *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa* can be tested for the epics. Prof. Lévi[9] also gives excellent grounds for connecting the *Bṛhatkathā*, in point of time, with Ptolemy's *Geography* (c. 150 A.D.). In his Introduction to the German translation of the *Kauṭilīya*[10] Dr. J. J. Meyer has also reiled on the *Bṛhatkathā*.[11]

(V)

Dr. Stein has overlooked (p. 360) my interpretation of the Purāṇic statement: ततः प्रभृति राजानो भविष्याः शूद्रयोनयः। "After the Nandas, the kings of the earth will be Śūdras." Had that been the meaning, we would have to look upon the Brāhmaṇical Śuṅgas and Kāṇvas, who succeeded the Mauryas, as Śūdras. The statement implies merely that it was not until Mahāpadma (Nanda) that a king of Śūdra origin sat on an Indian throne; it contains no implication that the Mauryas were Śūdras.

(VI)

Dr. Stein, in dissecting the evidence afforded by the *Bṛhatkathā* in its two Sanskrit redactions, opines that the expression *pūrva-Nanda-*

8 *Hist. of Skt. Lit.*, p. 276.

9 *Etudes Asiatiques*, 25th anniv. of L'école francaise d'extrème orient.

10 Leipzig, 1927.

11 Both Kṣemendra and Somadeva apparently worked with a "Kasmirian" recension of the *Bṛhatkathā*. That recension has added to the original *Bṛhatkathā* some episodical matter discernible even to an ordinary reader, notably Books V, VI, IX, XII, XIV, XVI in the *Mañjarī*; there is no reason to suppose that, so far as the tale of the Nandas was concerned, any considerable modification had been made.

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suta applied to Candragupta refers to his connexion with the *real* Nanda, that is, before his dead body was (as the story relates) possessed by Indradatta. But, if this were so, how is it that the *Bṛhatkathā-mañjarī* always refers to the real Nanda simply as *Nanda*, and how is it that the *pūrva-Nanda* is mentioned only in connexion with Candragupta? Dr. Stein demurs to my drawing a parallel between the expressions *pūrva-Nandāḥ* and *nava-Nandāḥ* meaning, respectively, "the Earlier Nandas" and "the Later Nandas." He says (p. 361): "The correlative for *pūrva* is *uttara* or *para*, and never *nava* which means in connection with Nanda only: 'the new Nanda' i.e., the supposed Nanda." But the expression *nava-Nanda* finds no place in the *Bṛhatkathā* account: it occurs in the dynastic enumeration presented by some *Purāṇas* and in the Sinhalese Chronicles. Its perverted sense as "the nine Nandas" did not grow up "within a generation between the 11th and 12th century A.D.," as Dr. Stein would have me admit (p. 360); it "grew up" much earlier as the Sinhalese Chronicles testify, but it failed to obscure the tradition, handed down to the *Bṛhatkathā* (2nd-3rd century A.D.) as preserved to us in the Sanskrit redactions, that Candragupta was a *pūrva-Nanda-suta*. It is indeed significant that the *Bṛhatkathā* does not speak of "nine" Nandas; the stream of tradition represented by it was obviously not yet contaminated by the perverted interpretation of *nava* as "nine". To the mediaeval Sanskrit redactors of the *Bṛhatkathā*, that interpretation was probably not unknown. We must admire their good sense in not permitting themselves to import it into the Paiśācī account they were working upon. They found, in the Paiśācī original, some expression which, they thought, could be best rendered as *pūrva-Nanda-suta*. We do not know, of course, what the original expression actually was. But we have no reason to doubt that they give us a *bona fide* rendering, in *pūrva-Nanda-suta*, particularly since the rendering is found in *Kṣemendra* as well as in *Somadeva*. The context, speaking as it does, of the succession of Candragupta, the *pūrva-Nanda-suta*, to a king named simply as Nanda, condones the inference that Candragupta is alluded to here as a descendant not of Nanda but of a "previous" or an "original" Nanda as distinguished from the Nanda uprooted by Cāṇakya. It is quite usual to speak of "previous" kings as *pūrva;* the *Mudrā-Rākṣasa* itself (Act

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I, after V. 21) furnishes an example: Cāṇakya: *bhoḥ śreṣṭhin alam āśaṃkayā. bhītāḥ pūrva-rāja-puruṣāḥ.....deśāntaraṃ vrajanti.* The same drama (Act IV, V. 15) speaks also of:.....*Maurye nave rājani.* When, therefore, Mahāpadma usurped the throne, he would naturally be regarded as a new king and hence described as a *nava rājā;* while his predecessors would be known as *pūrva-rājānaḥ.* And, when he and his successors proceeded to affect the style "Nanda" which his predecessors had adopted, people would naturally distinguish him and his successors as *nava-Nanda-rājānaḥ* from his predecessors who would be described as *pūrva-Nanda-rājānaḥ.* The fame of Mahāpadma as a powerful warrior-monarch added to his ruthless policy towards other rulers, probably helped to cast into the shade of oblivion the name and fame of his immediate predecessors; it is by a lucky chance that we find preserved to us, in the *Bṛhatkathā*, an allusion to the Earlier Nandas. We need not be puzzled to explain why Candragupta, although he belonged to the (Earlier) Nanda stock, did not continue this dynastic style; the style, having been affected by the low-born Mahāpadma and his line, had acquired odious associations. In the same way, in our own days, the name of the House to which the Sovereign of England belongs was changed, after the Anglo-German war, from "Hanover" to "Windsor."

(VII)

Upon the status of the Mauryas, Buddhist evidence throws some light which we cannot well ignore. In the *Divyāvadāna*, for which a date later than the 3rd century A.D. cannot be proposed, we come across two stories pointing to a kṣatriya-origin for the Mauryas. In one of them it is related how Vindusāra came to marry the Brahmin lady who was later to become mother of Aśoka. Soothsayers had foretold her imperial dignity. Her father assisted in fulfilling the prophecy by taking her to Vindusāra's court. Ladies of the royal harem took due note of the beauty of this new arrival, grew jealous and conspired in assigning to her the menial duties of a barber, hoping thereby to create an insurmountable barrier between her and the king. Even then, the prophecy must come true. Knowing her future, she improved her hand

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in shaving the king who naturally one day offered her a boon. With astonishing alacrity, she desired union with him. "How can that be?," asked Vindusāra, "you are a barber-woman, while I am a king, a kṣatriya, duly anointed." Thereupon she revealed her history, and Vindusāra made her his chief queen.[12]

The other story is to this effect. Aśoka was ill, and doctors had failed. His queen Tiṣyarakṣitā, clever and unscrupulous, requested a doctor to bring to her any patient who might be similarly affected. The request is met; and the unfortunate man's stomach ripped open, only to expose a big worm (tapeworm?). To kill this worm, various pungent agencies are applied without avail till onion is given a trial, and at its touch the worm dies. This discovery leads the queen to entreat Aśoka to eat onions and be cured. But the king avows his prejudice: "How can I, a kṣatriya, eat onions?" To this his consort replies with commendable tact: "You can do so, to save your life, certainly. Onion is here no more than a medicine." The persuasion prevails, and Aśoka is whole again.

It will be observed that, in both accounts allusion is made to the kṣatriya-status of the Mauryas, not aggressively but incidentally, showing that the stories were no more fabrications designed to glorify Aśoka or his ancestors, if indeed caste counted for much in Buddhist eyes. They have on the contrary the ring of a genuine tradition. They were at any rate accepted as genuine traditions in Buddhist circles, already before the 3rd century A.D.

(VIII)

To conclude. The *Purāṇas*, which betray the age of their redaction by bringing down the dynastic account to the 836th year after the coronation of Mahāpadma (425 A.D.) and no further[13], know nothing about Candragupta's low birth but assert that his immediate predecessors, the *nava-Nandas*, were Śūdra-born on the mother's side. These nava-Nandas had, according to the *Purāṇas*, themselves been preceded by two

12 Cf. Rajendralal Mitra, *Nepalese Buddhist Literature*, p. 6.
13 *JASB.*, 1925, pp. 211 ff.

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kings named *Nandi*-vardhana and Mahā-*Nandi*. The *Bṛhatkathā*, as preserved in two Sanskrit redactions, agreeably to the *Purāṇas*, represents as a Śūdra the Nanda king who immediately preceded Candragupta; but it does not ascribe a Śūdra origin to Candragupta himself who is moreover described as a scion of the *pūrva-Nandas*, that is, as I think, the earlier Naṇda-line represented by *Nandi*-vardhana and Mahā-*Nandi*. The *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* ascribes (Bk. VIII, ch. 2) to Candragupta's minister a view *highly hostile to low-born and non-hereditary monarchs*. The *Divyāvadāna* represents both Vindusāra and Aśoka, the son and grandson of Candragupta, (as we know from other sources) as kṣatriyas. Would it be wise to discard these converging testimonies and pin our faith on a picture drawn in the *Mudrā-Rākṣasa*, a drama abounding in historical absurdities? The play makes Candragupta's immediate predecessors the Nandas, high-born, against every evidence, a position rightly rejected by Dr. O. Stein. When it makes Candragupta himself low-born, does it deserve greater reliance? I leave it to the scholars to judge.

HABIT KRISHNA DEB

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Hindu Theatre

(An interpretation of Bharata's second Adhyāya)

In this paper† I shall try to reconstruct the technical architectural nature of Hindu Theatre as detailed by Bharata. The text of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* is very much confused and often inaccurate or inadequate, so is the commentary *Abhinavabhāratī*,[1] recently being published in the Gaekwad Oriental Series. Yet both the text and the commentary together give us some detailed idea about the professional theatre of those days.

Dr. P. K. Acharya has not given any useful information about the architecture of the Hindu theatre, in his excellent *Dictionary of Hindu Architecture*.[2] In the vast architectural literature known to the ancient Indians,[3] there does not seem to be any work, with the single exception of *Śilparatna*, which treats of the theatre and its details. I shall herein try to describe the theatre, as far as possible, in Bharata's own words, putting the necessary explanatory notes from Abhinavagupta within [ ] brackets: and I shall reserve my discussions and comments for the supplementary notes at the end of this article. I subjoin three plans of the three varieties of the theatre as described here.*

† After submitting in January last, this paper for publication to the editor, I have come across an article 'Theatre Architecture in Ancient India' by Mr. V. Raghavan, printed in a recent issue of 'Triveni' published in last May or June. It will be seen that our treatment of the subject runs on independent lines: the view about the Raṅgaśīrṣa taken by Mr. Raghavan, though highly plausible, is not clearly seen from the text.

1 I have relied upon the edition in the Gaekwad Oriental Series, which also publishes, for the first time, a portion of the commentary *Abhinavabhāratī*.

2 *A Dictionary of Hindu Architecture*, by Dr. P. K. Acharya, 1927, Allahabad. (Henceforth abbreviated as DHA).

3 DHA in Appendix 1 notes more than one hundred and seventy works dealing, more or less, with architecture.

* These were drawn, according to my suggestions, by Mr. K. C. Pandya, B.E., for which kindness I am indebted to him. I am also obliged to Dr. S. K. De of the Dacca University for going through this paper and making certain suggestions.

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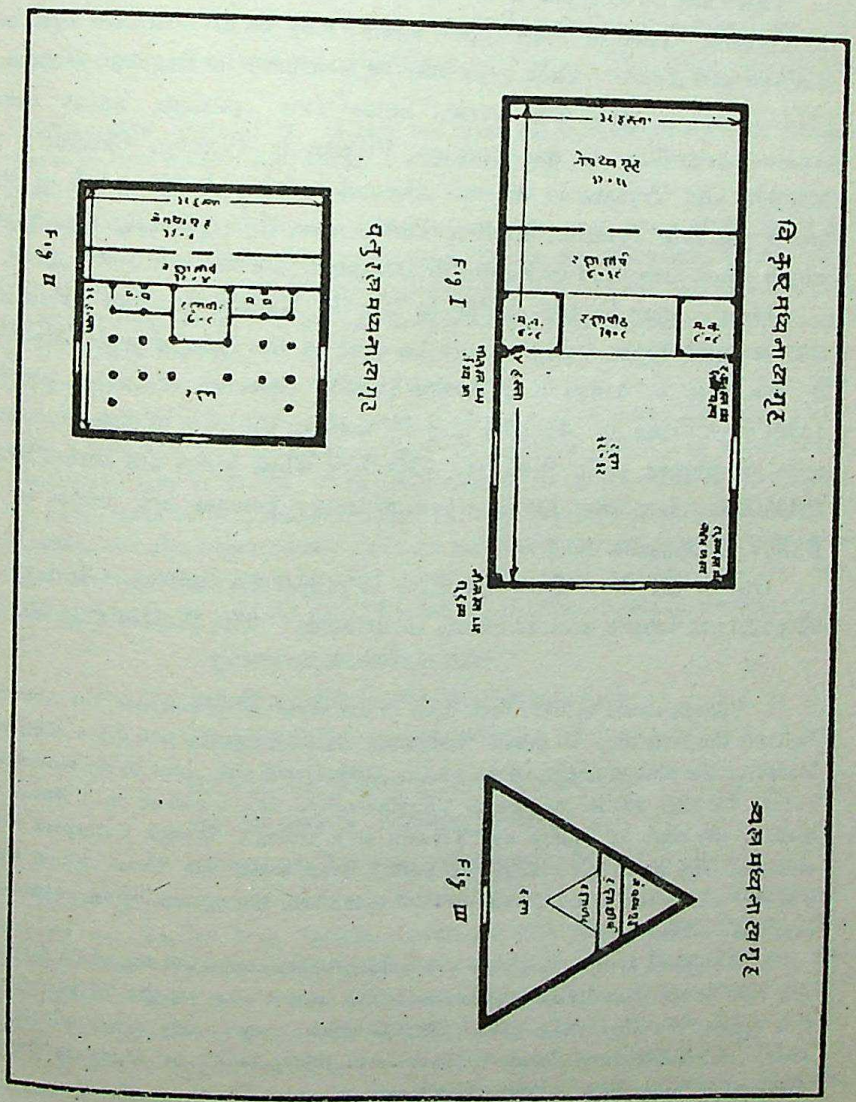

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The Theatre

There are three types of the theatre (1) Vikṛṣṭa[4], (2) Caturasra and (3) Tryasra. Each of these types, again, may be divided into *Jyeṣṭha*, *Madhya* and *Avara*. Each type may be measured in Hastas or Daṇḍas. [Abhinava, on the 8th verse, notes two opinions about these types. According to one opinion Vikṛṣṭa is Jyeṣṭha, Caturasra is Madhya and Tryasra is Avara. Second opinion divides each of the first types into Jyeṣṭha, Madhya and Avara, thus yielding nine types which when measured in Hastas or Daṇḍas would be eighteen in all.[5]]

Jyeṣṭha may be 108 cubits[6] in length, Madhya 64, and Avara 32. Out of these types, Jyeṣṭha may be used in the case of gods, Madhya in the case of kings and Avara in the case of ordinary people. [Abhinava explains: Jyeṣṭha may be used in the case of dramas where gods are heroes, as in Ḍima etc., Madhya when kings are heroes as in Prakaraṇa etc., and Avara when ordinary persons are heroes as in Bhāṇa, Prahasana etc.]

Out of all these types, Madhya is proper for mortals. It may be 64 cubits in length and 32 cubits in breadth.[7] The theatre must not be

4 Vikṛṣṭa seems to have been used in the sense of rectangular, for Abhinava explains the term at p. 50 thus: 'vibhāgena kṛṣṭo na tu catarasru dikṣu sāmyena.' Moreover the measurements given by the *Nāṭyaśāstra* also point to its rectangular nature, for they are in the case of Vikṛṣṭamadhya, 64×32 and so on. Caturasra is used in the sense of square and Tryasra of a triangle, though Caturasra would etymologically mean a rectangle. Gujarāṭī, even to-day has 'Coras' which means a square and which is a direct evolute of caturasra, the process being, caturasra = caurassa = coras.

5 Abhinava accepts this view and looking to the context of the whole Adhyāya, this view of the nine divisions seems to be the correct one; yet the *Nāṭyaśāstra* has two verses, repeated twice (13-14, 25-26), which, very clearly propound the first view. But these verses seem to have been interpolated, as Abhinava has not commented upon them at both the places.

6 The table of these measurements as given in the text is this—8 aṇus = 1 raja: 8 rajas = 1 vāla: 8 vālas = 1 likṣā: 8 likṣas = 1 yūkā: 8 yūkās = 1 yava: 8 yavas = 1 aṅgula: 24 aṅgulas = 1 hasta: 4 hastas = 1 daṇḍa. This list substantially agrees with the one given in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*.

7 The above-mentioned (note 5) nine varieties will be these: Vikṛṣṭajyeṣṭha = 108×64; Vikṛṣṭamadhya = 64×32; Vikṛṣṭāvara = 32×16. Caturasrajyeṣṭha = 108×108; Caturasramadhya = 68×64; Caturasrāvara = 32×32. Tryasrajyeṣṭha,

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bigger than this, because otherwise, it will loose its accoustic properties. If the Maṇḍapa is very extensive, words uttered would become faint and indistinct.

In constructing such a house, the soil must be first examined. It must be even, steady, hard and black or white. The whole field must

Tryasramadhya, Tryasrāvara. (I have not given the measurements of the Tryasra type as no clear indication of the same is seen in the text.) All these measurements given here by me are in accordance with the 10th verse of the text. That verse explicitly states that Jyeṣṭha is 108, Madhya is 64 and Avara is 32 cubits in length, which apparently means that each of the Jyeṣṭha types, should begin with 108 cubits. According to this understanding I have given the measurements above, but they are quite irrelevant looking to the whole discussion in the paper. In the second Adhyāya, verses 20-90 describe the theatre of 64×32 cubits, which the author of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* calls Vikṛṣṭa; and further on the text says that there must be Madhya type only amongst mortals. Connecting both these statements I take this type of 64×32 to be Vikṛṣṭamadhya type. Then verses 91-105 describe the type of 32×32, which the author calls by the name of Caturasra: this also, I take to be Caturasramadhya on the same understanding. But it will be noted that the measurements given by me above, are not in conformity with the Caturasramadhya type as just noted. Both these statements can be harmonised, I think, in only one way. I quote three verses in this connection.

विकृष्टश्चतुरस्रश्च त्र्यस्रश्चैव तु मण्डपः ।
तेषां त्रीणि प्रमाणानि ज्येष्ठं मध्यं तथावरम् । ८ ।
प्रमाणमेषां निर्दिष्टं हस्तदण्डसमाश्रयम् ।
शतं चाष्टौ चतुःषष्टिर्हस्ता द्वात्रिंशदेव वा । १० ।
अष्टाधिकं शतं ज्येष्ठं चतुःषष्टिस्तु मध्यमम् ।
कनीयस्तु तथा वेश्म हस्ता द्वात्रिंशदिष्यते । ११ ।

It will be remembered that in two of the verses taken by us as interpolated, Vikṛṣṭa was equated with Jyeṣṭha, Caturasra with Madhya and Trayasra with Avara. That statement would be relevant by itself, but if it is taken in connection with these three verses just cited, there will be good harmony in the whole construction. Verse 9 expressly states that Jyeṣṭha etc. are the pramāṇas of Vikṛṣṭa etc. and verses 10 gives these measurements. Connecting both these verses we may say that Vikṛṣṭa has the Jyeṣṭha measurements, which is 108 cubits; therefore its varieties should begin with 108 thus: Vikṛṣṭajyeṣṭha=108×64, Vikṛṣṭamadhya=64×32, Vikṛṣṭāvara=32×16. So also connecting verses 9 and 10, Caturasra will have Madhya masurements i.e. its varieties will begin with 64 thus: Caturasrajyeṣṭha=64×64, Caturasramadhya=32×32, and Caturasāvara=16×16. I think that this is the only way to harmonise these otherwise conflicting statements.

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be ploughed with a plough, and bones, nails, skulls and such other things must be taken out. Then in Puṣya constellation, it must be measured with a white string, which may be made of Kārpāsa, Balva, Muñja or Valkala and must have no joints.

In dividing the Vikṛṣṭamadhya type of 64×32 cubits the following points should be noted. Its entire length of 64 cubits may be divided into two equal parts. These parts again should be divided into two. In this last Raṅgaśīrṣa[8] should be constructed.[9]

Thus after the foundation, walls may be constructed and the columns may be placed in Rohiṇī or Śrāvaṇa constellation. In this (I understand Raṅga by this and not the whole field) in the Agni corner the Brāhmaṇastambha may be placed at the bottom of which white

8 Abhinava explains Raṅgaśīrṣa thus: (p. 57 *praviśatāṃ pātrāṇāṃ cāntasthānaṃ* and further on as (p. 63) *tatpātrāṇāṃ viśrāntyai āgacchatāṃ ca guptyai raṅgasya śobhāyai raṅgaśiraḥ kāryaṃ.*

9 This is not quite clear. Abhinava says: After dividing the length of 64 cubits into two, the field of 32 cubits should also be divided into two, thus getting two divisions of 16×32. Out of these two, dividing the latter division of 16×32 into two, Raṅgaśīrṣa may be made of eight cubits in length. Behind it the Nepathyagṛha of 16×32 may be made. But if we follow this, we must divide the portion (in Fig. 1), where I have shown the Nepathyagṛha, into two and make Raṅgaśīrṣa in the back portion of these divisions and must place Nepathyagṛha itself outside it i.e. outside the field of 64×32. Moreover, according to this the plan of the audience-hall will be of 48×32. All this seems to be improper; therefore, sticking to the original and interpreting it rather freely, I have supposed the divisions as shown in Fig. 1. I, therefore, note here the original verses and the commentary thereon:

चतुःषष्टि करान् कृत्वा द्विधाभूतान् पुनस्ततः।
पृष्ठतो यो भवेद्भागो द्विधाभूतस्य तस्य तु।
सममर्द्धं विभागेन रङ्गशीर्षं प्रकल्पयेत्।

द्वात्रिंशत्करम् क्षेत्रम् गृहीत्वा मध्ये सूत्रम् विस्तारेण दद्यात् तस्य मध्ये विस्तारेण सूत्रम् दद्यात्। ततः षोडशहस्तौ द्वौ भागौ भवतः। पृष्ठगतं भागमर्द्धेन विभज्याष्टहस्तं रङ्गशिरः।

On the whole the arrangement seems to be like this: 32×32 cubits=Raṅga. Then there will be portion of 8×32 which will contain Raṅgapīṭha (8×16) and the Mattavāraṇīs (8×8 each). Behind it there will be Raṅgaśīrṣa (8×32) and behind it Nepathyagṛha of 16×32. It will be noted that further on (verses 91-105) the same plan is followed in Caturasramadhya type. Thus the arrangement outlined here seems to be satisfactory.

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things like milk, ghee etc. may be thrown: in the Nairṭya, the Kṣatriyastambha with everything red, like clothes, garlands etc.: in the Vāyavya, the Vaiśyastambha with everything yellow and in the Iśāna, the Śūdrastambha with everything dark, blue may be placed. Moreover at the bottom of each column various metals, too, were to be placed. Then the columns, doors, walls and the toilet-room may be constructed.

On both the sides of Raṅgapīṭha, two Mattavāraṇīs[10] may be constructed (Fig. 1). It should have four columns. [Abhinava explains: The Mattavāraṇīs may be square in form and 8×8 in measure. Apart from these two Mattavāraṇīs, Raṅgapīṭha will be 8×16.] These two Mattavāraṇīs and Raṅgapīṭha should be higher (than the auditorium) by one and a half cubit.[11] After thus constructing the Mattavāraṇīs

10 The text is not clear as to the use of Mattavāraṇīs. Dr. Acharya (*DHA.*, p. 492) has a word 'Mattavāraṇa' which he takes to be 'entablature.' But it does not fit in here. It is quite evident that the Mattavāraṇīs were some special portions of Raṅgapīṭha. They do not serve the purpose of the modern wings, for that is the sense assigned to Raṅgaśirṣa by Abhinava as quoted above.

11 In this connection the Nāṭyśāstra has: (2, 67-68a)

रङ्गपीठस्य पार्श्वे तु कर्त्तव्या मत्तवारणी।
चतुस्तम्भसमायुक्ता रङ्गपीठप्रमाणतः।
अध्यर्धहस्तोत्सेधेन कर्तव्या मत्तवारणी।
उत्सेधेन तयोस्तुल्यं कर्तव्यं रङ्गमण्डपं।

Abhinava has the following to comment:

अन्येषाम् हस्तप्रमाणोऽत्र (?) यथा रङ्गपीठापेक्षया च सार्धहस्तपरिमाण उच्छ्रायः कार्यो मत्तवारणयाः तयोरिति द्विवचनं ज्ञापकं तं चरितार्थमितीह नोपेक्षित इति तस्या एव यावानुत्सेधस्तावान् रङ्गपीठस्य। तेन ब्रह्मभूभागापेक्षया सार्धहस्तप्रमाणोन्नतं रङ्गपीठमित्युक्तं भवति। तेन मत्तवारणयालोकेनाल्पत्वं रङ्गपीठस्य दुष्प्रेक्षता। एतच्चोत्सेधेनेत्येकवचनेन सूचितम्। अन्यथोत्सेधाभ्यामित्युच्यते।

The interpretation of the text is rendered doubtful by the word 'raṅgamaṇḍapa' used in 68a. What does it refer to—raṅgapīṭha or the auditorium? Commentary of Abhinava apparently notes two distinct interpretations: according to one the Mattavāraṇīs were one and a half cubit higher than the Raṅgapīṭha; according to the other view, which seems to be Abhinava's also, Raṅgapīṭha and Mattavāraṇīs had the same height. This second view on the whole seems to be the correct one, for it would be rather unnatural to find Raṅgapīṭha, which would be the centre of all action, to be lower than the Mattavāraṇīs. Moreover, if

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and Raṅgapīṭha Raṅgaśīrṣa with six planks should be constructed.[12] [Abhinava explains: In the wall, common to Nepathyagṛha and Raṅgaśīrṣa two pillars, having a mutual distance of 8 cubits should first be placed. By their side two other pillars, with a mutual distance of 4 cubits should be placed. These will be four: and the upper and lower planks: thus six.] At this place (of six planks) two doors (for the exit to, and entry from, the Nepathyagṛha) should be made.

In filling up the ground, earth without logs and grass may be used. This black earth must be dug with a plough drawn by two white bulls. The driver and the carriers should not be deformed. Thus the Raṅgaśīrṣa should be made. Surface should not be kūrmapṛṣṭha or matsyapṛṣṭha. Raṅgaśīrṣa, clean like the surface of a mirror, is praised. In this (surface of the Raṅgaśīrṣa) vajras should be paved in the East, vaidūryas in the South, pravāla in the North and gold in the middle.[13]

After thus completing the Raṅgaśīrṣa, woodwork may be commenced. It must have ūha, pratyūha, sañjavana, various birds and beasts, sālabhañjikā, nirvyūha, kuhara, vedikā, various other arrangements, yantra, jāla, gavākṣa, pīṭha, dhāraṇī and kapotāli. It should be decorated by various columns supported on different kinds of pavements.

After the woodwork, the walls should be completed. In doing so

the Raṅgapīṭha and Mattavāraṇis had the same height, it would fit in with two other points. The graded seats of the auditorium require the last row of the seats to be equal in height with the Raṅgapīṭha, according to Abhinava: and our suggestion that the Mattavāraṇīs may have been used as Kakṣās would also have some value only if we take it to have the same height as the Raṅgapīṭha.

Incidentally, I note that Raṅgaśīrṣa was higher than the Raṅgapīṭha in the Vikṛṣṭamadhya type and of the same level in the Caturasramadhya type. See verse 104 (Second Adhyāya).

12 The purpose of Raṅgaśīrṣa has alrady been explained (note 8). Also it seems that there was no wall between the Raṅgapīṭha and Raṅgaśīrṣa and that there was a curtain instead (see above). Moreover in Adhyāya fifth verse seventh it has been pointed out that musicians also should sit in the Raṅgaśīrṣa thus: Mārdaṅgika facing the east, between the two doors of the Nepathyagṛha: Pāṇavika on his left: Gāyana (ka?) on the south of the Raṅgapīṭha, facing the north: Gāyākīs in front of him on the north, facing the south, and Vaiṇika on their left, and on their right two Vaṃśakārikas. (These places have been shown by the respective figures in Fig. 1.).

13 For pavement comp. *DHA.*, p. 137.

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it should be noted that neither a column nor a nāgadanta nor a window nor a koṇa nor a pratidvāra should come just opposite a door.[14]

The whole nāṭyamaṇḍapa must be cave-like[15] and it must have two ohūmis. [There were various opinions about these two bhūmis. According to one view they were Raṅgapīṭha's higher and lower portions, like the modern cellar. (?) Second view was this: there must be another wall running all round the Mattavāraṇīs, just as there are two walls with an intermediate passage for circumambulation in a temple. These were the two bhūmis. According to still another view there was another maṇḍapa on the terrace: while others took it as a dvibhūmi, for the text reads thus: *kāryaḥ śailaguhākāro dvibhūmir nāṭyamaṇḍapaḥ*. Abhinava's view seems to be like this: From the Raṅgapīṭha, whence the seats for the audience commence, to the exit-door bhūmis should be made, each one higher than the former, the last having a height equal to the height of the Raṅgapīṭha, so that the rows of the seers may not cover one another.] There must be windows with gentle ventilation in the maṇḍapa so that it will be nirvāta, and the uttered voice will be properly heard. After constructing the walls in such a manner that they may not hinder the accoustic properties of the hall, they (walls) may be besmeared.[16] Outer side may be white-washed; and after the inside of the walls is besmeared, sprinkled over, and properly levelled, paintings may be drawn on them. Males, females, creepers etc. may be painted thereon.

Thus the Vikṛṣṭamadhya theatre[17] should be constructed. Now we shall discuss the nature of the Caturasramadhya type.[18]

All the sides must be of 32 cubits each. (Fig. 2) All the details mentioned in the case of the Vikṛṣṭamadhya may be resorted to in the Caturasramadhya too. The walls may be made of bricks. On the Raṅgapīṭha there must be ten columns strong enough to bear the burden of the maṇḍapa. [Abhinava explains: The whole field (32 × 32)

14 Comm.....*dvāreṇa viddhaṃ parasparasammukhībhūtamadhyaṃ na kuryāt*.

15 This shape is apparently preferred for accoustic properties.

16 Cf. Comm. *bhittilepo bhaṇga(śaṅkha)vālukāśuktikālepaḥ*.....

17 Cf. note 7

18 Cf. note 7

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should be divided, in its length and breadth, in eight parts thus making 64 squares, (4×4 each). In the middle of it, Raṅgapīṭha (8×8) should be made.[19] Behind it, there will remain a field, 12 cubits in breadth and 32 cubits in length, out of which Raṅgaśīrṣa (4×32) should be made. Behind it there may be made the Nepathyagṛha (8×32)] (Fig. 2).

In this, four columns should be placed with regard to Raṅgapīṭha, at its four corners. Then one, four cubits distant from the Agni corner, on the south of it; and one, four cubits distant from the Nairṭya corner, also on the south of it. Thus two. So also in the north. Then on the East (of the Raṅgapīṭha), two more columns each four cubits distant from the Iśāna and Agni corners respectively. Thus ten. (These ten columns have been shown in Fig. 2).

Outside these columns, seats of wood or bricks, for the spectators may be arranged like the series of steps. Each row must be one cubit higher than the preceding one, so that the spectators may have a complete view of the Raṅgapīṭha.

In this Raṅga, first six columns and then eight columns should be placed. [Abhinava explains: Two columns mutually eight cubits distant and respectively four cubits distant from the two columns placed on the south of the Raṅgapīṭha should be placed. Then one column should be placed four cubits distant from and on the south of the eastern column put by the side of the Āgneya column. Thus in the north too. Thus six] (These six columns are shown in Fig. 2).

Abhinava explains the details about the other eight columns thus: one column, on the north of the southern wall, four cubits distant from the wall and the column already placed, should be placed in the eastern

19 In explaining the view of the Upādhyāya regarding columnation, Abhinava calls Raṅgapīṭha to be of 8×32, which seems to include the Mattavāraṇīs. But previously he gives 8×8 as the measurement of the Raṅgapīṭha. If now we want to apply the proportional measurement of Vikṛṣṭ type to the Caturasra type (Cf. verse 92) and if the Raṅgapīṭha is to be 8×8, then the Mattavāraṇīs must measure 4×8 each. But verse 103 is clear in saying that Mattavāraṇīs should be constructed according to the measurement given before (*pūrvapramāṇanirdiṣṭa kartavyā mattavāraṇi*). What is this *pūrvapramāṇa*? It cannot be the one given in the Vikṛṣṭa type that is 8×16. I have, however, shown the Mattavāraṇīs in Fig. 2, as I understand them to be.

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direction. So also on the south of the north wall. Then two columns according to the parts of the Raṅga, four cubits distant from the eastern wall. Thus eight.[20] (These eight columns are shown in Fig. 2).

The above view about the column-arrangement seems to be that of Śaṅkuka and others. Abhinava has also noted that according to some other writers these last columns should be in the Nepathyagṛha. Abhinava, moreover, quotes some verses incorporating the view of the Vārtikakṛt: but these verses, as printed, are so fragmentary in character that it is very difficult to get any clear idea about the columnation therefrom.

Calling this theatre (prekṣamaṇḍapa) 'candrasahodara', according to the view of the Upādhyāya, Abhinava explains his (Upādhyāya's) view about the columnation thus: The theatre is divided in three parts, adhobhūmi[21] raṅgapīṭha and raṅga. The first ten columns should be placed in the *adhobhūmi*. I do not attempt to give its details here as, once more, the commentary is fragmentary at this place. Then the next six columns should be placed on the Raṅgapīṭha thus: four columns, mutually four cubits distant, should be placed at the four corners of the Raṅgapīṭha, which is 8×32. Then other two. Thus six. These (six) should be eight cubits distant. Then two tulās should be made in the Raṅgaśīrṣa which will be 4×32. In each of these tulās four columns, mutually eight cubits distant, should be placed. Thus eight."[22]

Then the Nepathyagṛha may be constructed. Then one door for entering into Raṅgapīṭha should be placed. Another door for the

20 It will be seen that this accounts for six and not eight columns. We have shown the seventh and eighth columns in Fig. 2 by interrogative marks.

21 It has been mentioned before (cf. note 11) that Raṅgapīṭha and Mattavāraṇīs must be higher than the Raṅga, and Raṅgaśīrṣa even higher than the Raṅgapiṭha, and as Raṅga (auditorium) is separately mentioned in the view, I take Adhobhūmi to be Nepathyagṛha. But this whole portion of the commentary is so hopelessly confused that, though I have ventured the above suggestion, no coherent interpretation seems possible at this stage.

22 As the details of the first ten columns, according to Upādhyāya are not explicit, I have not given a separate figure for them. On the whole Abhinava's first view, according to which we have drawn the Fig. 2 seems to be reasonable.

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entrance of the people should be placed in front. The second door should be in the front of the Raṅga.[23]

23 The text has this:

द्वारं चैकं भवेत्तत्र रङ्गपीठप्रवेशनम् ।
जनप्रवेशनम् चान्यदाभिमुख्येन कारयेत् ।
रङ्गस्याभिमुखं कार्य्यं द्वितीयं द्वारमेव तु ।

कद्याविभागेन तावत् द्वै (द्वे) द्वारे तेन द्वारमित्तिजातावेकवचनम्। एकशब्दश्च राश्यभिप्रायेण राशिकरणे च निमित्तं पात्रप्रवेशोपायनं तथा च कद्याध्याये वक्ष्यति "ये नेपथ्यगृहद्वारे मया पूर्वं प्रकीर्तिते। तयोर्भागडस्य विन्यास (१३-२) इति। (जन प्रवेशनं च तृतीयद्वारं नेपथ्यगृहस्य येन भार्य्यामादाय नटपरिवारः प्रविशति। अन्यत्तु द्वारमाभिमुख्येन पूर्वस्यां दिशि कुर्य्यात् द्वारवृत्त्या सामाजिकप्रवेशनार्थम्.....। एवं चतुर्द्वारं नाट्यगृहम्।

This means that according to Abhinava's view there were four doors thus: two as explained above (in the nepathyagṛha wall), one by which *bhāryāmādāya naṭaparivāraḥ praviśati* and one in the auditorium. This is one view. But Abhinava also notes another view thus (p. 68):

रङ्गपीठस्य यत्पृष्ठं रङ्गशिरश्तत्र द्वितीयमिति राश्यापेक्षयैकवचनम्। तेन द्वारद्वयमेव रङ्गशिरसि नेपथ्यगतपात्रेप्रवेशाय। चकारादन्य (प्रवेशा) र्थम् (?)& जनप्रवेशनद्वारं च त्रीणि वा कार्याणि मतान्तर इति संगृहीतं भवति।

The text, I think, should be read thus.....

नेपथ्यगतपात्रप्रवेशाय। चकारादन्य (प्रवेशा)र्थम (?) जनप्रवेशनद्वारम्।

This view, then, recoguises only three doors,—2 from the Nepathyagṛha and one in the auditorium.

But let us have a clearer view of the text itself regardless of the commentary. All the views are agreed as regards the two doors in the Nepathyagṛha wall. Here again, two more doors are prescribed, one as Nāṭyaśāstra calls it 'raṅgapīṭhapraveśanam' and another in the auditorium. Now the 'raṅgapīṭhapraveśanaṃ dvāram' should mean a door in the wall between Raṅgapīṭha and Raṅgaśīrṣa; for the first two doors which are in the wall between Nepathyagṛha and Raṅgaśirṣa, would lead to Raṅgaśīrṣa and not to Raṅgapīṭha; but here is an explicit statement that it should lead to Raṅgapīṭha, which forces us, I think, to take a door somewhere in the wall between Raṅgapīṭha and Raṅgaśīrṣa. There is an injunction in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* itself that some characters should enter by southern door and some by northern door (13-41). To which of two doors does this refer? Not to the doors in the Nepathyagṛha wall, for they will lead to Raṅgaśīrṣa and not to Raṅgapīṭha. Now if we understand one more door in the wall between Raṅgaśīrṣa and Raṅgapīṭha, as above, that will not help, for how can the actors enter from two different doors as noted above, if there was one door only, leading to Raṅgapīṭha? Therefore, I venture to make a suggestion. If we take this singular in 'eka dvāraṃ' as a collective use, as is done by Abhinava,

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In the Caturasra, the Raṅgapīṭha should be of 8 cubits (8 × 8). Also two Mattavāraṇīs of the same measure as given before, should be made by the side of the Vedikā.[24] Raṅgaśīrṣa should be raised in the Vikṛsta type and even in the Caturasra type.

Now the characteristics of the Tryasra type. It should be tryasra i.e. triangular: in the middle of which the Raṅgapīṭha should be triangular only. In such a theatre, the door also should be in the same corner: and the other (door) should be made at the back of the Raṅgapīṭha. With regard to the walls, columns etc. in this type of the theatre the details as given for Caturasra should be followed.

Side-lights

1 It has been noted before that the *Śilparatna* has some discussion about the theatre. But when we compare the description given above with that of the *Śilparatna*, it will, at once, be seen that the *Śilparatna* tries to describe the Nāṭyamaṇḍapa which was usually attached to the Royal palace, while the *Nāṭyaśāstra* describes the usual theatres which were mostly meant for the ordinary people. It is a recognised fact that the rich ancient Indian kings had pleasure gardens, small theatres etc. attached to their spacious palaces, generally

we may understand two doors which would lead to Raṅgapīṭha. These two doors would be distinct from the two doors in the Nepathyagṛha wall; and these two doors leading to Raṅgapīṭha, would most probably be in the partition wall between the two Mattavāraṇīs and Raṅgaśīrṣa (for there was no wall between the Raṅgapīṭha and Raṅgaśīrṣa, as it had a curtain). Thus we can explain the two different doors for the entrance of the actors, because at 13, 41 *Nāṭyaśāstra* uses the terms *pārśvadvāramathottaraṃ* and *pārśvadāraṃ tu dakṣiṇaṃ*, which would suggest two doors on the two sides evidently leading to the two Mattavāraṇīs, which formed a part of the Raṅgapīṭha. This may also explain Kakṣāvibhāga (see above.).

If we believe in the suggestion made above that the curtain had no place in our ancient theatre but was added later on, then the view of three doors to our theatre would be the earlier one, as, then, the two doors in the Nepathyagṛha wall would naturally lead the characters in the presence of the audience. The view of five doors—2 in the Nepathyagṛha wall, 2, in the wall between Raṅgaśīrṣa and Raṅgapīṭha, and one in the auditorium—would be later i.e. would refer to that time when the curtain was added to our theatre.

24 Cf. note 19.

25 *Śilparatna*, TSS., 1920, ed. by T. Gaṇapati Śāstrī.

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for the diversion of their queens. That the *Silparatna* describes such a theatre, is borne out by the following:[26]

प्रासादसम्मुखे कुर्यान्मण्डपानां चतुष्टयम्।
मुखमण्डपमादौ तु प्रतिमामण्डपं ततः।
स्नानमण्डपमन्यं हि नृत्तमण्डपमेव च।

Here nṛtta is meant as nāṭya, though often it would seem that only nṛtta was meant. I am appending herewith the relevant verses from the *Silparatna* (See Appendix I.). Inspite of the text being hopeless, it will be seen that the general plan described therein corresponds to the plans as given by the *Nāṭyaśāstra*.

2 I have noted three types of theatre as described by Bharata. The *Bhāvaprakāśanam*,[27] however, has the following three types: Caturasra, Tryasra, and Vṛtta. They are defined by Śāradātanaya thus:

परमण्टपिकैः षड्भिः पौरजानपदैः सह।
राज्ञः सङ्गीतकं यत्र वृत्ताख्यो रङ्गमण्टपः।
वारकन्याऽमात्यवणिक्सेनापतिसुहृत्सुतैः।
यत्र सङ्गीतकं राज्ञः चतुरस्रः स कथ्यते।
ऋत्विक्पुरोहिताचार्यैः सहान्तःपुरिकाजनैः।
महिष्या सह यत्र स्यात्त्र्यस्रोऽसौ रङ्गमण्टपः

But no measurements are given in this connection by the author. Evidently these are the types of theatres attached to Royal palaces.

3 It seems that *Mānasāra*,[28] a very comprehensive treatise on Indian Architecture, has a chapter on this type of theatre attached to Royal palaces. Dr. P. K. Acharya summarises the chapter as follows:

"It (madhyaraṅgavidhāna) is provided with dwarf pillars or pilasters (aṅghri-pāda) and consists of various members (masuraka, vedi, māṇeka, kuṭṭima, upapīṭha etc.) and with eight or sixteen kṣudra-nāsī. The upper portion is adorned with figures of leographs (vyāli)

26 *Loc. cit.*, p. 199
27 *Bhāvaprakāśana*, GOS., 1930.
28 *Mānasāra*, ed. by Dr. P. K. Acharya, 1914.

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and crocodiles (makara). From the last but one verse of the chapter it is evident that there must be a close connection between the mukta-prapāṅga, on the one hand and the simhāsana, the makara-toraṇa and kalpa-vṛkṣa, on the other hand, the latter three subjects being discussed in the immediately preceding and the following chapters.

.....it will be seen that the materials used for the mukta-prapāṅga etc. are wood, stone, brick (terra-cotta?) and various kinds of metals (loha, literally iron)."

The above account however, does not furnish any specific details about the theatre.

Before concluding this paper, I wish to place before the learned world two or three points for clarification:

1 The question whether our theatre had a roof or it was, like the Greek theatre, open overhead, has not been touched by the *Nāṭya-śastra;* but there are indications which would force us to admit the existence of some kind of roof. In the section on column-arrangement the *Nāṭyaśāstra* requires the columns to be *śastā maṇḍapadhāraṇe* (2, 94) and *dṛḍhānmaṇḍapadhāraṇe* (2, 97), which would indicate that there was a roof. This is corroborated by the fact that Bharata praises a 'śailaguhākāra' (2, 84) theatre, which, too, would suggest a roof: and Abhinava, in explaining, why the theatre should not be too wide or too narrow, stresses on the point of its properties of resounding (*anuraṇana*, p. 54), which again points to a roof. The Nāṭyaśāstra itself frequently uses the term *nāṭyamaṇḍapa* for the theatre. All this, I think, shows that there was a roof to our theatre.

2 The position of curtain in our theatre is doubtful, for the *Nāṭyaśāstra* has no specific statement with regard to it. Neither the term 'paṭī' nor the term 'yavanikā' occurs in the second Adhyāya, though 'yavanikā' is apparently, known to the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, as it occurs at 5, 11-12. Of course this may suggest an earlier character of the contents of the second Adhyāya. Though I do not know on what grounds Keith and others put the curtain between Raṅgaśīrṣa and Raṅgapīṭha, I have come across a reference in Abhinava's commentary explaining its position thus: *yavanikā raṅgapīṭhatacchirasormadhye* (p. 212), but there is no reference which gives it a character of parting from the

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middle. I think, this character given by European scholars to 'paṭi,' in explaining stage-direction 'apaṭikṣepeṇa', has no ground. Moreover it is believed that the word 'yavanikā' takes its origin from the practice of using foreign cloth for the curtain. In this connection Dr. S. K. De writes to me: "I have found in some Mss. and printed texts of some Sanskrit dramas, the word 'yavanikā' is given as 'yamanikā'. I suppose that this is the true form of the word, as the word then etymologically, would mean 'a covering or a curtain' from root yam, to restrain." I think that the above suggestion is probable for there is no sense in deriving 'yavanikā' from the above-mentioned practice. If the idea of curtain was not borrowed from the Greeks, why should the material be borrowed? There is, by the way an attempt made to derive 'yavanikā' from root yu, yunoti āvṛṇoti anayā iti (Commentary to *Kuṭṭanīmatam*, ed. by T. M. Tripathi, p. 359).

In this connection there is one other doubtful point. Had our theatre more than one curtain at any time or was the curtain ever raised? Dāmodaragupta in the *Kuṭṭanīmataṃ* describes the performance of Ratnāvalī, wherein, the following occurs: The king with Vidūṣaka is on the raṅgapīṭha. Two maids come and after much dancing and delivering the message to the queen, go way *babhūvatur javanikāntarite*). After that the queen's entrance is thus described: *apanītatiraskariṇī tato'bhavannṛpasutā samaṃ ceṭyā.* What does this mean? The commentator says: *apanītā tiraskariṇī dūrikṛtā pātrācchādakajavanikā yayā tādṛśī abhavat.*[29]

Was the curtain, then, actually dūrīkṛta or apanīta? It seems the word apanīta, in the text, is unmistakable. May it be that the curtain was actually removed wholly at some time in the progress of the act? We often find in the extant Sanskrit dramas the stage-direction 'nepathye.' Now if the curtain, which was supposed to be between the Raṅgapīṭha and Raṅgaśīrṣa, was down all the while what would be the propriety of

29 The *Nāṭyaśāstra* has a doubtful phrase, which too, seems to be pointing to the curtain being removed or it may even refer to a drop curtain, I am not sure. But here is the reference *dhruvāyāṃ saṃvṛtāḥāṃ paṭe vairāpakarśatā(te)kāryaḥ praveśaḥ pātrāṇāṃ nānārtharassaaṃbhavaḥ* XII, 2-3; and because the absence of the curtain would also be indicated by the practice of the musicians sitting in the Raṅgaśīrṣa: there will be no sense in their sitting behind the curtain.

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the word 'nepathye'? Nepathyagṛha, as we know, was situated behind Raṅgaśīrṣa; and as Raṅgaśīrṣa would be divided from Raṅgapīṭha by the curtain, it would be the place where, if the curtain was down all the while, speeches from behind the curtain should be uttered. But this apparently cannot be meant by the word 'nepathye', which must refer to Nepathyagṛha. Therefore the stage-direction 'nepathye' must have come into vogue at a time when the curtain was raised: or may it not, more probably, be reminiscent of a time when our theatre had no curtain, which then we shall have to take as added later on? This last alternative is more probable because according to the original plan of the theatre as given in the second Adhyāya, it had no place in the theatre, and because the absence of the curtain would also be indicated by the practice of the musicians sitting in the Raṅgaśīrṣa: there will be no sense in their sitting behind the curtain.

That there was no drop-curtain to our theatre seems to be clear enough, though the reference from Bharata, just quoted would suggest otherwise, from the peculiar ending of the acts in our extant dramas. Our acts never ended with any incident which may be called dramatic or sudden as is often the case in our modern dramas. Prof. Hudson has drawn attention to the similar condition of the Greek theatre and the acts in all our Sanskrit dramas end usually by some description of the time of the day or by some other quiet suggeston to the characters on the stage to exit. This peculiar time endings of our acts are due to the absence of the drop-curtain.

3 There is one passing reference in *Nāṭyaśāstra* which puzzles me to some extent. In 13th Adhyāyā, which has been designated by Abhinava as Kakṣyādhyāya, though in the printed copies we find it called as Karayuktidharmīvyañjaka, it is stated:

ये नेपथ्यगृहद्वारे मया पूर्वं प्रकीर्तिते ।
तयोर्भाण्डस्य विन्यासो मध्ये कार्यः प्रयोक्तृभिः ।
कक्ष्याविभागो निर्देश्यो रङ्गपीठपरिक्रमात् ।
परिक्रमेण रङ्गस्य ह्यन्या कक्षा भवेदिह ।
कक्ष्याविभागे ज्ञेयानि गृहाणि नगराणि च ।
उद्यानारामसरितस्त्वाश्रमा अटवी तथा ।

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पृथिवीसागरश्चैव त्रैलोक्यं सचराचरम् ।
वर्णनैः सप्तद्वीपाश्च पर्वता विविधास्तथा ।
आलोकश्चैव लोकश्च रसातलमथापि वा ।
दैत्यानामालयश्चैव गृहाणि च वनानि च ।
नगरे च वने चापि वर्षे वै पर्वते तथा ।
दूरं वा सन्निकृष्टं वा देशन्तु परिकल्पयेत् ।
पूर्वं प्रविष्टा ये रङ्गे ज्ञेयास्तेऽभ्यन्तरे बुधैः ।
पश्चात् प्रविष्टास्ते ज्ञेयाः कक्षाभावे तु मध्यतः ।
तेषां तु दर्शनेच्छुः सन् प्रविशेद् रङ्गमण्डलम् ।
दक्षिणाभिमुखः कूर्या.....दालनिवेदनम् ।

While explaining the two doors from Nepathyagrha, Abhinava points out that these should be placed kakṣyāvibhāgena. What is this kakṣyā? Was Raṅgapīṭha actually divided into certain parts to represent different places, as enumerated above in verses 4-7? But then the third verse which seems to mean that in the absence of kakṣāvibhāga it should be shown or represented (nirdeśya) by means of circumambulation on the raṅgapīṭha or raṅga, which term is here used in the sense of raṅgapīṭha. The usual stage-direction 'parikramya', so frequently seen in our Sanskrit dramas would support this. The same absence of kakṣāvibhāga is indicated by verse 8, wherein it is stated: "As there are no kakṣās, those characters who enter first should be considered as in the inner apartment, those who enter afterwards would be in the outer apartments and those who enter still later should stand facing the south." This too would point to the absence of kakṣā. Also the statement in verse 6 that those places should be known by varṇana suggests kakṣābhāva, but verse 4 again raises a doubt, for we are to understand gardens etc. by kakṣāvibhāga. But if there were no kakṣās, as it seems, why then does Abhinava prescribe doors kakṣāvibhāgena? Or was the kakṣāvibhāga imaginary? Or may it, after all be the function of the Mattavāraṇīs, which were in a sense distinct from the Raṅgapīṭha and yet formed a part of it? If we accept Abhinava's second view that Raṅgapīṭha and Mattavāraṇīs had the same height this would be rendered possible.

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APPENDIX I

I I append, here, the relevant verses from the *Śilparatna* (TSS), p. 201, verses 60-67.

अथ नाट्यमण्डपः

पर्यन्ते प्रतियोनिभाजि बहिरूर्ध्वं वोत्तरस्याथवा
मध्य(सूत्र)स्थे दलिते ततो विभजिते सम्यक् चतुर्वर्गकैः।
स्यादंशः पदकायतिस्तु वितति(र्द्वा)भ्यां पदाभ्यां युतं
तच्छिष्टा तिरुत्तरं नटनधाम्नो द्वित्रिसंख्यं मतं ॥ ६० ॥
पदं तिस्रः स्तूप्यो वितति(र्द)लस्योत्तरतला-
दुपर्युत्थाधः स्याद्विपदमिति ततस्तु चरणः।
पदं चाधिष्ठानं पदगणनालिन्दचरणा-
न्तराण्यारूढाङ्घ्र्याद्यखिलमुचितं मण्डपमपि (?) ॥ ६१ ॥
एकैकाष्टसु दिक्षु पार्श्वयुगगे द्वे द्वे च भागद्वये
द्वयष्टौ दीर्घलुपा विदिग्गतलुपास्वाबद्धमूलाः पुनः।
कल्प्याश्छेदलुपाद्वयीषु सचलक्षास्तासु (?) कोणोन्मुखा
द्वेधा सर्वलुपान्तरं तु पदमात्रं चित्रपट्ट्युज्ज्वलम् ॥ ६२ ॥
रङ्गं स्वयोनिपरमार्ध इहार्णवाश्रं
वेदाब्धि(रु)त्तरलुपाद्यु चिताङ्गशोभि।
पश्चान्मृदङ्गपदमस्य ततोऽपि पश्चा-
न्नेपथ्यधाम च विभागविदा निधयेम् ॥ ६३ ॥
रङ्गस्य नीप्रवितितिः समसिन्नि मध्य-
स्तूप्या स्वमूलसदनस्य तु पश्चिमायाम्।
स्तूपी च सङ्गमवशात् कुरलेन कल्प्या
प्रायेण हारवितितिः श्रुतिहस्तदैर्घ्या ॥ ६४ ॥
अथवाष्टाविंशतिभिश्चत्वारिंशतिभिः पुनः।
विंशद्भिर्वाथ विभजेत् पर्यन्ताधं पदाप्तये ॥ ६५ ॥
देवस्याग्रे दक्षिणतो रुचिरे नाट्यमण्डपे।
नाहार्धे चतुर्विंशांशे विस्तारं दशभागतः ॥ ६६ ॥
षोडशांशे षडंशा वा कुर्याद्वा सुरमन्दिरे।
मानुष्यराजधान्यादौ युक्त्या लक्षणसंयुतम् ॥
सर्वं समाचरेन्नाट्यमण्डपेषु यथोचितम् ॥ ६७ ॥

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2 In the course of our survey we have seen that rich kings had small theatres attached to their palaces. *Saṅgītaratnākara* has a description of the seat-arrangement in such a theatre, which will be of interest in the present paper. I therefore, quote below the verses describing the seat-arrangement. (*Saṅgītaratnākara*, ASS, VII, 1351-61.).

विचित्रा नृत्यशाला स्यात्पुष्पप्रकरशोभिना ।
नानावितानसंपन्ना रत्नस्तम्भविभूषिता ॥ १३५१ ॥
तस्यां सिंहासनं रम्यमध्यासीनः सभापतिः ॥
वामतोऽन्तःपुराणि स्युः प्रधाना दक्षिणेन तम् ॥ १३५२ ॥
पृष्ठभागे प्रधानानां कोशः श्रीकरणाधिपः ॥
तत्संनिधौ तु विद्वांसो लोकवेदविशारदाः ॥ १३५३ ॥
रसिकाः कवयोऽप्यत्र चतुराः सर्वरीतिषु ॥
मान्यान् ज्योतिर्विदो वैद्यान्विद्वन्मध्ये निवेशयेत् ॥ १३५४ ॥
स्याद्वामेतरभागे तु मन्त्रिणां परिमण्डलम् ॥
तत्रैव सैन्यमान्यानामन्येषामुपवेशनम् ॥ १३५५ ॥
विलासिनो विलासिन्यः परितोऽन्तःपुराणि च ॥
पुरतोऽपि नृपस्य स्युः पृष्ठभागे तु भूपतेः ॥ १३५६ ॥
चारुचामरधारिण्यो रूपयौवनसंभृताः ॥
स्वकङ्कणक्वणत्कारनिर्वाणिजनमानसाः ॥ १३५७ ॥
अग्रिमा वामभागे स्युरग्रे वाग्गेयकारकाः ॥
कथका वन्दिनश्चात्र विद्यावन्तः प्रियंवदाः ॥ १३५८ ॥
प्रशंसाकुशलाश्चान्ये चतुराः सर्वमातुषु ॥
ततः परं तु परितः परिवारोपवेशनम् ॥ १३५९ ॥
अधिष्ठितं सदः कार्यं दक्षैर्वेत्रधरैर्नरैः ॥
अङ्गरक्षास्तु तिष्ठेयुः सर्वतः शस्त्रपाणयः ॥ १३६० ॥
संनिवेश्य सभामेवं नेता संगीतमीक्षते ॥ १३६१ ॥

The arrangement will be somewhat like that as in the annexed chart :

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APPENDIX II

(Here I have given the senses ascribed to various technical terms used during the course of this paper, mostly according to *DHA*.).

ūha = uppermost portion of a column.

pratyūha = lowermost portion of a column. But ūha and pratyūha, are apparently supplementary to one another e.g. inverse and obverse sides of a carved lotus may represent ūha and pratyūha, respectively.

sañjavana = A rectangular shape.

sālabhañjikā = Statuettes.

nirvyūha = A cross circle.

kuhara = A window, interior window.

vedikā = Pedestal.

yantra = An architectural member of the bed-stead, a band, so *DHA*, but here, obviously, it must refer to some other design.

jāla = latticed window.

gavākṣa = a sort of latticed window, with designs like the eyes of a cow.

pīṭha = pedestal, so *DHA*, but it seems that there must be some difference between vedikā and pīṭha. May not vedikā be a portion lower than pīṭha?

dhāraṇi = a type of pillar, a roof, a tree, a kind of tree of which pillars are constructed.

kapotāli = a pegion-house, crown-work, fillet, gable-edge, cornice.

nāgadanta = *DHA* believes this to be a type of window resembling the hood of a serpent. Abhinava says: 'nāgadantaṃ stambhordhvanīca-sthāṃśakaṃ putrikādhāraṇārthaṃ gajamukham iti kecit.'

koṇa = a kind of house, so *DHA*. (?)

pratidvāra = 'avāntara dvāra' so Abhinava.

stambha = column. For detailed information about stambha see *DHA*, under that word.

tulā = A balance, a moulding of the column, a mouth, a beam, but none of these senses is suitable here.

dvāra = door, for some interesting details about door see *DHA*, under that word.

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Kṛṣṇa and Jarāsandha*

In the *Mahābhārata*, at least in its present final form, Kṛṣṇa, though not the hero, is the most striking figure. He appears almost on every important occasion to help, advise, instruct or console the Pāṇḍavas and most of their important achievements are represented to be due to his guidance. In fact, he has been so intricately connected with the Pāṇḍavas that it is now almost impossible to conceive a form of the *Mahābhārata* without Kṛṣṇa. To say that he was not present in the original *Mahābhārata* and was added only in the later editions of the work is merely a guess-work, practically unsupported by the extant evidence.

However, a close and critical study reveals the absence of a harmonious uniformity in the narration of various details of Kṛṣṇa's life and it appears, however indistinctly, that Kṛṣṇa has passed through different stages of development in the *Mahābhārata*. Of course, the aim of the author or the authors of the *Mahābhārata* in its present form was certainly to represent Kṛṣṇa as the god of gods and therefore essentially divine, born amongst men as an incarnation of Viṣṇu, the Supreme God. It naturally follows that one of this description must be invested with all supreme and divine powers and attempts are throughout visible representing Kṛṣṇa in such colours. Yet there are in the *Mahābhārata* descriptions and allusions, though very rare, where Kṛṣṇa appears in a form which is not quite in harmony with the supremely divine character attributed to him and which, in fact, is nothing but purely human. Perhaps these descriptions and allusions represent the primitive stage in the development of Kṛṣṇa in the *Mahābhārata* and it seems that supreme divinity came to be associated with him only later on. This is, however, a hypothesis and requires verification by further research.

Naturally enough, such passages are very few in the present *Mahābhārata*, the wonder rather being how the authors, who were all ardent devotees of Kṛṣṇa, could permit even these to remain as they are.

* The references, unless otherwise mentioned, are to the *Mahābhārata* (Kumbhakonam Edition).

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The story of Jarāsandha and his hostility with Kṛṣṇa comes from these rare passages and a brief account thereof is likely to prove interesting.

The *Mahābhārata* account of Jarāsandha comes mainly from three sources: (1) The story of his previous achievements and conflict with Kṛṣṇa as narrated by Kṛṣṇa[1] himself to Yudhiṣṭhira and also by Vaiśampāyana[2] to Janamejaya directly; (2) the account of his slaughter by Bhīmasena as narrated by Vaiśampāyana[3] to Janamejaya; and (3) other details about him gathered from stray references.

The occasion of Kṛṣṇa's narration to Yudhṣṭhira of Jarāsandha's achievements etc. is this: Having advised Yudhiṣṭhira to perform the Rājasūya sacrifice with a view to raising his deceased father Pāṇḍu from the inferior Yamasabhā to the superior regions in the heaven, Nārada leaves[4] for the city of the Dāśārhas. Yudhiṣṭhira, thinking that the most proper advice on the matter would come from all-knowing[5] Kṛṣṇa, sends his messenger Indrasena to Dvārakā. Kṛṣṇa readily comes and, after due formalities, Yudhiṣṭhira requests him to say sincerely[6] if

1 II. 14ff. 2 II. 23. 3 II. 20ff.

4 The purpose of this visit of Nārada to Dvārakā is not mentioned here. The *Bhāgavata*, X. 70, however, refers to it and there Nārada is shown as informing Kṛṣṇa about Yudhiṣṭhira's decision to hold the Rājasūya and as pressing him to approve of his decision and to attend the sacrifice.

5 II. 13 42ff. where Kṛṣṇa is referred to as सर्वलोकात्पर, अप्रमेय, अज नृपु कामाजात etc. Further, नास्य किंचिदविज्ञातं नास्य किंचिदकर्मजम्। न स किंचिन्न विषहेदिति कृष्णममन्यत ॥ Kṛṣṇa is further referred to as गुरु ह्यू तगुरु। He is thus exalted in the work almost at every place where he appears or is alluded to.

6 II. 55ff.

युधि० उवाच—प्रार्थितो राजसूयो मे न चासौ केवलेप्सया।
प्राप्यते येन तत्ते हि विदितं कृष्ण सर्वशः ॥
यस्मिन्सर्वं संभवति यश्च सर्वत्र पूज्यते।
यश्च सर्वेश्वरो राजा राजसूयं स विन्दति ॥
तं राजसूयं सुहृदः कार्यमाहुः समेत्य मे।
तत्र मे निश्चिततमं तव कृष्ण गिरा भवेत् ॥
केचित्तु सौहृदा देवे (न्देव?) न दोषं परिचक्षते।
स्वार्थहेतोस्तथैवान्ये प्रियमेव वदन्त्युत ॥
प्रियमेव परीप्सन्ते केचिदात्मनि यद्धितम्।
एवंप्रायाश्च दृश्यन्ते जनवादाः प्रयोजने ॥

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Yudhiṣṭhira really possessed the fitness to hold the proposed gigantic sacrifice, with the remark that Kṛṣṇa's word would decide the matter. Kṛṣṇa replies that Yudhiṣṭhira certainly possesses the requisite fitness, yet he cannot possibly begin the Rājasūya unless and until he vanquishes Jarāsandha, the paramount monarch of Magadha. Kṛṣṇa then gives an account of Jarāsandha's achievements[7] and further, at Yudhiṣṭhira's query, narrates[8] his origin etc. Later[9] Janamejaya's curiosity, too, is roused as to the cause of the conflict between Kṛṣṇa and Jarāsandha and Vaiśampāyana quenches it by repeating with some changes the account given by Kṛṣṇa and supplementing it with an account of the origin etc. of Kṛṣṇa himself. The following is a brief account of Jarāsandha based on these passages in the *Māhābhārata*:

He was son of king Bṛhadratha of Magadha born of his two queens as the result of a boon granted by sage Candakauśika. Each queen brought forth a half portion of the boy which she, in disappointment, threw away. Jarā, a Rākṣasī, joined together the two halves to form a human baby which she delivered over to Bṛhadratha. Sage Caṇḍakauśika is said to have conferred on the boy several boons including invincibility in battles, partiality for Brāhmaṇas, extraordinary hospitability, a personal view (साक्षाद्दर्शन) of God Śiva, etc.

Jarāsandha then succeeded his father to the throne and set on the task of subjugating other kings. He vanquished all mighty kings in all directions including the Bhojas, the descendants of Aila, Ikṣvāku, Yayāti, etc., while some became his dependent allies.

त्वं तु हेतूनतीत्यैतान्कामक्रोधौ व्युदस्य च ।
परमं यत्नमं लोके यथावद्वक्तुमर्हसि ॥

7 II. 14ff.

8 II. 17. 12ff. The query referred to is—

कृष्ण कोऽयं जरासन्धः किंवीर्यः किंपराक्रमः ।
यस्त्वां स्पृष्ट्वाग्निसदृशं न दग्धः शलभो यथा ॥ ११ ॥

The query, at least "किंवीर्यः किंपराक्रमः" does not look appropriate in view of Yudhiṣṭhira's previous admission (II. 15. 7) of having suffered from Jarāsandha's terror.

9 II. 23.

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'Śiśupāla,' says[10] Kṛṣṇa to Yudhiṣṭhira, 'relying wholly on (the strength of) Jarāsandha, has become a mighty general (सेनापतिः). Vakra, lord of Karūṣa, attends on him as a disciple. Two more great valiants, viz. Haṃsa and Ḍibika,[11] have joined him. Bhagadatta, the aged mighty king of the Yavanas, a friend of your father, pays homage to Jarāsandha by words and deeds, though in his heart he is as affectionate to you as he was to your father.....The vain Cedi king Puruṣottama (Śiśupāla?),[12] who was not (or could not be) formerly killed by me as he had joined Jarāsandha, regards himself as the best among men. Strengthened by the same alliance the Pauṇḍraka king Vāsudeva who fcolishly puts on my badges[13] has attained supremacy over the Vaṅgas, the Puṇḍras and the Kirātas. Similarly has the mighty, learned and splendidly-equipped king Bhīṣmaka become an adorer of Jarāsandha out of an offensive disregard for us who are his devoted relations, always yield to him and do only what pleases him. The Bhojas, the Pañcālas, etc., terror-stricken, are said to have left their kingdoms and run away to escape in all directions.

Kaṃsa had married Jarāsandha's two daughters, Asti and Prāpti[14] by name. Strengthened by this connection, Kaṃsa tormented his own kinsmen and gained power. The elderly Bhojas, subjected to the cruelty of Kaṃsa and Jarāsandha, entered into a matrimonial alliance[15] with Kṛṣṇa's party with a view to securing safety to their clan (ज्ञाति).

10 II. 14. 10.

तं स राजा जरासन्धमाश्रित्य किल सर्वशः ।
राजन्सेनापतिर्जातः शिशुपालः प्रतापवान् ॥

11 The name appears differently as Ḍivika (II. 14. 39 etc), Ḍimbika (II. 14. 13 etc.), Ḍibhika (II. 20 1 etc.) etc.

12 II. 14. 18ff.

जरासन्धं गतस्त्वेव पुरा यो न मया हतः ।
पुरुषोत्तमविज्ञातो (?) योऽसौ चेदिषु दुर्मतिः ॥
आत्मानं प्रतिजानाति लोकेऽस्मिन्पुरुषोत्तमम् ।

The passage is rather obscure.

13 II. 14. 19.

आदत्ते सततं मोहाद्यः स चिह्नं च मामकम् etc.

14 This name appears as Prāsti in II. 14. 32.

15 The matrimonial alliance was made by giving to Akrūra the daughter of Āhuka (II. 14. 34).

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Kṛṣṇa says that he and Balarāma have acquitted themselves of this task by defending the Bhojas, when tormented by Jarāsandha and have besides killed Kaṃsa and Sunāman.

Observing Jarāsandha ever active in making fresh attacks, the eighteen families of the Bhojas thought it was impossible for any human agency to exhaust Jarāsandha's splendid forces and so they seem to have decided [16] not to face him in an open contest. "Jarāsandha," says Kṛṣṇa, "could not be killed by me during the course of the eighteen rigorous battles that I fought with him." Jarāsandha had gathered further strength in his unparalleled ministers, Haṃsa and Ḍibika, who are said to be **अशस्त्रनिघनौ** i.e., proof against death from weapons. However, in the eighteenth battle some one uttered[17] 'Haṃsa is slain,' on hearing which Ḍibika instantly died in bereavement. On learning of the occurrence Haṃsa too left the field and drowned himself in the Yamunā and Jarāsandha, extremely dispirited at the loss of the ministers, withdrew and returned to his capital leaving Kṛṣṇa and his party to enjoy freely at Madhurā (=Mathurā).

The Yādavas, however, could not enjoy his absence for long. Soon they heard Kaṃsa's widow[18] urging her father to avenge her husband's death. With their past bitter experience of Jarāsandha fresh in their mind they received the news very painfully and, in accordance with their previous resolve not to face him on battle-field, decided to leave Madhurā for safety. So[19] they all fled one by one and took

16 II. 14. 37ff.

भये तु समतिक्रान्ते जरासन्धे समुद्यते ।
मन्त्रोऽयं मन्त्रितो राजन्कुलैरष्टादशावरैः ॥ etc.

17 The lines II. 14. 43-46 are obscure and contradictory as will be shown in a subsequent footnote.

18 II. 14. 49ff.

यदा त्वम्येत्य पितरं सा वै राजीवलोचना ।
कंसभार्या जरासन्धं दुहिता मागधं नृपम् ॥ etc.

Only one is mentioned here and not two (Asti and Prāsti) as in II. 14. 32.

19 Just below (II. 14. 77), however, Kṛṣṇa seems to say that they shifted from Mathurā to Dvārakā being alarmed at Jarāsandha's cruelty in confining other kings.

"वयं चैव महाभाग जरासन्धभयात्तदा ।
मथुरां संपरित्यज्य गता द्वारवतीं पुरीम् ॥"

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shelter in the west making their new settlement near Raivataka mountain at Kuśasthalī (i.e. Dvārakā) which they strongly fortified. 'Thus' says Kṛṣṇa, "we, the offenders of Jarāsandha, left his vicinity, took shelter in Gomanta (Raivataka?) and have since become strong on account of our jointness".[20] Kṛṣṇa further gives a description of the fortifications of Dvārakā and of the strength of the Yādavas and says[21] that the Pāṇḍavas are ever a great support to his party.

Vaiśampāyana, however says[22] that when Kṛṣṇa killed Kaṃsa and reinstalled Ugrasena as king, Jarāsandha raised a huge army, took Kṛṣṇa captive and enthroned his daughter's son on the kingdom of Mathurā. Since then Jarāsandha had been offending Ugrasena and the Vṛṣṇis and this was the cause of the enmity between Kṛṣṇa and Jarāsandha.

At the time of Kṛṣṇa's narration of Jarāsandha's achievements to Yudhiṣṭhira, Jarāsandha had confined several mighty kings in his capital Girivraja with a view to sacrificing them in honour of God Śiva whose favour had enabled Jarāsandha to vanquish them. As has been pointed out in a previous footnote, Kṛṣṇa in II 14-77 seems to say that it was this cruelty of Jarāsandha that made Kṛṣṇa and his party shift from Mathurā to Dvārakā, if the word **तदा** there is taken to refer to the time of this incident just mentioned. The Pāṇḍavas too seem to have been frightened by Jarāsandha's achievements and cruelty.[23]

In reply to a query of Yudhiṣṭhira who is astonished to find Jarāsandha not having already been slain by Kṛṣṇa, Kṛṣṇa says [24] that he

20 II. 14. 56.

एवं वयं जरासन्धादभितः कृतकिल्बिषाः ।
सामर्थ्यवन्तः सम्बन्धाद्गोमन्तं समुपाश्रिताः ॥

21 II. 14. 67,..... **पाण्डवैश्चापि सततं नाथवन्तो वयं नृप।**

22 II. 23. 32ff.

23 II. 15. 7ff. Yudhiṣṭhira says to Kṛṣṇa:—

वयं चैव महाभाग जरासन्धभयात्तदा ।
शङ्किताः स्म महाभाग दौरात्म्यात्तस्य चानघ ॥ etc.

Here **'वयम्'** perhaps refers to the Kauravas in general, although they were not seriously affected by Jarāsandha's achievements (*vide* V. 51. 38ff.).

24 II. 19. 26ff.

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had to neglect or postpone action against Jarāsandha for political reasons. The reasons meant seem to be that Jarāsandha and his allies were extremely powerful, his ministers were very highly skilful in politics and Kṛṣṇa's men (the Kukuras, the Andhakas, the Vṛṣṇis, etc.), powerful as they were, did not dare to resist them.

Winding up his narration, Kṛṣṇa says that Jarāsandha's supremacy has been accepted on all hands and that Yudhiṣṭhira cannot possibly commence the Rājasūya until he vanquishes Jarāsandha. Other powerful kings like Duryodhana, Śiśupāla etc. are likely to yield to Yudhiṣṭhira out of their regard for him. Jarāsandha, however, cannot be made to do so and therefore it is primarily necessary to kill him and to rescue the unfortunate kings confined by him in Girivraja whereby Yudhiṣṭhira's supremacy would be established.

Yudhiṣṭhira praises Kṛṣṇa for his unique advice but prefers giving up the proposed plan of the Rājasūya thinking his forces to be incompetent to vanquish Jarāsandha in view of the fact that even Kṛṣṇa was frightened by Jarāsandha.[25] Kṛṣṇa, however, presses, at Arjuna's suggestion, to try their valour against Jarāsandha and says that, Kaṃsa as well as Haṃsa and Dibika having already been slain, the time is now quite ripe to kill Jarāsandha. He adds that as it is impossible to kill Jarāsandha on battle-field, Bhīma, Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa himself should secretly approach Jarāsandha with the challenge of a combat which he would surely accept and, through vanity, would elect to have an encounter with Bhīma. He adds that recourse to tactics[26] is necessary in the case and assures Yudhiṣṭhira about Bhīma's competence to kill Jarāsandha in the encounter and ultimately prevails upon Yudhiṣṭhira in sending Bhīma and Arjuna with him.

Blessed by Yudhiṣṭhira, the three depart, robed in Kuśa garments as snātaka Brāhmaṇas, and, after passing through several regions, reach the Goratha Mountain whence they can view Jarāsandha's capital. The Brāhmaṇas in the capital are brisk in pacifying the evil omens that have been appearing there lately foreboding disaster to Jarāsandha. The three enter the capital, snatch garlands from Jarāsandha's people in their way and, weaponless as they are, force

25 II. 15ff.

26 II. 20. 2ff.

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their way to Jarāsandha's palace, causing alarm to the citizens. They forcibly enter the palace, through an unusual passage (अद्वारेण), ascend three stories, approach Jarāsandha and call on him with the slighting word भोः. Jarāsandha, thinking them to be Brāhmaṇa guests, rises to welcome them. Kṛṣṇa attributes religious silence to the two brothers who, he says, would break it in the midnight when they would speak to Jarāsandha.

Jarāsandha accordingly rises in the midnight and, though he smells fraud from their robes inconsistent with their alleged vow, offers worship to them. They reject it, Kṛṣṇa saying that they cannot accept worship from an offender and, on Jarāsandha's query, adding that the offence referred to is his cruel confinement of the kings in Girivraja. Kṛṣṇa asks Jarāsandha to release the kings instantly and after revealing the identity of himself and the two brothers, challenges him in an encounter with any of the three in case he does not choose to release the kings.

Jarāsandha[27] refuses to liberate through fear the kings he has confined for some religious purpose and accepts the challenge. He makes ready to fight, installs his son Sahadeva as king and elects to encounter with Bhīma.[28]

The encounter commences on the first day of Kārtika and goes on ceaselessly for fifteen days and nights. Observing Jarāsandha fatigued on the night of the fourteenth day, Kṛṣṇa who has been throughout

27 II. 22. 37ff. The verses 27-36 appear as interpolated and are not in harmony with the spirit of the verses 37ff. occurring in all recensions. Jarāsandha calls Kṛṣṇa as born in the race of cowherds, showers abuses on him for having made a cowardly escape by shifting from his birth-place to the seacoast, says that he (i.e. Jarāsandha) is not of the common rank like Kaṃsa, Pralamba, Bāṇa, Muṣṭika, Indratapana, Keśi, Pūtanā and Kālayavana slain by Kṛṣṇa and expresses delight in having now been enabled to pay off his debt to his son-in-law by killing Kṛṣṇa along with Bhīma and Arjuna. Kṛṣṇa asks him to cease boasting and to come to action, saying he has no doubt about Jarāsandha being killed.

28 II. 22. 41ff. It is said that Kṛṣṇa due to his regard for Brahmā's commands, did not want himself to kill Jarāsandha, recollecting that he was destined to be killed by some one else than the Madhus. II. 24. 5., which occurs as an interpolation, says that Jarāsandha refused to fight with Kṛṣṇa as he was a cowherd and with Arjuna as he was a boy.

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guiding Bhīma beckons to him now to exhaust the foe's energies and thus to hasten his death.[29] Bhīma does accordingly and ultimately breaks Jarāsandha into two pieces, causing terror to all.

The three leave the dead body at the Kuladvāra and Kṛṣṇa drives in Jarāsandha's supreme chariot[30] to the Giri raja prison and sets free the kings confined there. The liberated kings express their excessive gratefulness to Kṛṣṇa and readily agree to please him by assisting Yudhiṣṭhira in his impending performance of the Rājasūya. Kṛṣṇa accepts, though reluctantly,[31] the jewels conferred on him by the kings with a view to saving them from disappointment. Kṛṣṇa then grants safety to Sahadeva, Jarāsandha's son, who requests Kṛṣṇa to forget the past and pays homage through him to Yudhiṣṭhira. The three then return to Indraprastha and Yudhiṣṭhira attributes the entire achievement to Kṛṣṇa's guidance. Having thus made Yudhiṣṭhira fit enough to hold the Rājasūya, Kṛṣṇa leaves for Dvārakā to be able to return in time to join the Rājasūya.

(To be continued)

S. L. Katre

29 Further (II. 25. 1 ff.) Kṛṣṇa also informs Bhīma that Vāyu, Bhīma's father, has forecasted Jarāsandha's death at the hands of Bhīma, this being the reason why Jarāsandha survived even Balarāma's strokes and was spared at Gomanta.

30 II. 25. 25ff. The acquirement of this chariot, which Yudhiṣṭhira, on their return to Indraprastha, dedicates, by way of gratefulness, to Kṛṣṇa, is regarded by the three, especially by Kṛṣṇa, as a unique achievement.

31 II. 25. 52

रत्नभाजं च दाशार्हं चक्रुस्ते पृथिवीश्वराः ।
कृच्छ्राज्जग्राह गोविन्दस्तेषां तदनुकम्पया ॥

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Some Problems of Sāṅkhya Philosophy and Sāṅkhya Literature

The subject has been copiously dealt with by eminent scholars but none of the views offered by them may be accepted as conclusive.

The problems of Sāṅkhya Philosophy are closely connected with those of its literature—so much so, that no treatment of one is possible without the other. For the sake of convenience I am taking up the question of the Sāṅkhya literature first.

The difficulty presents itself mainly with regard to its chronology. That the Sāṅkhya-kārikā of Iśvara Kṛṣṇa, otherwise known as *Sāṅkhya-saptati* and *Kaṇaka-saptati*, *Suvarṇa-saptati or Hiraṇya-saptati* in its Chinese version, is the earliest available as well as the most popular text-book of the Sāṅkhya school, is beyond any question. It has been commented upon by Gauḍapādācārya (7th century A.D.) and Vācaspati Miśra (9th century A.D.), of whose age and identity there is no contention. But it has got two other well-known commentaries, viz. the *Māṭhara Vṛtti* by *Māṭharācārya* and *Jaymaṅgalā* by Śaṅkarācārya. According to Prof. Gopi Nath Kaviraj the colophon wherein the name Śaṅkarācārya occurs is an interpolation and Śaṅkarācārya is a misnomer for 'Śāṅkarārya', a man of unknown age and identity. Leaving aside, therefore, the question of this last-named commentator for discussion, I may venture to propose that the *Māṭhara-vṛtti* is the earliest known commentary on the *Sāṅkhya-kārikā*, as handed down to us. Prof. Sylvain Lévi informs us from Chinese sources that there were three learned men at the court of Kaniṣka[1] in the 2nd century A.D. Thus Aśvaghoṣa was his Guru, Māṭhara his prime minister and Caraka his chief physician. If that be so, then it is quite plausible to seek an identification of the Vṛttikāra 'Māṭhara', with the prime minister Māṭhara of Kaniṣka, and this identification seems to be somewhat justified when we see that Caraka with whom Māṭharā is said to be contemporaneous, gives a clear exposition of the Sāṅkhya system in his *Śarīra-sthāna*.[2] Not only

1 *JBORS.*, 1923.

2 Canto XII.

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this: Aśvaghoṣa also in his *Buddha-Carita* eulogises and enunciat the Sāṅkhya Philosophy through the mouth of a Sāṅkhya teach named 'Arāḍa'.[3] These three learned men, of whom one is an ex pounder of Sāṅkhya and another its great admirer, flourished at t same court and at one and the same time. Is it not possible, therefor that the third man Māṭhara was no other person but the Vṛttikāra Māṭhara, himself? It may be contended, however, that 'Māṭhara' i but a Gotra-name, and not the name of any person, and hence any conclusion on the basis of a Gotra-name would be unjustifiable. In reply it may be said that like Caraka of the *Caraka Saṃhitā*, Māṭhara may be taken as the author of the *Māṭhara-vṛtti*, because the existence of another Māṭhara is not yet established.

Now this Māṭharācārya refers more than a dozen times to Iśvara-kṛṣṇa as 'Bhagavān'. An authority takes a long time before he receives a venerable appellation like 'Bhagavān' from his successors. A century may be taken but the lowest limit. Admitting, therefore, that Māṭhara belonged to the 2nd century A.D., Iśvara-kṛṣṇa can in no way be placed later than the 1st century A.D.[3] I proceed to offer now another evidence by which my previous statement will be corroborated.

That Iśvara-kṛṣṇa received the doctrines of Sāṅkhya by way of succession of disciples, is narrated by himself in Kārikā 71, wherein he states:

शिष्यपरम्परयाऽऽगतमीश्वरकृष्णेन चैतदार्य्याभिः ।
संक्षिप्तमार्य्यमतिना सम्यग्विज्ञाय सिद्धान्तम् ॥

The hierarchy of teachers, however, is given in verse 69 as Muni (i.e., Kapila), Āsuri and Pañcaśikha according to succession. In the *Māṭhara-vṛtti*, however, a succession of Sāṅkhya teachers is mentioned:

" कपिलादासुरिणा प्राप्तमिदं ज्ञानम् । ततः पञ्चशिखेन तस्माद्भार्गवोलूकवाल्मीकि-हारीतदेवलप्रभृतिना गतम् । ततस्तेभ्य ईश्वरकृष्णेन प्राप्तम् । "

3 Mm. H. P. Shastri—5th C.A.D.
Dr. Keith—4th C.A.D.
Dr. B. Bhattacharya—4th C.A.D
Prof. Radhakrishnan—3rd C.A.D.
Dr. Belvalkar—2nd C.A.D.
Dr. S. N. Das Gupta—2nd A.D

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Thus altogether we get 8 names. But the word *prabhṛtinā* indicates that there must have been some other teachers anterior to him. Śaṅkarācārya in his commentary on verse 71 adds two other teachers 'Garga' and 'Gautama'. Cf—

मुनेरासुरेः पञ्चशिखस्तथा गर्गगौतमप्रभृति (lc. अनया शिष्यपरम्परया ।

Guṇaratna, the famous commentator of *Ṣaḍ-darśana-samuccaya* by Haribhadra Sūri, while enumerating several authoritative works on the Sāṅkhya philosophy, names among others one *Atreya-Tantra*, presumably a work of Atri. The number of teachers so far arrived at is 11. Gauḍapāda, in his commentary, quotes the *Ṛṣitarpaṇa-Mantra* a list of Sāṅkhya teachers, though not in a chronological order.

Cf.:—

'सनकश्च सनन्दश्च तृतीयश्च सनातनः ।
आसुरिः कपिलश्चैव वोढुः पञ्चशिखस्तथा ।।"

The number thus increases from 11 to 15 by addition of the names of Sanaka, Sananda, Sanātana and Bodha, who are all mentioned in association with Kapila, Āsuri and Pañcaśikha the well-known authorities of Sāṅkhya, whose historicity of personage has never been doubted.

In the *Atharva-veda-pariśiṣṭa*, however, the *Ṛṣitarpaṇa-Mantra* reads thus:

"सनकस्तृप्यतु, सनन्दनस्तृप्यतु, सनातनस्तृप्यतु, कपिलस्तृप्यतु, वोढ़स्तृप्यतु, आसुरिस्तृप्यतु, पञ्चशिखस्तृप्यतु। सनन्दनं तर्पयामि, सनकं तर्पयामि, विद्वांसं सनातनं तर्पयामि, सननकुमारं तर्पयामि, सनकं तर्पयामि, सहदेवं सनातनं तर्पयामि, प्लुतिं तर्पयामि, पुलस्त्यं तर्पयामि, पुलहं तर्पयामि, भृगुं तर्पयामि, अङ्गिरसं तर्पयामि, मरीचिं तर्पयामि, क्रतुं तर्पयामि, दक्षं तर्पयामि, अत्रिं तर्पयामि, वसिष्ठं तर्पयामि"।

(43. 3, 1-25)

By elimination of the 15 names already mentioned, the total number comes to be 26. The very association of all these names with Kapila, Āsuri and Pañcaśikha is very suggestive. We are naturally tempted to recognise in them the authorities of Sāṅkhya according to succession although it is very difficult to arrange them according to

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strict chronological order. This temptation is, however, justifiable to a certain extent if we consider the following facts:

The above-quoted Mantra is known as the *Ṛṣitarpaṇa Mantra*: in other words, the persons mentioned therein are all designated as Ṛṣis. And we know that Kapila, to whom the foundation of the Sāṁkhya system is universally attributed, bore some epithets peculiar to him, viz. *Paramaṛṣi*, *Ādi-vidvān* and *Muni*. We should naturally expect, therefore, that the followers of his school, too, should, in order to distinguish themselves from other schools, bear some such epithets like *Ṛṣi* or *Vidvān*, if not *Paramaṛṣi* or *Ādi-vidvān* the *paramatva* and *āditva* being exclusively reserved for Kapila, the founder of the school, as a mark of veneration. Curiously enough, we know them not only as Ṛṣis but one of them viz. Sanātana has also been clearly styled as *Vidvāṃsaṃ Sanātanaṃ*. In the *Buddhacarita* also the Sāṁkhya teachers are designated as *vidvāṃsaḥ*.[4]

Secondly, the grouping of all these names together has got a special significance too. In his *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition* Mr. Pargiter has shown that the Ṛṣis of the Mantra just now cited all belonged to different Gotras. From the fact that leaving other Ṛṣis like Dūrvāsas, Yājñavalkya, Viśvāmitra and others aside, a certain number of Ṛṣis of different Gotras has been mentioned together and that also in association with so well-known teachers as Kapila, Āsuri and Pañcaśikha, the only significance that can be deduced is that the group of Ṛṣis possibly belonged to a particular school of Philosophy (which I am inclined to hold as the Sāṁkhya Philosophy) and that the Mantra was composed in order to commemorate and perpetuate the name of that school. If that is so, then we have 26 teachers of Sāṁkhya in succession before the time of Iśvarakṛṣṇa. Let us allow 30 years at least for each teacher. Then the number of years intervening between Kapila and Iśvara Kṛṣṇa must have been 780, if not more. Now, the first mention of Kapila as the founder of the Sāṁkhya school is found to have been made in the *Mokṣa-dharma-parvadhyāya* of the *Śānti-parva* of the *Mahābhārata* and the way in

4 इत्यविद्या हि विद्वांसः पञ्चपर्वां समीहते । तमो मोहं महामोहं तामिस्रद्वयमेव च ॥

Buddhacarita, xii, 33.

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which an account of the Sāṅkhya system is given therein, shows that the system was then well-established and widely-accepted and that therefore it must have taken at least a century for its establishment and wide popularity. The date of that portion of the *Māhābhārata* in which the account is given cannot be later than the 6th century B.C. and the scholars like Winternitz are of opinion that it was possibly written by the end of the 8th century B.C. Admitting, however, for the sake of argument, that this period was synchronous with the age of Kapila, let us deduct 780 years (as already deduced) from 700 B.C., and thus we get 80 A.D. or 1st century A.D. as the date of Īśvara Kṛṣṇa, a date which perfectly accords with the conclusion already arrived at.

The probable age of Kapila may also be deduced in another way. That the Sāṅkhya Philosophy is a pre-Buddhistic one is beyond any controversy. The word Sāṅkhya as a system of Philosophy occurs in the *Lalitavistara.*[5]

The *Visuddhimagga* chap. XVII also refers to Sāṅkhya in the same sense. But if the *Lalitavistara* and the *Visuddhimagga* are works of a much later age than the Buddha, we have then another work of about the 6th century B.C. I mean the *Mahāvastu Avadāna* which uses the word *Saṃkhya* a variant of 'Sāṅkhya' in that very sense.

Besides, the fundamental principles on which the Buddha bases his Philosophy are the four well known *Āryasatya's* viz., *duḥkha, duḥkhasamudaya, duḥkhanirodha* and *duḥkhanirodhopāya.* These four *Āryasatyas* fully accord with the four fundamental principles of the Sāṅkhya Philosophy viz., *heya, heya-sādhana, hāna* and *hānopāya* or *hānasādhana* and are decidedly admitted by all scholars to have been borrowed from the latter. The Saṃkhāra theory of Buddhism is nothing but the *saṃskāra* of Sāṅkhya.

All these evidences taken together go to show that the Sāṅkhya system of Philosophy was held by Buddha himself as one of much

5 वेदे व्याकरणे निरुक्ते etc.....ज्योतिषे सांख्ये योगे etc.....सर्वत्र बोधिसत्त्व एव विशिष्यते स्म। *Śilpadarśanaparivarta* (Lefman's ed.) p. 156.

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importance and authority, and a system to receive such a high esteem from such a man like Buddha, must have taken a pretty long time —possibly not less than two centuries.

In this way, too, the age of Kapila cannot be placed later than the 8th century B.C. In any case, therefore, the date of Iśvara Kṛṣṇa comes to be the 1st century A.D.

Thus we see that the Sāṅkhya system is a fairly old one with Kapila as its founder who, as is generally held, belonged to an age not later than the 8th century B.C. and that the system, since its very foundation grew to be popular and was widely accepted. It had, since the time of Kapila, continued to retain its popular and universal character in an unbroken line of teachers up to Iśvara Kṛṣṇa who is just now proved to have belonged to an age not later than the 1st century A.D. with 25 teachers intervening between himself and Kapila.

This Iśvara Kṛṣṇa has been identified by some scholars with Vindhyavāsa or Vindhyavāsin on the strength of Dr. Takakasu's account of Paramārtha's life of Vasubandhu (Cf. *JRAS.*, 1905) but this ground has been proved to be extremely fallacious and unacceptable by Dr. Benoytosh Bhattacharya in his Introduction to the edition of the *Tattva Saṅgraha*. Dr. Bhattacharya, however, although he knows about Māṭhar, the prime minister of Kaniṣka, denies to the commentator Māṭharācārya, the date of 2nd century A.D. because he places Iśvara Kṛṣṇa in the 4th century A.D. This assignment of Iśvara Kṛṣṇa's date is based by him upon the supposition that in his Kārikā 5:

प्रतिविषयाध्यवसायो दृष्टं त्रिविधमनुमानमाख्यातम्।
तल्लिङ्गलिङ्गिपूर्व्वक माप्तश्रुतिराप्तवचनन्तु ॥

he was influenced by Vātsyāyana, the first commentator on the *Nyāya-sūtra* of Akṣapāda. But the date of Vātsyāyana is by itself a mystery that remains yet to be solved. The theory of influence by Vātsyāyana is nothing more than a mere supposition and does not, therefore, deserve any importance.

About the dates of the predecessors of Iśvara Kṛṣṇa, there is no materials available at present to establish them as certain. Any opinion, therefore, that may be formed with regard to their age and identity, would be but vague and conjectural. But one thing that may be put

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forward on the basis of a plausible ground is related to the *Śarīra-sthāna* of the *Caraka-saṃhitā* wherein an account of *Sāṅkhya* is given. Just as we have an abstracted view of a certain school of Sāṅkhya Philosophy in the *Sāṅkhya Kārikā* of Iśvara Kṛṣṇa, so we have perhaps another abstracted view of the doctrines of another school of the same Philosophy, in the *Caraka-saṃhitā*, and this abstraction may be presumed to have been made from the *Ātreya Tantra* already referred to by me, because here in the *Caraka-saṃhitā*, the expounder of the system is Atri himself. I say 'another school of the Sāṅkhya Philosophy' purposely because the account differs vitally from the account of Iśvara Kṛṣṇa's *Kārikā*. The categories described in *Caraka*, are said to be 24, whereas, the *Sāṅkhya Kārikā* treats of 25 categories including 'Puruṣa' as a separate entity.

In Caraka's account, however, 'Puruṣa' is not a separate entity at all but is, rather, an aspect of 'Pradhāna' or 'Prakṛti'. According to this veiw there are as many 'Prakṛtis' as there are 'Puruṣas'; in other words, the plurality of 'Prakṛti' is admitted, and 'Puruṣa' having formed a counter-part of 'Prakṛti' there is no need of admitting 'Puruṣa' as a separate entity. This vital difference between the two accounts naturally gives rise to a grave suspicion as to whether there were different schools of Sāṅkhya Philosophy. Guṇaratna, the famous commentator of the *Ṣaḍdarśana-samuccaya*, distinctly mentions two schools of Sāṅkhya viz., the 'Maulikya' (i.e. the original) and the 'Uttara' (i.e. the later); and what is the difference between the two schools? He replies:

"मौलिक्यसांख्या हि आत्मानमात्मानं प्रति पृथक् प्रधानं वदन्ति, उत्तरे तु सर्व्वात्मस्वप्येकं नित्यं प्रधानमिति प्रपन्नाः।"

i.e., the followers of the 'Maulikya' school believe that there is a separate 'Pradhāna' for each 'Ātman' whereas, those of the 'Uttara' school hold that there is only one 'Pradhāna' in different individual souls. It may be contended here that this 'Uttara' is to be taken to refer to the school of Vijñānabhikṣu, the famous commentator of the *Sāṅkhya-sūtra* but then there would be a great error of chronology. Guṇaratna being a commentator of the 14th century A.D. cannot be supposed to refer to Vijñānabhikṣu, a commentator of the

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16th century A.D. It follows, therefore, that this 'Maulikya' refers to a certain school of which we get an account in the outline of Caraka, whereas the 'Uttara' school is represented by Iśvara Kṛṣṇa and his followers.

Now let us see if we can derive further support to our supposition. In the *Mahābhārata* (XII. 318), three schools of Sāṅkhya are distinctly mentioned viz., first those who admitted 24 categories, secondly those who admitted 25 and finally those who admitted 26. The first school of which a brief outline is obtained in the *Caraka-saṃhitā* even as late as the 2nd century A.D., was propounded by Pañcaśikha as early as the age of the *Mahābhārata* (XII. 219). According to Pañcaśikha, 'Avyakta' is 'Puruṣāvasthā' i.e. the ultimate truth is one—the 'Avyakta' in the state of 'Puruṣa'. The second school which is regarded as the orthodox school of the Sāṅkhya Philosophy, explained a strict dualism by making 'Puruṣa' and 'Prakṛti' as two separate entities. The last school, however, admitted a Supreme Being 'Iśvara' in addition to 'Puruṣa' and this was the 26th principle. This agrees with the orthodox Yoga system wherein the existence of 'Iśvara' is admitted in

"क्लेशकर्म्मविपाकाशयैरपरामृष्टः पुरुषविशेष ईश्वरः।"

Another problem here arises about the chronology of these 3 different schools. Now the three schools referred to above can be resolved into two divisions according as they are theistic or atheistic according to the notion of Western Philosophy. Both the schools of 24 and 25 categories as denying the existence of God are to be regarded as atheistic in character while the school propounding 26 categories is purely a theistic one. We are to determine, however, which of these two is earlier. In the *Mahābhārata* we only find that it denounces the atheistic school i.e., the schools of 24 and 25 categories and advocates the existence of God as the 26th principle. But that does not prove anteriority or posteriority of either. The problem would have been more easily solved, had we been in possession of any of the original works of Kapila, Āsuri or Pañcaśikha but unfortunately all their works are, in the language of Vijñānabhikṣu, *kālārka-bhakṣita*. As regards the identity of the author as also the antiquity of the *Sāṅkhya-*

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pravacana-sūtra otherwise known as *Mūla-ṣaḍadhyāyī* as also *Tattva-samāsa*, both of which are attributed to Kapila, grave suspicion has been aroused by almost all sections of scholars. So far as Āsuri is concerned we know nothing else than that his name occurs in some ancient works like the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata* etc. and that a verse attributed to him is only found quoted by Guṇaratna in his commentary. Pañcaśikha's *Ṣaṣṭi-tantra* still awaits discovery and who knows that it has not been lost for ever? The only thing we know about him is that several self-contradictory and divergent views are attributed to him by the *Mahābhārata*, the *Ahirvudhnya-saṃhitā*, by Vācaspati Miśra and by the Chinese tradition. We have, therefore, to fall upon and examine the source or sources of the Sāṅkhya Philosophy of which the system is a natural synthesis.

The germs of the Sāṅkhya Philosophy are certainly to be traced in the Upaniṣadic literature, if not even earlier. For the origin of the three Guṇas *sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas* in the Sāṅkhya Philosophy we have to go to the conception of the three colours in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* which is repeated also in the *Śvetāśvataropaniṣad*.[6] Then again we have an interesting specimen of how Sāṅkhya Philosophy was yet in the making at the time of the *Kaṭhopaniṣad* (1. 3. 10-11) when we compare

इन्द्रियेभ्यः परा ह्यर्था अर्थेभ्यश्च परं मनः।
मनसस्तु परा बुद्धिर्बुद्धेरात्मा महान् परः॥
महतः परमव्यक्तमव्यक्तात् पुरुषः परः।
पुरुषान्न परा किञ्चित् सा काष्ठा सा परा गतिः॥

In these two verses is to be found an enumeration of Puruṣa, Avyakta, Mahān, Buddhi, or Ahaṅkāra, Manas and the Indriyas-the categories which play such an important part in the Sāṅkhya Philosophy. But the *locus classicus* of the Sāṅkhya, however, is the *Śvetāśvatara* which gives us a fuller and more detailed account as understood in those days. It wavers between the atheistic and the theistic view. In one place,

6 यदग्ने रोहितं रूपं तेजस स्तद्रूपं यच्छुक्लं तदपां यत् कृष्णं तदन्नस्य। *Chāndog.* VI. 4. 1. अजामेकां लोहितशुक्लकृष्णां। बह्वीः प्रजाः सृजमानां सरूपाः॥ *Śvet.* IV. 5. I.)

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God is described as bringing to maturity 'Prakṛti' or 'Svabhāva'.[7] He is also described as the Lord of 'Pradhāna' or 'Prakṛti', of individual souls as well as of Guṇas.[8] Like a spider that weaves a web out of the material formed within itself, the one Godhead unfolds himself by means of the Guṇas born of 'Prakṛti.'[9] The 'Prakṛti' is merely God's magic power and God is the great magician.[10] God is also described as creating the world, while the individual soul is described as bound in the chains forged for him by God, the Universal Soul.[11]

In this way we get a theistic description of the Godhead who is endowed with all activity and the power of creation and government. The verses quoted above are quite sufficient to show that there was a fusion of the Vedānta, the Sāṅkhya and the Yoga schools of thought at the time of the *Śvetāśvataropaniṣad*. It was about this time that the Sāṅkhya school was started. Kapila is universally known as "Ādividvān" and as such he was the first sage to synthesise and formulate those Upaniṣadic speculations in the form of a definite system, which he called the Sāṅkhya system. He expounded his doctrine in the *Ṣaṣṭitantra* and started a school of his own with Āsuri as his first pupil. Whether the doctrine of the *Ṣaṣṭi-tantra* admitted 24 or 25 categories will be discussed presently but it is almost certain that there was no admission of a principle of Godhead in his doctrine. The reason may be this:

Kapila, in his attempt to explain the world-process and the scheme of salvation, tried to make his system as rationalistic as possible. The existence of a personal God was therefore found inconceivable and incompatible with his theory of Prakṛti and Puruṣa and could not also be proved; for whatever exists must be either bound or free and God can be neither. We cannot think of him as bound and yet he cannot be free like an emancipated soul, for freedom implies absence

7 यच्च स्वभावं पचति विश्वयोनिः। पाच्यांश्च सर्व्वान् परिणामयेद् यः॥

8 प्रधानक्षेत्रज्ञपतिर्गुणेशः। (*Ibid.* VI. 16.)

9 यस्तूर्णनाभइव तन्तुभिः प्रधानजैः। स्वभावतो देव एकः समावृणोत्॥ (*Ibid.* VI. 10)

10 मायां तु प्रकृतिं विद्यान्मायिनं तु महेश्वरम्॥ (*Ibid*, VI. 10.)

11 अस्मान्मायी सृजते विश्वमेतत्तस्मिंश्चान्यो मायया संनिरुद्धः। (*Ibid*, VI. 9.)

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of desire and hence of the impulse to creation. Moreover, the consequences of good and evil deeds are due to Karma and not to the government of any God. Such a ruler is inconceivable, for if he governs the world according to the action of Karma, his existence is superfluous, and if he is affected by selfish motives or desire then he can not be free. And if his motive is kindness, is it reasonable to call into existence, beings, who while non-existent had no suffering, simply in order to show kindness in relieving them from suffering? Granting that to show kindness to the world was the motive of creation, a benevolent deity like God ought to have created only the happy creatures and not a mixed world like the one we see. It follows, therefore, that in no way could a Supreme Being like God be placed in Kapila's system consistently with the theory of Prakṛti, Puruṣa and Karma. Perhaps this was the only departure he made from the Philosophy of the Upaniṣads cited above. Hence an atheistic doctrine was preached and though accepted for a long time by a certain section of the people, it had met with a re-action: the thought of a God-less doctrine, especially in the age of the Upaniṣads, was intolerable with another section of the people who started a rival school of it viz., the Yoga system with God as the Fountain head of the whole creation. The *Mahābhārata* by its repudiation of the former school and advocacy of the latter bears an infallible testimony to this reaction.

The next question is whether the atheistic school of Sāṅkhya admitted of 24 or 25 categories. It is very difficult to make any definite reply. Possibly it was 24: that this was so may be surmised from Guṇaraṭna's nomenclature—the 'Maulikya' i.e. the 'Original' school. I have already pointed out that according to Maulikya school Puruṣa was but another aspect of Prakṛti and that the two formed but one category. Prakṛti was conceived of having two parts Vyakta and Avyakta. The Vikāra or the evolutionary products of Prakṛti were known as Vyakta or Kṣetra whereas the Avyakta part was regarded as Kṣetrajña. This Avyakta or Kṣetrajña was Cetanā or Puruṣa. Now if that was so, and man was the product of a mere combination of the different elements, there could be no question of salvation at all. Every thing would have ended with death—with the cessation of one birth only

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and hence the introduction of the Śastra for salvation would have been meaningless, purposeless and unnecessary. When the doctrine of 24 categories came to receive an attack on the line of argument as stated above, a necessity was naturally felt for revising the whole doctrine and the necessity of admitting Puruṣa as a separate entity from Prakṛti was fully realised. The categories then became 25 from 24 thus giving rise to what is characterised by Guṇaratna as the Uttara or the Later school of Sāṅkhya. That there was such an attack in reality may be gathered from the *Mahābhārata* where Pañcaśikha sometimes explains 24 categories and sometimes 25. This contradiction can in no way be explained unless we assume that he was wavering between the two problems and could not definitely assert either. Finally, however, the doctrine was revised by Pañcaśikha with the recognition of Puruṣa as the 25th principle and that is why we find in Iśvara's *Kārikā* 70.[12] This revised version of the *Saṣṭi-tantra* came to be known as the *Saṣṭi-tantroddhāra*—a work quoted by Guṇaratna as one of the authoritative works of the Sāṅkhya Philosophy.[13]

Thus viewed the Kārikā of Iśvara Kṛṣṇa is to be taken as representing the doctrines of the *Saṣṭi-tantra* as revised by Pañcaśikha and hence belongs to the Uttara or Later school of Sāṅkhya Philosophy.

KALI PADA BHATTACHARYA

12 सेन च बहुधा वृत्तं तन्त्रम्।

13 सांख्यानां तर्कग्रन्थाः षष्टितन्त्रोद्धाररूपम्, माठरभाष्यम्, सांख्यसप्ततिनामकम्, तत्त्वकौमुदी, गौडपादम्, आत्रेयतन्त्रं चेत्यादयः, Guṇaratna's *ṭikā* on *Saḍdarśanasamuccaya*, p. 109.

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Some Janapadas of Ancient Radhā

Rāḍhā

The earliest mention of the Rāḍhās seems to be in the *Āyārāṅga-sutta* which is one of the oldest sacred books of the Jainas. It is stated therein that Mahāvīra "travelled in the pathless countries of the Lāḍhas, in Vajjabhūmi and Subbhabhūmi" where he was very badly treated by the people who struck the monk and made their dogs bite him. "Such were the inhabitants." This Lāḍha has been reasonably identified with Rāḍhā, and Subbhabhūmi with the country of the Suhmas. The graphic description of the *Āyārāṅga-sutta* indicates that the Rāḍhās of western Bengal were a very savage and barbarous people at that time. The tradition about the wildness of the Rāḍha people is found even in mediaeval Bengali literature; Mukundarāma (*c.* 1580 A.C.) in his *Caṇḍī-kāvya* mentions a Rāḍha together with a hunter and a cow-killer; another passage of the same book indicates that a Rāḍha was regarded as a very low-born man belonging to the Coāḍ caste unfit to be touched by men of higher castes.

Again, in the fifth Jaina Aṅga called the *Bhagavatī* Lāḍha is mentioned as one of the sixteen great *janapadas* of India; it seems reasonable to identify this Lāḍha with the Lāḍha of the first Aṅga, the *Āyārāṅga-sutta*, i.e. the Rāḍhā country of later times. In the fourth Jaina upāṅga, the *Pannavaṇā*, also Lāḍha is mentioned as one of the *Āriya janapadas* or countries of India with Koḍivarisam as its chief city.

According to tradition recorded in the Ceylonese chronicles, the *Dīpavaṃsa* and the *Mahāvaṃsa*, the first Aryan colonisers of Ceylon were led by Prince Vijaya of Lāḷa who is said to have been the grandson of a princess of Vaṅga and the great-grandson of a princess of Kaliṅga. The identification of this Lāḷa has been the subject of some controversy; some scholars have identified it with Rāḍha or western Bengal, while others are inclined to identify it with Lāṭa in Gujarāt. The name does not occur in the epics or the Buddhist sacred books.

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The earliest epigraphic reference to Rāḍhā is perhaps to be found in a Mathurā inscription (now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta) which records the erection of a Jaina image in the year 62 of an unspecified era (=140 A.C.?) at the request of a Jaina monk who was an inhabitant of the country of Rārā.[1] Scholars have identified Rārā with the well known Rāḍhā or western Bengal.[2] The next reference to Rāḍhā is found in a Khajurāho inscription[3] of 1059 V.S. (=1002 A.C.) where the queens of Kāñcī, Andhra, Rāḍhā and Aṅga are said to have been imprisoned by the Candella king, Dhaṅgadeva, whose known dates range from 954 to 998 A.C. Śrīdhara Bhaṭṭa, the author of the philosophical work *Nyāyakandalī* composed in the year 913 Ś.E. (=991 A.C.) was born in a village called "Bhūriśṛṣṭi" in Dakṣiṇa Rāḍhā. This reference to Dakṣiṇa Rāḍhā shows that by the tenth century A.C. Rāḍhā was divided into two parts, north and south. It apparently comprised the whole of western Bengal bounded on the north and the east by the Ganges and the Bhāgīrathī respectively. The evidence of the *Nyāyakandalī* is fully corroborated by the Tirumalai rock inscription of the thirteenth regnal year (=1025 A.C.) of Rājendra Cola from which we know that the Cola emperor invaded both Takkana-lāḍam and Uttira-lāḍam which are but Dravidianised forms of Dakṣiṇa-Rāḍhā and Uttara-Rāḍhā. In the Sanskrit drama called the *Prabodha-candrodaya* of Kṛṣṇa-miśra, a contemporary of the Candella king, Kīrtivarman, of Jejākabhukti of whom we have an inscription of the year 1098 A.C., Dakṣiṇa Rāḍhā is mentioned twice as the homeland of Ahaṅkāra or Pride personified; again Ahaṅkāra declares with his characteristic self-conceit that he hails from Bhūriśreṣṭhika, the best of villages in the country of Rāḍhā (evidently South Rāḍhā) which formed a part of the Gauḍa kingdom. This Bhūriśreṣṭhika, the native village of Ahaṅkāra, seems to be the same as the village Bhūriśṛṣṭi where Śrīdhara, the author of *Nyāyakandalī* was born. Perhaps it was because Bhūriśreṣṭhika or Bhūriśṛṣṭi was the native village of many great scholars like Śrīdhara, who were intensely proud of their learning, that Kṛṣṇa-miśra chose

1 *JASB.*, NS. V, p. 239.
2 R. D. Banerji, *Pālas of Bengal*, p. 72.
3 *EI.*, I, p. 145.

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this village as the homeland of Ahaṅkāra or Pride. What Bhūriśreṣṭhi was in South Rāḍhā the village Siddhala seems to have been in North Rāḍhā. We know from the Belāva copper-plate of Bhojavarman that Siddhala was a village in Uttara-Rāḍhā and that Pitāmbara Devaśarman of Sāvarṇa gotra, the great-grandfather of Rāmadevaśarman, the donee of the grant, was an inhabitant of this village. The Bhuvaneśvar inscription of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva tells us that "there may be a hundred villages which . . . . are the birth-place of Brāhmaṇas versed in Vedic lore, born in the illustrious lineage of the sage Sāvarṇa; but the only one that is famous in this world and has adorned the country of Āryāvarta is the village of Siddhala, the foremost of all and the ornament of the fortune-goddess of Rāḍhā". This Siddhala of Rāḍhā has been identified by scholars with the Siddhala of Uttara-Rāḍhā mentioned in the Belāva copper-plate of Bhojavarman. Hence Uttara-Rāḍhā could well be proud of the village Siddhala, the home of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva, the great scholar and author of the *Daśakarmapaddhati*, the *Prāyaścittaprakaraṇa* and other works, just as Dakṣiṇa Rāḍhā could be of Bhūrisṛṣṭi, the home of Bhaṭṭa Śrīdhara, the author of the *Nyāyakandali*. Uttara-Rāḍhā is again mentioned in the Naihāṭi copper-plate of Vallālasena as a *maṇḍala* belonging to the *bhukti* of Vardhamāna. The same copper-plate tells us that the ancestors of Vallālasena adorned the country of Rāḍhā with their great virtues; we also know from the Deopārā inscription of Vijayasena that Sāmantasena, the founder of the royal Sena dynasty of Bengal, took to religious life in his old age and lived in hermitages on the banks of the Ganges. Thus it would appear from the combined evidence of the Deopārā and Naihāṭi inscriptions that the ancestors of the Sena kings settled in Uttara-Rāḍhā when they came to Bengal from Karṇāṭa. In the *Ḍākārṇava* Rāḍhā is mentioned along with Ḍhikkari and other places which are apparently mutually exclusive. If Ḍhikkari really represent some place in north Rāḍhā then the Rāḍhā of the *Ḍākārṇava* list should perhaps be taken to represent South Rāḍhā.

Towards the close of the pre-Muhammadan period Rāḍhā and Varendrī were well known divisions of Bengal. Rāḍhīya-Vārendras are several times referred to in the *Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva* of

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Halāyudha who lived in the Court of Lakṣmaṇasena. The Kenduāpatna plates of Narasiṃhadeva II of Orissa, dated 1217 S.E. (=1296 A.C.) records that Narasiṃhadeva I (1238-64) invaded Rāḍhā and Varendrī which were at that time under the Musalmans. This is confirmed by the evidence of the *Tabakāt-i-Nāsirī* where we find "The territory of Lakhaṇawaṭi has two wings on either side of the Gang. The western side they call Rāl (Rāṛh), and the city of Lakhaṇor lies on that side; and the eastern side they call Barind, and the city of Dīw-koṭ is on that side."

Brahma

In the lists of the eastern countries found in the *Purāṇas*, which are often hopelessly corrupt, almost invariably occurs the name of a janapada apparently called *Brahmottara*. In the *Matsya Purāṇa*, however, the reading is *Suhmottara*, which, Pargiter thinks, is the preferable reading and which he has taken to mean 'the people north of Suhma.' But this reading also, as he has rightly observed, is hardly satisfactory in the conspicuous absence of the Suhmas themselves from the Paurāṇic lists of the eastern janapadas which is very curious. Under these circumstances Mr. Pargiter has suggested the emendation *Suhmatkala* meaning the Suhmas and the Utkalas.

But there are some reasons to believe that Brahmottara which is the unanimous reading of all the *Purāṇas* except the *Matsya* is the correct reading. Even in the list of the eastern janapadas found in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata, which is practically quoted from the *Purāṇas*, the reading is invariably Brahmottara. But it is the evidence of the *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* of Rājaśekhara that decides the whole question. In that work also we have a list of the janapadas of the Pūrvadeśa which closely follows the *Purāṇas*. In this list also the reading is Brahmottara and, what is more important, it is placed just after Suhma, thus showing that the reading Suhmottara of the *Matsya Purāṇa* or the emendation Suhmotkala suggested by Pargiter cannot be right.

This is further confirmed by another passage of the *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* which mentions "Aṅga, Vaṅga, Suhma, Brahma, Puṇḍra etc." as the janapadas of the east. Thus there can be no doubt that Brahma was really the name of a janapada in eastern

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India somewhere in the neighbourhood of Suhma. Now the expression *Suhma-Brahmottara* should perhaps be taken to mean 'Suhma with Brahma (lying) to its north.' If this is correct, then the Brahma-janapada must have been situated somewhere in the northern part of the Rāḍhā country.

Curiously enough, this seems to be supported by the *Pavanadūta* of Dhoyī. In verse 33 of that poem there is a reference to the country (*deśa*) in which the river Yamunā (*Tapana-tanayā*) in whose waters sported Brahma women (*Brahma-sīmantinī*) issued out of the Bhāgīrathī. The evident implication of this verse is that the place known as Triveṇī (in the Hughli district) where the river Yamunā branches off from the Bhāgīrathī belonged to the Brahma-deśa.

Mr. Cintāharaṇa Cakıavartī has suggested the emendation Suhma in place of Brahma, though in both the Mss. available the reading is clearly Brahma. It is unreasonable to suppose that the reading Brahma in verse 33 in both the Mss. consulted is an accidental mistake on the part of the copyists in the face of the fact that both of them have the reading Suhṃa in verse 27. Not only that, in Ms. (A) the reading in verse 28 is *Suhmād* and in the marginal notes it is corrected into Suhme, but in verse 33 Brahma is retained and is not corrected into Suhma. Hence it is sufficiently reasonable to think that the reading Brahma in verse 33 is really the correct reading. The editor's emendation of Suhma instead of Brahma is probably due to the general ignorance among scholars about the existence of a *deśa* or *janapada* named Brahma in eastern India. But the evidence of the *Purāṇas* together with that of the *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* leaves no doubt about the existence of a janapada of this name in the Rāḍhā country. If Rājaśekhara was aware of this janapada of eastern India in the 10th century A.C., Dhoyī, a poet of Bengal and not improbably of Rāḍhā, could well have known it in the twelfth. There are also other reasons in favour of accepting Brahma in verse 33 as the correct reading intended by the poet himself. From Yayātinagarī (somewhere on the bank of the Mahānadī) Pavana, the messenger, is asked by Kuvalayavatī to pass over to the Suhma-deśa on the Ganges (v. 27); in the following verses (27-32) comes a description of the various important

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objects, such as a temple of Murārī (i.e. Viṣṇu), a town named after Śiva, two temples of the sun (*Raghukulaguru*) and Ardhanārīśvara and a bridge constructed by some king (may be Vallālasena). After this in verse 33 comes the request that the Wind-messenger should *then* (*atha*) go to the country (*deśa*) where the Yamunā flows out of the Bhāgīrathī. In verse 27 we get the reference to the *country* (*deśa*) of Suhma and in verse 33 we again find a reference to another *deśa* together with the significant particle *atha*. The very manner in which the statement is made suggests that as soon as the Wind reached the Triveṇī region it entered into a different country, different from the Suhma-deśa. The name of this new country is supplied by the word Brahma put before the word *sīmantinī* distinguishing the women of this country from those of Suhma.

Hence there can be little doubt that Brahma was really the name of a *janapada* or *deśa* in Rāḍhā on the bank of the Bhāgīrathī and that Triveṇī in the modern Hughli district formed a part of it.

The messenger is then asked to go to Vijayapura, the *skandhāvāra* and *rājadhānī* of Lakṣmaṇasena, which stood on the Ganges and which, from the description given in the *Pavanadūta* seems to have been situated to the north of, but not at a great distance from, Triveṇī, in the modern district of Hughli. The identification of this capital city of the Sena royal family of Bengal has been the subject of much controversy among scholars. But reasons seem to be in favour of its identification with Nadia or Navadvīpa, which is probably the same as Nūdiah, the capital of Lakhmaniya at the time of the inroad of Muhammad-i-Bakht-yar. But what is important for our purpose is that Vijayapura, the Sena royal city, seems from the account of the *Pavanadūta* to have been situated not in Suhma-deśa as is generally supposed by scholars, but in Brahmadeśa.

Now if the identification of Vijayapura be correct, then it is evident that the Brahma country extended along the bank of the Bhāgīrathī including Triveṇī in the south and Navadvīpa in the north and comprised all the tract lying between them; that is, roughly speaking the Brahma country included at least parts of the modern Hughli and Burdwan districts. The Suhma country, on the other hand, lay to the south of the Brahma country between Triveṇī in one direction

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and Yayātinagarī in another, as is evident from the *Pavanadūta*. Suhma also lay on the bank of the Bhāgīrathī along its lower course and probably included the modern districts of Howrah and Midnapur. Thus it seems clear that even during the period of the Sena kings Rāḍhā had two important divisions. viz., Brahma in the north and Suhma in the south. But it is important to note in this connection that during the period of the Sena as well as of the Pāla kings of Bengal two divisions of Rāḍhā were generally known as Uttara-Rāḍhā and Dakṣiṇa Rāḍhā; and what is more important to remember is that the two sets of names of these two divisions of Rāḍhā were simultaneously in use during this period. While in the first part of the tenth century A.C. Rājaśekhara mentions Suhma and Brahma apparently as two divisions of Rāḍhā, Śrīdharācārya in his *Nyāyakandalī* (991 A.C.) refers to Dakṣiṇa-Rāḍhā in the latter part of the same century. Of the eleventh century records, the Tirumalai inscription of Rājendra Cola (first quarter) refers to both north and south Rāḍhā while Kṛṣṇa-Miśra in his *Prabodha-candrodaya* (latter part) mentions South Rāḍhā only. During the twelfth century the Naihāṭi copper-plate of Vallālasena (as also the Belāva copper-plate of Bhojavarman) refers to Uttara-Rāḍhā, while Dhoyī, the Court-poet of Lakṣmaṇasena mentions both Suhma and Brahma. Hence it seems reasonable to conclude that Suhma and Brahma were but the real proper names of South and North Rāḍhā respectively. South Rāḍhā and North Rāḍhā evidently were not the proper names of the two divisions of the country; they simply describe the relative positions of those divisions, Suhma and Brahma being proper names. That Suhma was the proper name of South Rāḍhā is clear from the fact that the *Daśakumāracarita* refers to Dāmaliptī i.e. modern Tamluk in the Medinīpur district as a city of the Suhmas and also from the description of the *Pavanadūta* that locates it between Triveṇī and Yayātinagarī. The expression *Suhma-Brahmottara* of the *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* and also probably of the *Purāṇas* which apparently means 'Suhma with Brahma lying to its north' perhaps indicates that Brahma was the name of the northern part of Rāḍhā. This is confirmed by the fact that Triveṇī as well as Vijayapura or Navadvīpa belonged to Brahma as we have alredy noticed.

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Indeed it seems that not only during the period of the Pāla and Sena kings but from a very early period Rāḍhā was divided into two parts. The *Āyārāṅga-sutta* definitely indicates that Laḍha had two divisions, Subbha and Vajja. Subbha has been reasonably identified with Suhma. But we have no means to ascertain whether Vajjabhūmi is also a corruption of Brahmabhūmi, though it is by no means improbable. In the epic account of Bhīma's eastern conquests we find mention of a janapada named Pra-Suhma along with Suhma. This name is not met with anywhere else in the whole range of Sanskrit literature. The reason for the curious absence of this name everywhere else is perhaps that Pra-Suhma is not really the name of any people or janapada; it simply means 'a branch of the Suhma people' or 'those who lie in front of the Suhmas' or it may mean both. Indeed the name Pra-Suhma occurs nowhere else, but everywhere else the word in its place seems to be Brahma which may really represent, as is very probable, a branch of the Suhmas.

Prof. Sylvain Lévi has shown that the ethnical and geographical nomenclature of ancient India presents a certain number of terms constituting almost identical pairs differentiated between themselves only by the nature of their initial consonants or syllables. The tribes that inhabited Bengal and its adjacent regions in ancient times also present such ethnical pairs, e.g. AṅgaVaṅga, Kalinga-Tiliṅga and Uḍra-Puṇḍra. But the Suhmas, one of the five important tribes of ancient Bengal, have not yet been coupled with any other allied peopled. Now, from what has been discussed above it seems reasonable to conclude that the Suhmas and the Brahmas formed a fourth ethnical pair living in the territory known as Rāḍhā or western Bengal.

Mr. M. Cakravartī has expressed his surprise that the name Rāḍhā is not traceable in the epics or in any Sanskrit records before the tenth century A.C. The reason for this fact seems to be that in all Sanskrit records of this period including the Great Epic the names Suhma and Brahma have always been used to denote the Rāḍhā country which was almost fully covered by these two janapadas.

The Brahma people seems never to have been a very powerful and prominent people and was perhaps only a branch of the greater Suhma

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people. Perhaps this is why nowhere in Sanskrit literature they have been given as much importance as the Suhmas. Probably this again explains the omission of the name Brahma from the epic and Paurāṇic list of the five eponymous heroes viz., Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga, Puṇḍra and Suhma, representing the five important tribes of Eastern India.

In later times, however, when the two terms Uttara-Rāḍhā and Dakṣiṇa-Rāḍhā came to be generally used to denote the two ancient divisions of western Bengal, their original names Brahma and Suhma gradually fell into disuse until they disappeared altogether. We have already seen that up to at least the twelfth century when Dhoyī[4] flourished both the ancient proper names as well as the later descriptive designations of these two divisions were simultaneously in use, though even at that time the latter were more commonly in use than the former. But after that time the names Brahma and Suhma cannot be traced in records, epigraphic or literary, while the designations Uttara-Rāḍhā and Dakṣina-Rāḍhā are in use even now.

Nīlakaṇṭha in his commentary on the *Mahābhārata* has in one place observed that the Suhmas are the Rāḍhās (*Suhmāḥ Rāḍhāḥ*). Such identifications of two peoples or janapadas (as is generally the case with Hemacandra, the lexicographer) should always be accepted with some reservations. The land of Suhma, no doubt, covered the country of Rāḍhā to some extent; but it is perhaps a mistake to think that these two tracts wholly coincided with each other. If what we have discussed above has any value Suhma must be taken to represent only a part, namely the southern part, of Rāḍhā and not the whole of it. It should be noted in this connection that Nīlakaṇṭha has not tried to locate Pra-Suhma though this name occurs in the epic in close association with Suhma on which he has commented.

Karvaṭa

Another people who inhabited a part of western Bengal, that is, Rāḍhā in ancient times were the Karvaṭas. In the *Mahābhārata* Bhīma is said to have defeated the king of the Karvaṭas in course of his eastern

4 According to the *Pavanadūta* of Dhoyī, the Court-poet of Lakṣmaṇasena, the Suhma country was situated on the banks of the Bhāgīrathī branch of the Ganges.

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conquests. Some idea about the location of this kingdom can perhaps be formed from the fact that it has been mentioned in the epic account between the kingdom of Tāmralipta on the one hand and that of Suhma on the other. Apparently the Karvaṭas occupied some tract in the neighbourhood of Tamluk in the Medinīpur district. They are again referred to in the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* of Varāhamihira,[5] and here also they are mentioned along with the Suhmas. In the list of the eastern janapadas of the *Parāśara Tantra*, as quoted by Bhaṭṭa Utpala in his commentary on the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā*, their name occurs between those of Puṇḍra and Samataṭa. That Karvaṭa was the name of an important janapada of ancient Bengal and that it was a great centre of the Jainas seem to be indicated by the fact that a Śākhā of the Jaina sect belonging to the Godāsa Gaṇa was known by the name (Dāsī) Kharbaṭikā (i.e. Karvaṭikā), the three other Śākhās of the same Gaṇa being Tāmraliptikā, Koṭivarṣīā and Puṇḍravardhanīā.[6] In the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (lviii. 12) there is mention of a hill named Karvaṭāsana; this hill seems to have been situated in the janapada of Karvaṭa, particularly in view of the fact that here it is preceded by another name Vyāghramukha which in the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* also precedes the name Suhma and Karvaṭa. In later times the Karvaṭa-janapada like Tāmralipta seems to have been incorporated within the kingdom of the Suhmas.

The Cities of Rāḍhā

We have already seen that the Jaina Upāṅga, the *Pannavaṇā*, mentions Koḍi varisaṃ as a city of Rāḍhā. This city seems to be identical with Koṭivarṣa which represented a *viṣaya* during the time of the Gupta and the Pāla kings. Koṭivarṣa has been identified with Devī-koṭ (called Dīw-koṭ in the *Tabakāt-i-Nāsirī*), a town on the left bank of the Punarbhavā river, not far from the town of Dināǰpur. Devī-koṭ is still the name of a *parganā* in that district. It is in Dāmodarpur of this district that five copper-plate inscriptions have been unearthed all of which record grants of land in the Koṭivarṣa-viṣaya. If the identification of Koḍi varisaṃ with Koṭivarṣa and Devī-

5 Ch. XIV. 5; see also XVI. 13.
6 *Kalpasūtra* SBE., XXII, p. 288.

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koṭ be correct, then it should perhaps be supposed that the kingdom of Rāḍhā extended northwards so as to include the modern Dināǰpur district in the time to which the Jaina Upāṅga refers. In later times Koṭivarṣa was included in the *bhukti* of Puṇḍravardhana (Dāmodarpur, Khālimpur and Bāngarh copper-plates) and was also regarded as a part of Varendrī (*Tabakāt-i-Nāsirī*). In some editions of the *Prabodha-candrodaya* is mentioned Rāḍhāpurī which some scholars have taken to represent the capital of Rāḍhā and apparently they identify it with a place called Rara shown in the map of De Barros as standing on the west bank of the Ganges, opposite Gauro. But in other editions of the drama the reading is simply *Rāḍhā tato*, not Rāḍhā-purī. *Rāḍhā tato* seems to be the correct reading. If Rāḍhāpurī is to be taken to represent the city of Rāḍhā or Rara of the map of De Barros, then it must have been a city of North Rāḍhā; but other passages of the drama explicitly state that Ahaṅkāra belonged to South Rāḍhā; so the Rāḍhā of the verse in question evidently stands for South Rāḍhā and thus cannot be identical with Rara of De Barros or any other place in North Rāḍhā. Secondly, the sense of this verse is that the kingdom of Gauḍa contained the country of Rāḍhā which again contained the village of Bhūri śreṣṭhika of which the father of Ahaṅkāra was an inhabitant. The *city* of Rāḍhā could not contain a *village;* and the reading Rāḍhā-purī instead of *Rāḍhā tato* does not suit the construction of the verse and the real force of the verse also greatly suffers, while the reading *Rāḍhā tato* is not only required by the construction of the verse but also brings out the real significance of the whole statement. Hence it seems that the *Prabodha-candrodaya* contains no reference to any city of Rāḍhā.

It seems that Vardhamāna (i.e. modern Burdwan) was an important city of the Rāḍhā country from very early times The country of the Vardhamānas is mentioned in the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* of Varāhamihira. In the Kūrma-vibhāga of the *Atharvaveda Pariśiṣṭa*, which so closely resembles the Kūrma-vibhāga of the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā*, is also found mention of the country called Vardhamānaka. This shows that a part of the Rāḍhā country or western Bengal was known by the name of Vardhamāna from a very early period. So it is likely that the city of Vardhamāna or Burdwan also has existed from that time. This is

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fully confirmed by a statement of the *Mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa* viz.— *Kāmarūpe tathā deśe Vardhamāne purottame* (ed. Gaṇapati Śāstrī, part I, p. 89). From the Naihāṭi copper-plate of Vallālasena as well as the Govindapur copper-plate of Lakṣmaṇasena we know that Vardhamāna was the name of a *bhukti* or division of the Sena kingdom of Bengal and Uttara-Rāḍhā, as we have noticed earlier, formed a *maṇḍala* of that *bhukti*. It is perhaps not unreasonable to suppose that the city of Vardhamāna was the head quarters of the administrative division of the same name just as is the case in modern times. Thus it appears that Vardhamāna has always been an important city of the Rāḍhā country from the time of the *Atharvaveda Pariśiṣṭa*, the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* and the *Mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa*.

Of the other cities of Rāḍhā mention may be made of Vijayapura, the capital city of the Sena rulers, and of Tāmralipti, the famous port on the Pūrva Sāgara or Bay of Bengal.

Vajrabhūmi

As we have noticed before, Lāḍha (i.e. Rāḍhā) according to the *Āyārāṅga-sutta*, was divided into two parts Vajjabhūmi and Subbhabhūmi. It is not possible to identify or exactly locate Vajjabhūmi in Rāḍhā. From the description of the land given in the Jaina Aṅga some scholars have identified it with the rough jungly part of western Rāḍhā. A place called Panīabhūmi is referred to in the *Bhagavatī-sūtra* and also in the *Kalpasūtra* in both of which it is stated that Mahāvīra lived sometime in this place in company with Gosāla Maṅkhaliputta, the founder of the Ājīvika sect. According to a commentary of the *Kalpasūtra* Panīabhūmi is a place in Vajrabhūmi. A commentary of the *Bhagavatī* restores the word as Paṇitabhūmi or Praṇitabhūmi. The Cola king Karikāla is said to have received some presents from a king of Vajra in course of his northern campaigns (*Śilappadhikāram*). One scholar has identified this Vajra with the Vajjabhūmi of the *Āyārāṅga-sutta*.

According to the story of Upaka, the Ājīvika, and Cāpā, of which there are several versions in the Buddhist Pāli literature, Buddha met the Ājīvika on his way to Benares from Gayā shortly after his enlightenment, after which Upaka proceeded in the opposite direction

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till he reached a janapada which has been called Vaṅga in the *Suttanipāta* version and *Vaṅkahāra* in all other versions. That this janapada was situated outside the Middle Country and probably somewhere in western Bengal seems probable from the fact that Upaka is said to have left this janapada after sometime and to have proceeded towards Majjhimadesa. Vaṅga is well known, but it is not possible to identify Vaṅkahāra satisfactorily, which, however, may be the modern Bankura region as the phonetic similarity of the names suggests.

Suhma

According to the *Āyārāṅga-sutta*, as we have just seen, Suhma formed a part of the Rāḍhā country. The epic account of Bhīma's eastern conquests makes the country of the Suhmas distinct from Vaṅga, Tāmralipta as well as the sea-coast region. In Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṃśa* also Suhma is distinguished from the sea-coast and the country of the Vaṅgas lying within the streams of the Ganges.[4] From these two accounts it is clear that the Suhma country lay to the north of Tāmralipta, modern Tamluk in Midnapur district, a little to the interior not very far from the sea-coast and to the west of Vaṅga, apparently on the other side of the Bhāgīrathī. But it is not possible to locate the Suhmas more exactly from these data. But the boundaries of the Suhma kingdom, like those of all other kingdoms, shifted from time to time. In the *Mahābhārata* as well as in most other references Tāmralipti is mentioned separately from Suhma. According to the Jaina *Pannavaṇā* Tamalitti was included in Vaṅga. In the *Raghuvaṃśa* Tāmralipti is omitted, but apparently it was then a part of Vaṅga which seems to have extended up to the river Kapiśā, the modern Kāsāi which flows to the west of modern Tamluk. But the *Daśakumāracarita* refers to Dāmalipti as a city of the Suhmas, which shows that the Suhma kingdom had extended at that time so as to include that important city. In a later period the name Suhma went out of use and disappeared in the more comprehensive name of Rāḍhā.

Jaṭhara

It seems that a tribe called the Jaṭharas, though not very important, inhabited some part of western Bengal in old times. In the

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Bṛhat Saṃhitā they are mentioned between the Vaṅgas and the Upavaṅgas on the one hand and the Aṅgas on the other. In the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* they are mentioned immediately after Kaliṅga and Vaṅga and the three names form one compound word (*Kaliṅga-Vaṅga-Jaṭharāḥ*). The combined evidence of these two works would seem to show that the Jaṭharas were located somewhere near the Vaṅga, Kaliṅga and Aṅga janapadas. This seems to point to western Bengal or Rāḍhā. The Jaṭharas are again mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* (VI. 9) where, however, there is no indication about the location of this people.

A word of explanation about the word *pravijaya* found in the *Purāṇas* immediately after *Brahmottara* may not be out of place in this connection. This word occurs in the *Vāyu*, *Matsya* as well as *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇas*. This has led Pargiter to think that this was really the name of a people, and he has further suggested that they appear from the context to be the same as the *Prāvṛṣeyas* of the *Mahābhārata* (VI. 9. 50). There are, however, reasons to believe that the text of the *Jambukhaṇḍa-nirmāṇa-parvan* of the *Mahābhārata* is at least as corrupt as that of the *Purāṇas*. The word preceding *Prāvṛṣeya* in the *Mahābhārata* is *Samantarāḥ* which apparently stands for Suhmottarāḥ of the *Matsya* and *Brahmottarāḥ* of the other *Purāṇas*. *Samantarāḥ* is apparently a misreading. So is *prāvṛṣeyāḥ*. The real word here is neither *prāvṛṣeya* nor *pravijaya* as in the *Purāṇas*, but *prabhṛtayaḥ* meaning *et cetera*. The *Nāṭya-śāstra* of Bharata, which so closely follows the *Purāṇas* in the matter of the lists of janapadas of ancient India, has the word *prabhṛtayaḥ* in the place of *pravijayāḥ* This is fully confirmed by the *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* of Rājaśekhara which seems to have preserved the strings of geographical names current in ancient India much better than the *Purāṇas*. So it seems reasonable that we should dismiss the idea from our minds that the word *pravijaya* of the *Purāṇas* and *prāvṛṣeya* of the *Mahābhārata* stand for the name of any people in Eastern India.

PRABODH CHANDRA SEN

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The Prince of Wales Museum grant of Mahāsāmanta Indrakeśi

This lithic record is found in the Gallery of inscriptions of the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay. The stone on which the grant is engraved is about four feet tall and two broad. The surface is very irregular, and there are evidences of a crude execution. The script is ordinarily clear. It belongs to the later style of Kannaḍa writing, and slants a bit to the right. The text of the inscription is engraved separately on a slightly sunken surface. The invocatory verse and the first line of the text stand at the top and are surmounted by the figures of a cow, a calf, and a man facing them.*

The grant belongs to the year 1060 A.D. (Ś.S. 982). It refers to Indrakêśi, a Mahāsāmanta or feudatory under the Cālukya emperor Trailôkyamalla-deva. Indrakêśi governed Belvoḷa 300 and Purikara 300 as well as other districts, assisted by his son Jayakêśi. Another Jayakêśi, the father of the donor, is also mentioned. Thus we have three generations specified.

Jayakêśi
|
Indrakêśi
|
Jayakêśi

The first Jayakêśi is mentioned in a Hulgūr inscription of Ś.S. 960 (*EI.*, XVI, p. 332). The second one, the grandson, is mentioned in 1142 A.D. in the third of the "Three inscriptions of Lakṣmêśvar" edited by Dr. L. D. Barnett in *EI.*, XVI; and also in another of the Hulgūr inscriptions at p. 330, *EI.*, XVI. He appears to have distinguished

* These symbols are somewhat unique and are seen but rarely inscribed on lithic or copper records. In a Gupta stone inscription of the G. E. 269, there are engraved in outline, below the inscription towards the proper right side of the stone, a cow and a calf standing and nibbling at a small tree or bush (*Corp. Ins. Indicarum*, vol. III, p. 274). The similarity of the symbols of these records is remarkable. (Ed. *IHQ*).

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himself as a great general. The present record furnishes the missing link, as it were, between the first and the third generations of these Maṇaleras. This is the first inscription of Indrakêśi that has come to light. His queen is here named Kabbarasi.

These personages belonged to the Maṇalera family, which is also termed Maṇala. There are numerous references to the long line of kings of this family in early inscriptions. It is traced back to the time of Gaṅga king Śrīpuruṣa in the eight century. Possibly the family can be traced back to an earlier past. The Maṇaleras, before they transferred their allegiance to the Cālukyas, served under the Gaṅgas, and have been noticed in *EI.*, XVI at pp. 330 and 332, *Mysore Archæological Reports* for 1908-9, and *EI.*, VI, p. 52. The history and ancestry of the Maṇalera family have been set forth in detail at the last mentioned source.

The grant, engraved by Kallôja, records that Mahāsāmanta Indrakêśi sent for the forty-two mahājanas (dignitaries, evidently) of the village of Caṇḍivāḍi in Purikara nāḍ ruled over by General Maularasa, and gave them twelve *mattars* of land, another piece of land for keeping in repairs a drinking well, and an alms-house for feeding twelve Brahmins. He also gave to Bharasūri (a Jain priest) a freehold worth a rent of 30 *gadyāṇas* and a paddy field worth an annual rent of 60 *gadyāṇas*. The occasion for these grants was Vyātīpāta of the summer solstice, the full-moon day of the month of Pūṣyā, of the year Sārvari, S.S. 982. It corresponds to the Christian year 1060.

The province (deśa) of Purikara has been mentioned by name; Purikara is the Sanskritized form of Purikare, Pulikare or Huligere which has been identified as the modern Lakṣmêśvar. Siggāve, the capital of these feudatories according to this grant, is no other than the Shiggaon of the present day in the district of Dharwar. Shiggaon has been mentioned in another inscription at p. 257, *EI.*, VI. Two other places have also been named: the villages of Caṇḍivāḍī and Mānyageri.

These vassals call themselves Mahāsāmantas, the great feudatories. Indrakêśi's name is associated with a long list of titles. The Maṇaleras evidently occupied an important position under the Cālukyas.

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TEXT

१। नमस्तस्मै वराहाय लीलया चरते महीं खुरान्तरग
२। तो यस्य मेरुः खणखणायते ॥ स्वस्ति समस्तभुवनाश्रय
३। श्रीपृथ्वीवल्लभमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टारकम्
४। सत्याश्रयकुलतिलकम् चालुक्याभरणम् श्रीमत्त्रैलोक्यमल्लदेव
५। रु विजयराज्यमुत्तरोत्तराभिवृद्धिप्रवर्द्धमानमाचन्द्रार्कता
६। रम्वरम् सलुत्तमिरे ॥ तत्पादपद्मोपजीवि ॥ वृत्त ॥ मणलेरान्वयम्
षड़ेदन दे—
७। वीदलनमार्त्तण्डमत्युग्रभीषण खड्गाग्रविदारितानन्नृपतिव्यूहम्
८। धराचक्ररक्षणदक्षम् प्रतिपक्ष क... .... द (?) वज्जालि (?) प्रत.....
वुल्वण
९। कोपं जयकेशिभूपमवनिविख्यातकीर्तिव्रज ॥ तत्तनूभव ॥ ज
१०। यकान्तारमणं द्विषन्नृपवधूनेत्रोत्पलामभोजिनीदयितं तार-
११। तुषारहारहरहासाभासकीर्त्यङ्गनाप्रियमत्युन्नतचारु
१२। वीरचरितम् सत्यान्धवम् बाष्पमन्नेयसिङ्गम् नेगल्द-इन्द्रकेशि-सुभटप्र-
१३। स्तुत्यदोर्वीक्रम ॥ क ॥ आ नृपकान्ते पतिव्रते दानि दयाधीने चल्वे
१४। कव्वरसि गुणानूने जिनधर्म्मभूषणे जानकिगम् रूपविभवदि मि-
१५। गिल्-यनिपले ॥ आ दम्पतिगे तनूभवनादे जयकेशि वैरियन्निरे
१६। कर्णच्छेदनकृपाणपाणिदिशादन्तिविलग्नकीर्त्तिवल्लिवलय ॥ व ॥ इन्ता
१७। कुमारम् वेरस् इन्द्रकैशियरशर सिग्गावेद्योले सुखदिम् राज्यम् गेय्यु-
१८। त्तिर्द्दु ॥ श्रीमत् पुरिकरेदेस सिखामणि नडुनाड तीर्थमेनिसिद पेम्पिन्दे मा-
१९। तो चण्डिवाड ग्रामम् सकलाग्रहारललितलालाम ॥ ग्रामेश्वर नगधरपद
२०। तामरस कालीमुखम् परान्मुख वैरिस्तोममभिमुखसुहन्निधि सामान्य
२१। ने दण्डनायकम् मौलरस ॥ वृ ॥ आ .....पङ्केजगर्भाण्वयद महिमे
२२। यम् तालदि (?) कोन्दिर्परुव्वोंविदितव्वोंदोक्त धर्मानुगरखिल धरित्री
जनाहा—
२३। रदानास्पदरिन्द्राहीन्द्रबृन्दस्तुतभगवदुमाधीश-लक्ष्मीश-वागीश-दि-
२४। नाधीशाङ्घ्रि पङ्केरुह मदमधुपर संख्येयिम् नालवदिम्बरे (?) क ॥
२५। यमनियमस्वाध्यायकमदोले वेदादिशास्त्रनिश्चितमतियो

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२६। ले तमगे दोरेपाटिपोसटि (?) समंच शि(?)ष्या (?) त्रि (?) पु (?) ल
गौतम ऋषिगले ॥
२७। अन्तेनिषिद् समस्त महाजनमय वरिसि समधिगतपञ्चमहाशब्द
२८। महासामन्तनिदानीन्तन रेवन्तम् मणलेरान्वयप्रसूतम् सिङ्क (?)
२९। वन (?) प्रख्या (?)[त] पुरिकरे पुरवरेश्वरम् समरमाहेश्वरम् भगवद (?) प—
३०। रमेश्वर परमभट्टारकपदसरसिजमधुकरम् सम्यक्त्वरत्नाकरम् प्र-
३१। ण्डमण्डलेशमण्डितदोर्दण्डसङ्गरमार्तण्डनामादिसमस्तप्रशस्तिसहि-
३२। तम् श्रीमन्महासामन्तनिन्द्रकेशीयरसरस्सकवर्ष ९८२ नेय सार्वरि
३३। संवत्सरद पुष्यद पुण्णमियादित्यदारमुत्तरायणसंक्रान्तिव्यती
३४। पातनिमित्तम् पन्दिर्व्वरं ब्राह्मणर्गे सत्रम् नडेवन्तागि युरोडेय प्रमु-
३५। ख महाजनम् नाल्वदिम्वरकालम् कु (क?)र्च्छिधारापूर्वकम् माडि तस्म
सीवदि (?) दो-
३६। ल्गे वायव्यद देसेयोलूरोडेयर मान्यदि तेङ्क सर्वे नमस्यम-
३७। गि ३६ गेण गलेयोले विट्ट मत्त १२ कोडबाविगे विट्ट मत्त-आ-
३८। ब्बि सेट्टिय सभामन्टपदिम् पडुव मान्यगेरियिम् मुड सत्रके बि-
३९। त्त मने ल् मत्तम्आ पुण्यतिथियोल्—समस्त परिग्रहम् भरसूरिङ्क (?)
४०। गोट्ट धर्म्मवत्तले मन्नेय सेट्टाय गद्याणम् मूवत्तक्के वीम-
४१। डि सहितवरवत्तु गद्याणमनेल्लाकालमुम् तेत्तु सुखम् वालक्क
४२। रुलेरेय दौ (?) दनम् पञ्चरसवर्ज्जितम्-ईन्टी धर्म्ममम् स्वधर्म्मदिम् प्र-
४३। तिपालिसिदवर्गे वाणरासि प्रयाग कुरुक्षेत्रमेम्ब पुण्यतीं-
४४। र्थम्गलोले सासिर्व्वर्व्वेदपारगरप्प ब्राह्मणर्गे सासिर कविलेयम् कोडुम् को-
४५। लगुमम् पञ्चरत्नदिम् कत्तिसि-युभयमु- गोट्ट फलमक्कु ॥ गङ्गा सा-
४६। गर यमुना सङ्गमदोले वाणरासि गया येम्बि तीर्थम् गलोल्-आत्मकुलद्वि-
४७। जपुङ्गव गोकुलमनलिदर्-इन्त्-इदम् अलिदरे ॥ सामन्योयं धर्म्मसेतु-
४८। र्नृपाणां काले काले पालनीया भवद्भिः। सर्व्वानेतान् भाविनढ़ पार्थिवेन्द्रा-
४९। न्भूयोभूयो याचते रामभद्रः ॥ स्वदत्तं परदत्तं
५०। वा यो हरेत वसुन्धराम्। षष्टिर्व्वर्षसहस्राणि विष्ठायां
५१। जायते क्रिमिः ॥ मङ्गलमह ॥ श्री ॥ कल्लोजम् वेसेग्येदम् ॥

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Translation

Lines 1. Salutation to that Boar who wanders at will, and, between whose hoofs the Meru mountain vibrates.

,, 2-9. While, with his usual titles, the Cālukya emperor Trailokyamalla-deva was ruling his kingdom which prospers and will endure everlasting by his vassal, born in the Maṇalera family, the phalanx of his enemy kings broken with the tip of his terrible sword, efficient in the governance of the wheel,—the world, mighty in anger, the line of his fame spreading all over the world, was lord Jayakêśi.

,, 10-13. His son, the husband of Victory, a sun (of destruction) to the lilies, namely, the wives of enemy kings, the lover of the woman Fame who eclipses in her brightness even the sun,[1] a person of heroic and splendid career, a lover of truth, a lion among respectable people, was Indrakêśi whose kingdom was worthy of being praised by great men.

,, 13-15. The wife of that king, loyal to her husband, charitable, compassionate, beautiful, immaculate, devoted to the religion of Jina, in beauty and greatness greater even than Jānakī, was Kabbarasi.

,, 15-16. The son of that couple was Jayakêśi who, with a sword in his hand, cut off the ears of his enemies, and whose fame reached, like a circle of creeper, the elephants in the four quarters.

,, 17. Assisted by a son of such abilities was Indrakêśi ruling in happiness in Siggāve.

,, 18-19. There was the village of Māto Caṇḍivāḍi,[2] the crown and glory of all *agrahāras*, enjoying the reputation of a holy place in the centre of the excellent Purikara.

,, 19-21. A bee to the lotus,-the feet of lord Kṛṣṇa, the god of the village, with a host of enemies retreating before him,

1. I am not sure of the correctness of my translation here.
2. Or is it only Chandivāḍi?

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and a host of friends approaching him, is General Maularasa an ordinary man (?).

,, 21-24. Born in the family of Brahmā (i.e., a Brahmin by birth), known the world over, followers of the instructions laid down in the Vedas, a source of gift and food to the whole of mankind, bees to the lotus, the feet of the gods, Sun, Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśvara, who are praised by Indra, the lord of the serpents and others, were the Forty-two (mahājanas).

,, 25-26. They had no peers in judgment supported by the authority of the Vedas and other sacred sciences, and in the austere courses of restraint, discipline, study etc. They were equal to the sage Gautama and others (?).

,, 27-39. Sending for all these forty two mahājanas, the great vassal, possessor of such titles as—the obtainer of the five great musical instruments, a Rêvanta of the modern age, born in the Maṇalera family, a lion-like man, lord of the famous Purikara, a Rudra in battle, Paramêśvara, a bee to the lotus,—the position (or title) Paramabhaṭṭāraka, a mine of virtues, with his arms decorated (? worshipped) by even mighty Maṇḍalikas, a sun in battle and so on—Lord Indrakêśi washed their feet, and pouring water on the occasion of Vyātīpāta of the summer solstice, the full-moon day of Puṣyā of the year Śārvari S.S. 982 gave them, (1) 12 *mattars* measured by the pole of the length of 36 cubits (2) - - *mattars* for (?) the drinking well which lay to the south of the freehold of the headman (*urodeva*) of the village and in the northwest of his (Indrakêśi's) territory, (3) a house situated to the east of Mānyageri to the west of the lecture hall (*sabhā-maṇḍapa*) built by Āybi Seṭṭi, for the purpose of maintaining an alms-house (*satra*) for twelve Brahmins.

,, 39-42. He also gave on the same auspicious occasion to Bharasūri a freehold for a (?) religious object (*dharma-Vattaḷe*) with all the revenues accruing to it, of the value of 30 (?) Seḍhrāya *gadyāṇas*, and a muddy

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paddy-field that fetched him for all times a rent of 60 *gadyāṇas*, the (?) accessories (*vīmaḍi*) included.

„ 42-45. To those who preserve this gift intact given along with the five fluids (pañcarasa) will accrue the merit of having given a thousand cows to a thousand Brahmins well-versed in the Vedas in holy places like Bārāṇasī (Benares), Prayāga, and Kurukṣetra, and of having given a pond built with the five gems.

„ 46-47. To destroy this is to destroy oneself, one's race, worthy Brahmins, and a herd of cows in holy places like the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna, Benares and Gaya.

„ 47-51. (Usual ending verses and imprecations.)

May it be well. Kallôja engraved this.

B. C. S. Sharma

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Two new lists of Kalās

A knowledge of what were called the kalās appears to have occupied a very prominent place in the cultural equipment of the citizens of Ancient India. As a matter of fact, an expert knowledge of these was regarded as essential for all cultured and refined people. But curiously there does not seem to have ever been a strictly fixed connotation of the term kalā in its cultural aspect.

The *Rāmāyaṃa* seems to distinguish between music and dancing on the one hand and kalā on the other.[1] But there are some who include music and dancing in the list of kalās. The *Mahābhārata* refers to three kalās,[2] which, according to Nīlakaṇṭha, refer to *mantra*, *dravya* and *śraddhā*. Bhartṛhari in his *Vākyapadīya*[3] makes a distinction between *kalā* and *śilpa* though the latter is given as a synonym for kalā in the lexicons like *Amarakośa*, *Vaijayantī Kośa* and *Medini Kośa*. Rājaśekhara in his *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* (Chap. X) calls the kalās the *upavidyās* or minor branches of learning and distinguishes them from what he calls the *kāvyavidyās*, e.g., Rhetoric, Prosody etc. which are, however, found to have been included in the lists of kalās by some. This confusion with regard to the connotation of the term led to the compilation of different lists of kalās at different periods of time.

But in spite of the great importance of the subject in the cultural history of India—in spite of the good deal of confusion surrounding it, the subject of kalās does not seem to have been thoroughly studied by any scholar. The only systematic, but not strictly comprehensive, treatment of the subject is met with in a booklet of 92 pages written by Mr. A. Venkatasubbiah in 1911.

1 गीतवादित्रकुशला नृत्येषु कुशलास्तथा ।
उपचाराः कलाज्ञाश्च वैशिके परिनिष्ठिताः ॥ I. 9. 8

2 Aśvamedha Parvan—89. 3.

3 सा सर्व्वविद्या शिल्पानां कलानाञ्चोपबन्धनी

—*Vākyapadīya*, I, 136.

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Mr. Venkatasubbiah has given ten different lists of kalās as found in works belonging to different periods of time. The best known of these lists that occurs in the *Kāmasūtra* of Vātsyāyana as also in some of the commentaries on the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (X. 45. 35)[4] has also been dealt with in detail recently by Dr. P. K. Acharya.[5]

Besides the lists given in Mr. Venkatasubbiah's work there are other lists as well. In the present paper we shall deal with two hitherto-unnoticed lists.

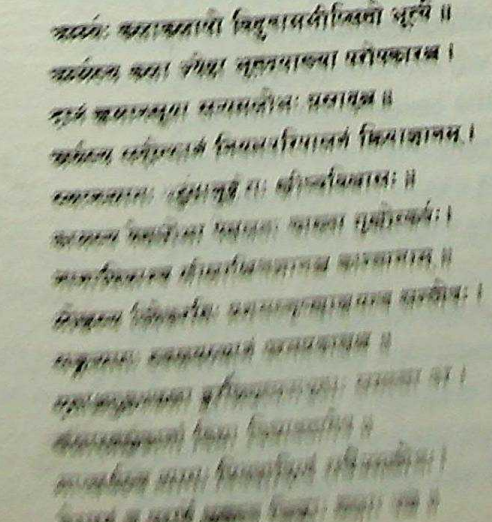
One of these belongs to Kṣemendra, the great polymath, and the other is taken from Bhāskararāya's commentary on *Lalitāsahasranāma*.

Kṣemendra has given two lists of kalās in his *Kalāvilās* (published in Kāvyamālā—Prathama Guccha, Nirnayasagar Press, Bombay). The list in the fourth canto of 64 arts of courtezans is referred to in the *JRAS* (1914, p. 357).

In the 10th canto of this work is given another list of kalā,[6]

4 It should be noted here that the list as given in the *Damśoddhāra*, a commentary by Rājārāma on the *Devīmāhātmya* (XI. 5) agrees with this list.

5 *IHQ.*, V. 1929. But curiously Dr. Acharya has made no reference either to the book of Mr. Venkatasubbiah or to the article in the *JRAS* (1914, p. 355 ff.) which deals with this book. This article is also referred to by Prof. Keith in his *History of Sanskrit Literature* (1924, p. 51, f. n. 2).

6 

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which are grouped here under several heads, e.g., *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma*, *mokṣa*, *sukha*, *śīla*, *prabhāva* (influence) and *māna* (respect). A group of ten kalās, given at the end of the list, is stated to be *bheṣaja* or salutary. In all he gives the number of kalās as 100 (X. 40) though he incidentally recognises the number sixty four. It will be noticed that almost all moral, spiritual and diplomatic qualities are considered by Kṣemendra as kalās.

The list of Bhāskararāya, the celebrated author of a good many Tantra works, is given, as has already been noted, in his commentary, called *Saubhāgyabhāskara* on the *Lalitāsahasranāma* which is stated to form a part of the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*. He gives the list in connection with his explanation of the epithet *catuḥṣaṣṭikalāmayī* (verse 109) as applied to the deity Lalitā. He gives the list in a metrical form, which he says is based on the work of Śārṅgadhara, the *Kaśhākoś* of *Śrīdhara* and the *Lakṣmīpīṭhikā* where the kalās are stated to have been enumerated in detail.[7] None of these works are

सत्सङ्गः कामजयः शौचं गुरुसेवन ?) सदाचारः ।
श्रुतममलं यशसि रतिर्मूलकलाः सप्त शीलस्य ॥
तेजः सत्त्वं बुद्धिर्व्यवसायो नीतिरिङ्गितज्ञानम् ।
प्रागल्भ्यं सुसहायः कृतज्ञता मन्त्ररक्षणं त्यागः ॥
अनुरागः प्रतिपत्तिर्मित्राज्जनमानृशंस्यमस्तम्भः ।
आश्रितजनवात्सल्यं सप्तदश कलाः प्रभावस्य ॥
मौनमलौल्यमयाच्ञा मानस्य च जीवितं कलात्रितयम् ।
एताः कला विदग्धैः स्वगताः कार्याश्चतुःषष्टिः ॥
शक्तिविरोधे गमनं तत्प्रणतिर्वा बलोदये वैरम् ।
आर्त्तस्य धर्म्मचर्या दुःखे धैर्यं सुखेष्वनुत्सेकः ॥
विभवेषु संविभागः सत्सु रतिर्मन्त्रसंश्रये प्रज्ञा ।
निन्द्येषु पराङ्मुखता भेषजमेतत्कलादशकम् ॥

अष्टादशलिपिबोधस्तल्लेखनशीघ्रवाचने चित्रम् ।
बहुविधभाषाज्ञानं तत्कविताश्रुतिनिगदिता थू तम् ॥
वेदा उपवेदाश्चत्वारः शास्त्राङ्गषट्के द्वे ।
तन्त्रपुराणस्मृतिकं काव्यालङ्कारनाटकादि द्वे ॥
शान्तिस्तम्भाकर्षणविद्वेषोच्चाटमारणानि च षट् ।

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known to have come down. No mention of any of them is made either in Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum* or in the section of Mr. Venkatasubbiah's work entitled *The Literature of the Kalās* (p. 69f.).[8]

This list which may be called the Tantric list, agrees closely with the tenth list of Venkatasubbiah which is found in Rāmacandra's commentary on Lakṣmaṇakavi's continuation of the *Campūrāmāyaṇa* as also in the encyclopædic work *Śivatattvaratnākara* of Vāsavarāja (17th century) of Keladi.[9]

A clear and definite Tantric tinge is lent to the list by the inclusion of the six practices of the Tantras (*māraṇa, uccāṭana* etc). And as Mr. Venkatasubbiah has hinted, many of the topics like the attainment of supernatural power included in this and other lists are really Tantric in character. Even though all the kalās were not Tantric in character they were referred to in more than one Tantra work. Commentators on the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* like Śrīdharasvāmin and Viśvanātha Cakravartī refer the kalās to Śaiva Tantra though they do not name any particular work. The *Lakṣmīpīṭhikā*, one of the sources on which Bhāskararāya depends for his list, may not unlikely have been a Tantra work. It is not known if the kalās, of which we are speaking, were in any way, connected with a category of the same

गतिजलवृष्ट्यग्न्यायुधवाग्रेतःस्तम्भसप्तकं शिल्पम् ।
गजहयरथनरशिक्षाः सामुद्रिकमल्लसूदगारुडकाः ॥
तत्तत्सुधिरानद्धघनेन्द्रजालनृत्तानि गीतरसवादौ ।
रत्नपरीक्षा चौर्य्यं धातुपरीक्षाप्यदृश्यत्वम् ।
इति भास्करसुधियोक्ता निष्कृष्य कलाश्चतुःषष्टिः ॥

Different Mss. of the work record some minor differences and variants in the list quoted above. Thus the list translated by R. Ananta Kṛṣṇa Śāstrī (*Lalitā-sahasranāma* with Bhaskararāya's Commentary translated into English, second edition, 1925, p. 124) does not include *citra* and reads *dṛṣṭi* for *vṛṣṭi*. In a footnote Mr. Śāstrī even refers to a Ms. which gives a different enumeration of the kalās.

8 It is not known, however, if *Śārṅgadhariya* as mentioned by Bhāskararāya, is the drama of the same name referred to in the *Catalogus Catalogorum* (I. p. 643).

9 Cf. p. 7 of the edition of the work published by B. M. Nath & Co., Vepery, Madras.

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name, born of Māyā and recognised in Śaiva Philosophy. According to the Śaiva system of Philosophy, kalā is the seat of all enjoyment.[10]

The list of Bhāskararāya has been translated by R. Ananta Kṛṣṇa Śāstrī in the course of his translation of the entire work. We shall satisfy ourselves only by adding notes on some of the items.

'Knowledge of the eighteen scripts' occurs as the first item in this list. Lists of these eighteen scripts are referred to by Mr. Venkatasubbiah (p. 9). It is not, however, known if *aṣṭādaśalipi* referred to a particular Tantric mantra as seems to be indicated by the occurrence of the word in *Nāradapañcarātra* (*Bib. Ind.*, 3. VI. 21.).

Śāstrī translates *śrutanigaditā* in *bahuvidhabhāṣāśrutanigaditā* as 'composing verses'. But a better and literal translation of the whole expression seems to be 'repetition of what was heard from poems of various languages'.

Upavedas.—Different lists of upavedas are met with in different works. *Āyurveda* (Science of medicine), *Dhanurveda* (Science of archery), *Gandharvaveda* (Science of music) and *Sthāpatyaveda* (Science of architecture) are the four *upavedas* according to the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. The list as given in *Caraṇavyūha* (Khaṇḍa, IV-V) and by Madhusūdana Sarasvatī in his *Prasthānabheda* (p. 2 of the Vanivilas Press edition) puts *Arthaśāstra* in place of *Sthāpatyaveda*. *Arthaśāstra*, again, in the opinion of Madhusūdana, is of various kinds and includes *Nītiśāstra*, *Aśvaśāstra*, *Śilpaśāstra*, *Sūpakāraśāstra* and *Catuḥṣaṣṭikalāśāstra*.[11] This is also the view of Nandarāma Tarkavāgīśa as set forth in his Saṃkhyāprakāśa.[12] Thus according to

10 भोगधात्री कला शं या तदाधारा पुद्गलः।
भोगानामपि नान्योऽस्ति कलां त्याज्य समाश्रयः॥

—*Mātaṅgaparameśvarāgama*

(Śivāgamaparipālana Saṃsthā, Devakotte)—*Kalātattvapaṭala*.

11 Separate works dealing with each of these 64 Kalās as given in the *Kāmasūtra* are known to have existed as late as the middle of the 17th century in the Library of Sarvavidyānidhāna Kavīndrācārya (*Kavīndrācārya Sūcīpatram*—G. O. S. Series, No. 17, p. 33).

12 *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the India office Library*, vol. IV, No. 2457. The *Daśakumāracarita* too distinguishes the kalās from

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this view it is not the kalās that count the upavedas under them but, on the other hand, the upavedas comprise the fine arts. It will also be noticed that this view would distinguish, unlike the ordinary lists of kalās, between cookery and śilpa on the one hand and the kalās on the other.

Śāstrasaṭka.—It cannot be stated what exactly was meant by this term. Śāstrī's translation is not clear on this point. The *Tantraśāstra* is, however sometimes called to be of six types.[13] According to the *Aṅkasaṃkhyānighaṇṭu* the word *śāstra* denotes the number six, though no mention is made of the names of the six śāstras.[14]

Aṅgaṣaṭka.—This, of course, refers to the six Vedāṅgas.

Kāvyālaṅkāranāṭaka.—It is curious that nāṭaka that is generally regarded as a branch of Kāvya is treated here separately.

Gatijalavṛṣṭyāgnyāyuāha etc.—Śāstrī connects śilpa with the seven stambhas, e.g., gatistambha, śilpa° etc. But śilpa might well be treated as a separate item.

Caurya.—Mr. Venkatasubbiah (p. 69) thinks that there are no books now extant on this subject. But there is a manuscript of a work, the *Ṣaṇmukhakalpa,* in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The late Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasād Śāstrī was the first to draw attention to this work in his *Report of the notice of Sanskrit Manuscripts* (1901-5). Peterson notices one work called the *Cauracaryā* by Viṭṭhaleśvara in his *Fifth Report of operations in search of Sanskrit Mss. in the Bombay Circle* (No. 174). In A. B. Kathavate's *Report for search of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Bombay Presidency* (No. 504) the work is called *Cauryasvarūpa.* There is also a Bengali work dealing with the skill of this art in the form of a story. This is the *Cauracakravartī* of Vīra Kāśiśvara, a manuscript of which is in the

Arthaśāstra, Purāṇa, Kāvya, etc. (Cf. Chapters V. p. 147 and VIII. p. 188 of M. R. Kale's edition—Bombay, 1926).

13 'षट्प्रकाराणि तन्त्राणि', 'षट्प्रकारे च शास्त्रे ऽस्मिन्'
—*Padmatantra,* India office Catalogue, vol. IV, No. 2532.

14 *Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā,* vol. XXXVI, p. 246.

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Baṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat. The story has been published in popular form in Bengali in the children's magazine called *Sandeśa* (1338 B.S.).[15]

Dhātuparīkṣā.—This is translated by Śāstrī as 'knowledge of pulse.' But a better rendering would possibly be 'examination of minerals' as the science of medicine, of which 'knowledge of pulse' is an important topic, comes under upaveda.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

15 It may be noted in passing that Mūladeva whose name is frequently mentioned in connection with the dissemination of *Cauryaśāstra* is probably the same person as the Mūladeva who describes the Kalās in Kṣemendra's *Kalāvilāsa* where (canto I) he is described as one who is fully versed in all the kalās (सकल-कलानिलयानां धुर्य्यः and as one who was taken resort to by the cheats of all quarters (नानादिग्देशागतधूर्त्तैरुपजोव्यमानमतिविभवः)

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Ancient coins found in Pañcāla, Ayodhya, Kauśāmbī and Mathurā—a Study

Ancient coins found in Pañcāla, Ayodhyā, Kauśāmbī and Mathurā have been studied by many Indologists from the second quarter of the 19th century up to the present day. Among these scholars the names of Prinsep,[1] Rivett Carnac,[2] Carlleyle,[3] Mitra,[4] Cunningham,[5] Indraji,[6] Rapson,[7] Smith,[8] Banerji,[9] Jayaswal,[10] and Barua[11] may be mentioned. In our present study we shall confine ourselves principally to the following particulars, viz., (a) the style and fabric, (b) the palæography of coin-legends, (c) the symbols on coins, (d) such contemporary inscriptions and (e) the Paurāṇika accounts of such ancient Indian dynasties as may have some bearing on the issuers of these coins. An exact knowledge about the coin-making in ancient India is necessary for an approximate idea about the antiquity of these coins. It is a well-known fact that the most ancient coins of India, e.g., the Punch-marked coins were cut from a hammered sheet of metal and sometimes clipped so as to be adjusted to the proper weight. The cast coins without legend and with legend, the die-struck coins with square incuse and with round

1 *Essays* ed. by Thomas, I, p. 418, Pl. XXXIV, 19-21 etc.; Pl. VIII, 12-15; *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, 1873, pp. 109, 191.

2 *JASB.*, 1880, p. 87, Pl. XVI-XVII.

3 *JASB.*, 1880, p. 21.

4 *JASB.*, 1880, p. 8.

5 *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 90, Pl. IX; p. 73, Pl. V. 7-18; p. 79, Pl. VII; p. 86, Pl. VIII, 1; p. 87, Pl. VIII, 9; p. 88, Pl. VIII; Pl. VIII, 13. *Archæological Survey Reports*, I, p. 301; III, pp. 14, 39; VI, pp. 165, 174; X, p. 4, Pl. II; XIV, p. 149, Pl. XXXI, 19-25.

6 *JRAS.*, 1894, p. 553, Pl. 10-14.

7 *Indian Coins*, Sec. 44, 49, 52, 53.

8 *Cat. Coins, Indian Museum*, Calcutta, vol. I.

9 *Prācīna Mudrā*, pp. 103-104; pp. 105-106; pp. 106-108.

10 *JBORS.*, 1917, pp. 425-485.

11 *Old Brāhmī Ins. in Khandagiri and Udayagiri Caves.*

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incuse—these four types of coins, as classes, came successively, the first being the earliest.

The so-called Ayodhyā coins

The ancient city of Ayodhyā is well-known in Sanskrit, Pāli and Chinese writings, though now it has lost its importance. Coins which are popularly known as the Ayodhyà coins are found not at Ayodhyā proper, but at the modern city of Fyzabad, which has replaced, in some respects, the ancient city of Ayodhyā.

Up to the present day some anonymous coins and coins of the undermentioned kings have been found here. We may classify them, according to the ending of names, thus :

A. Anonymous coin

B. (1) Dhanadeva (2) Māladeva
(3) Vāyudeva (4) Viśākhadeva

C. Śivadatta

D. Kumudasena

E. (1) Ajavarmā (2) Mādhavavarmā

F. (1) Devamitra (2) Indramitra
(3) Satyamitra (4) Saṅghamitra
(5) Sūryamitra (6) Bahasatimitra
and (7) Vijayamitra

Cunningham is of opinion that the coins of Viśākhadeva and Dhanadeva are 'certainly not older than the second century B.C.'[12] Rapson says that 'the oldest coins seem to be the cast pieces, the date of which is, perhaps, before 200 B.C. The square inscribed pieces, most of which are also cast, may belong to the second century B.C. The other coins, which bear names ending in *-mitra*, seem to belong to the same and following centuries.'[13] Rapson improves his theory later on while describing the coins of Kumudasena. He observes that 'the inscribed coins attributed to Ayodhyā fall into two classes, (1) square cast, and (2) round struck. The present specimen belongs to the latter, and, like the coins of this class generally, it has the side bearing the name of the king struck

12 *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 91.
13 *Indian Coins*, p. 11.

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in incuse, but with this peculiarity, that in this case the incuse is square while in all other cases it is round. The square incuse is characteristic of some of the coins of Kauśāmbī, Mathurā and Pañcāla, and is probably the result of impressing a square die on a lump of metal in a semi-molten state. As the earliest form of this incuse, like the shape of the earliest Indian coins, is square, it may, perhaps, be assumed generally that coins having a circular incuse are later in date. If so, our coin must be placed first in the series of the struck coins of Ayodhyā as known at present'.[14]

We know from an examination of these coins that those which belong to the classes A, B & C, are cast. The coins of the class A are cast without legend, but the coins of the classes B & C bear the name of the issuers. The legend of the coin of Śivadatta has been read by Cunningham as Śiva-datasa,[15] and by Smith as simply (*Śiva* ?)*datasa*.[16] No numismatist has given, as yet, an approximate idea of the dates of the coins of the classes B & C.

The coins of Śivadatta may be given an earlier date on the following grounds : On the obverse of the coins of Śivadatta there is a moving elephant and this is to be found on the obverse of the coins of Mūladeva, Vāyudeva and on some coins of Dhanadeva. The elephant is conspicuous by its absence on the obverse of some coins of Dhanadeva and on the obverse of all coins of Viśākhadeva, Kumudasena, Mādhavavarmā, Ajavarmā, and the Mitra kings, a humped bull occupying the place instead. Thus the coins of Dhanadeva form a landmark in the history of these coins because on the obverse of some of his coins we have the elephant moving and on some other the humped bull. Perhaps for some cause, not known, Dhanadeva changed the obverse device and used the humped bull in place of the elephant. The coins of Kumudasena are the first of the die-struck coins of Ayodhyā because the incuse is square.[17] The coins of two kings whose names end in *-varmā* are also die-struck with square incuse while the coins of the kings whose names end in *-mitra* are die-struck with round incuse. Thus the coins of two Varmā kings might, with all probability, be placed between the classes D and F. By

14 *JRAS.*, 1903, pp. 287-88.
15 *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 93.
16 *Cat. Coins, Indian Museum*, Calcutta, vol. I, p. 149.
17 *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 150, nos.14, 15.

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the palæographic test we arrive at the same result. The legends on the coins of Mūladeva and Vāyudeva are not distinctly legible but those on the coins of Dhanadeva and Viśākhadeva are of the Aśokan Brāhmī type i.e. they belong to the third century B. C. Palæographically the date of the legends on the coins of Kumudasena is later than that of the four kings whose names end in *-deva*. In the same way it can be shown that the coins of the *Mitra* kings are later than those of the *Varmā* kings and of Kumudasena. We can now chronologically arrange the coins thus :

A. Anonymous coin

B. Śivadatta

C. (1) Mūladeva (2) Vāyudeva
(3) Dhanadeva (4) Viśākhadeva

D. Kumudasena

E. (1) Ajavarmā (2) Mādhavavarma

F. (1) Devamitra (2) Indramitra
(3) Satyamitra (4) Saṅghamitra
(5) Sūryamitra (6) Bahasatimitra
and (7) Vijayamitra

From a study of these coins we can guess that there might have flourished five dynasties at Ayodhyā i.e. the *Datta*, *Deva*, *Sena*, *Varmā* and *Mitra*.

Smith has described no less than 40 such coins.[18] It is interesting to note that all these coins are made of copper, a few being of brass (cf. no. 4 of Dhanadeva and nos. 10 & 11 of Śivadatta). On the obverse of the anonymous, circular, cast coin (nos. 12 & 13) we find a fish left, Svastika above and on the reverse 'Taurine' with a steel-yard below. On the obverse of the coins of Śivadatta (nos. 8-11), which are cast, an elephant moving left towards a tree or symbol in railing, Brāhmī legend *Śivadatasa* above and on the reverse many symbols including the Ujjain symbol the central device may be a goddess seated on lotus. On the obverse of the coins of Mūladeva we find an elephant moving left

18 *Cat. Coins, Indian Museum*, Calcutta, vol. I, pp. 148-151, nos. 1-4.

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towards a Buddhist symbol ; Brāhmī legend *Mūladevasa* and on the reverse wreath in centre, snake below, Buddhist symbol above.[19] On the obverse of the coins of Vāyudeva, we find elephant moving to left ; Brāhmī legend *Vāyudevasa* and on the reverse four *triratna* symbols on four sides of small circle, Bodhi trees on right and left and snake below.[20] The coins of Dhanadeva are of the types as noted before. On the obverse of the first type we find the elephant moving and Brāhmī legend *Dhanadeva* and on the reverse the 'Ujjain' symbol. On the obverse of the second type we find the humped bull standing left facing a peculiar column and Brāhmī legend *Dhanadeva* and on the reverse in centre a solar symbol, snake below, a tree in railing on each side ; above a *triśūla* symbol of the *nandīpāda* form (nos. 3-7). On the obverse of the coins of Viśākhadeva we find a bull standing and Brāhmī legend *Viśākhadevasa* and on the reverse the above mentioned symbols (1-2a). It should be noted that all these coins are cast.

The coins of Kumudasena and Ajavarmā are die-struck with legend in square incuse. The legends and devices are of the same type as we find on the coins of Viśākhadeva (nos. 14-16).

The coins of the Mitra rulers found at Ayodhyā are known as of the Cock and Bull type because of the fact that on the obverse of every coin we find a bull standing, Brāhmī legend inscribing the king's name and on the reverse a cock standing (nos. 17-36) in front of a palm tree. Some coins of Vijayamitra are known as of the Solar symbol type (37-40). All these coins are die-struck with obverse round incuse

Regarding the Mitra kings we will only say here that some rulers, as known from a study of these coins, most probably belonged to the imperial Śuṅga-Mitra dynasty of Magadha, the list of which has been found in the *Purāṇas*. We shall enter into a detailed discussion of the controversies regarding the attribution of these to the Śuṅga-Mitra dynasty when we shall discuss the Kauśāmbī- and Pañcāla-Mitra coins. Suffice it to say that at Ayodhyā two classes of these coins are found viz. (1) the coins of the Imperial Śuṅga-Mitra rulers and (2) of the Later Mitra rulers. The following kings, as found from a study of these coins, may be identified with some rulers mentioned in the *Purāṇas* :—

19 *Coins of Ancient India*, 91-92. 20 *Ibid.*, p. 92.

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A. (1)* Bahasatimitra may be identified with Puṣyamitra (1)† —*c.* 188 B.C.

(2)* Sūryamitra " " Vasumitra (4)† —*c.* 137 B.C.

(3)* Indramitra " " Vajramitra (8)† —*c.* 114 B.C.

(4)* Devamitra " " Devabhūti (10)† —*c.* 66 B.C.

B. *The Later Mitras*

(1) Satyamitra
(2) Saṅghamitra
(3) Vijayamitra

We will not enter into any discussion now regarding nos. 1,3 and 4 under A (See *infra*).

Regarding the identification of Sūryamitra with Vasumitra Jayaswal writes on the basis of Jain accounts that some of the Śuṅgas had double names like the Mauryas. The two Jaina chronologies give the following double names :

Balamitra = Agnimitra
Bhānumitra = Vasumitra[21]

Now Bhānu means Sun i.e. Sūrya. On this ground we are tempted to identify Sūryamitra with Bhānumitra and similarly with Vasumitra, the fourth imperial Śuṅga monarch. We have found coins of Sūryamitra not only at Ayodhyā but also at Pañcāla and Mathurā. This fact makes our position clearer. Again as these coins are made of copper, this hypothesis can stand because copper coins did not travel much from the place of their origin.

There flourished at least 8 kings at Ayodhyā before the accession of Bahasatimitra. If we accept *c.* 188 B.C. as the probable date of Bahasatimitra's accession, then, by allowing 10 years per generation, Mādhavavarmā, Ajavarmā, Kumudasena, Viśākhadeva, Dhanadeva, Vāyudeva, Mūladeva, Śivadatta and the issuer of anonymous

* The numerical figures denote the number of kings whose coins are found.

† The numerical figures indicate the place of the king in the succession-list of the Śuṅga-Mitra dynasty as found in the *Purāṇas*.

21 *JBORS.*, 1917, pp. 425-485.

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coins should be placed in the period extending from *c.* 280 B.C.—190 B.C., Mūladeva and Vāyudeva flourishing in *c.* 260 B.C.—240 B.C. Thus the statement of Cunningham that the coins of Mūladeva and Vāyudeva "are certainly not older than the second century B.C." is open to criticism.

It is quite possible that when the imperial Śuṅgas were driven out from Magadha by the Kāṇvas, the descendants of the Śuṅgas ruled there as petty princes. Such parallel cases are not absent in ancient Indian history.

The so-called Kauśāmbī coins

"This famous old city of Kosambi is now represented by a grand ruined fort on the Jumna with its two villages of Kosam-Inām and Kosam-Khirāj or 'Rent-free' and 'Rent-paying' Kosam. It is just 31 miles above the fort of Allahabad. It was the capital of the Vatsas, and was, therefore, generally known as the Vatsa-pattana, or the Vatsa city".[22] "The coins found at Kosam range from the very earliest punch-marked bits of silver and copper down to the time of Akbar. But out of the whole number of 394 coins, only 50 are Muhammadan, or about one-eighth; while no less than 100 are the common square cast-coins with the elephant and Buddhist symbols. More than 30 of the Hindu coins are inscribed, and all of them in characters of a period earlier than the beginning of the Christian era. Sixteen of them bear the name of Bahasatimitra, two belong to Devamitra, one to Aśvaghoṣa and three to Jeṭhamitra".[23] The legend, which was read as Aśvaghoṣa by Cunningham, is certainly Ghoṣa, as shown by Smith.[24] Smith has described the coin of another king named Pavata.[25]

The four coins described by Smith[26] are of copper. On the obverse of the anonymous coin we find a tree in railing, six-arched caitya, eight-rayed wheel, the Nandīpāda, Ujjain and Svastika symbols and on the reverse a humped bull.[27]

22 *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 73.
23 *Archæological Survey Reports*, Cunningham, X, p. 4.
24 *Cat. Coins, Indian Museum*, Calcutta, vol. I, p. 155, no. 2.
25 *Ibid*, no. 3. 26 *Ibid*, no. 1-4.
27 *Ibid*, no. 4.

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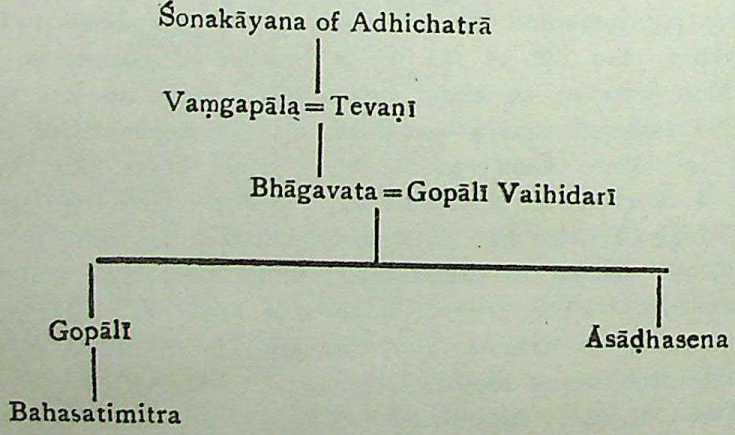
On the obverse and the reverse of the coins of Bahasatimitra, Ghoṣa and Pavata we find the above-mentioned devices, and legends of the kings' name.[28]

Who were these princes? Were they all local princes as has been suggested by some numismatists or were some of them identical with the imperial Śuṅga monarchs, of whom we find an account in the *Purāṇas*? Who was Bahasatimitra? That Bahasatimitra was a great ruler is known from the two inscriptions found at Pabhosa, 32 miles south west of Allahabad.

No. I, as read by Dr. Führer, runs thus:—Rājño Gopālīputrasa Vahasatimitrasa mātulena Gopālīyā Vaihidarīputrena (Āsā) Āsāḍhasenena lenaṃ kāritaṃ (Udākaṣa) dasame sabachare Kassapīyānaṃ arahaṃ[tā]naṃ.....

No II runs thus:—Adhichatrāyā rāño Śonakāyanaputrasya Vaṃgapālasya putrasya rāño Tevaṇīputrasya Bhāgavatasya putreṇa Vaihidarīputreṇa Āsāḍhasenena kāritaṃ.[29]

From these two inscriptions we can have the following geneological table:



Āsāḍhasena dates the inscription No. I in the 10th regnal year of a king named Udaka (?). Führer has not been able to read this correctly. According to Jayaswal it is Odraka. This Odraka, according to the rules observed in recording Indian inscriptions, must have been the king or the overlord of the place where the inscription was engraved. The place was apparently outside the

28 *Cat. Coins, Indian Museum*, I, nos. 2-3.
29 *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. II, pp. 240-43.

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territory governed by the Rājās of Adhichatrā but under the suzerainty of Odraka.

The Pabhosa inscription palæographically belongs to the Śuṅga period. We may take this Odraka as identical with the 5th imperial *Śuṅga* ruler who flourished in *c.* 129 B.C. as shown by Jayaswal. This inscription was caused to be written in the 10th year of the rule of Odraka. Thus the date of this inscription is approximately *c.* 120 B.C.

Another inscription found at Mora, 7 miles west of Mathurā city, runs thus :—Jivaputāye Rājabharyāye Bṛhāsvātimita (dhi) tu yaśa mataye kāritaṃ. (Made by order of Yaśamatā, the daughter (?) of Bṛhāsvātimita, the king's consort (and) the mother of living sons).[30] This inscription which is of the period of the Pabhosa inscription shows that he was a great ruler because Yaśamatā was proud of being his daughter.

In the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela the 13th line runs as follows : 'māgadhaṃ ca rājānaṃ Bahasatimitaṃ pāde vaṃdāpayati' [i.e., (Khāravela) compelled Bahasatimita, the king of Magadha, to bow at his feet]. As the inscription is in a very bad state of preservation, scholars differ in their readings. Except one or two scholars, all read it as Bahasatimitam or some such.

Scholars	*Their readings*
Prinsep	Ibahaga sāsita
Cunningham	Bahasati sita
Indraji	Bahu paṭisāsita
Jayaswal	Bahapatimitraṃ formerly ; Bahasatimitaṃ later.
Majumdar	Bahu pasasitam, but adds that 'I do not of course deny that the reading Bahasatimitam might, after all, be proved to be correct.....'
Barua	Bahasatimitaṃ[31]

Thus we see that the general tendency is to take this as Bahasatimita. Jayaswal has shown that this Bahasatimitra was nobody but

30 *JRAS.*, 1921. p. 120.

31 *Old Brāhmī Inscriptions in the Khaṇḍagiri and Udayagiri Caves*, pp. 22-23.

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Puṣyamitra because we know that Bṛhaspati is the deity of the Puṣyā Nakṣatra (*Śāṅkhāyana Gṛhya Sūtra*, 1. 26. 6). Both are identical. The coins of Bahasatimitra are found not only at Kauśāmbī, but also at Ayodhyā and Pañcāla. All these coins are made of copper. These coins, being of no great value, were not taken from one part of the country to another. These two numismatic evidences make our position much better. 'On a study of coins I find', writes Jayaswal 'the coins of Bahasatimitra are unmistakably earlier than those of Agnimitra. Bṛhaspatimitra, therefore, cannot but be identical with Puṣyamitra.'[32] 'The evidence of coins and inscription, the date and nomenclature, all point to the identification of Bṛhaspatimitra with Puṣyamitra and with no one else'.[33]

In the Paurāṇika list of the Śuṅga dynasty we find Ghoṣa (identical with Ghoṣavasu) to be the 7th ruler. At Kauśāmbī there is the coin of a king named Ghoṣa. His coins are also found at Mathurā. These coins, found at Kauśāmbī and Mathurā, palæographically belong to the Śuṅga period. On this ground this Ghoṣa of the coins may be identified with the king of the same name found in the Paurāṇika list. It may be that Ghoṣavasu is a mistake for Ghoṣa made by the copyists. Jeṭhamitra and Devamitra of the coin-types have been identified with Vasu Jyeṣṭha (identical with Su-Jyeṣṭha) and Devabhūti respectively of the Śuṅga dynasty.

We have three successive stages regarding the antiquity of these coins viz., (1) anonymous cast coins with no legend, (2) the coins of Bahasatimitra, Ghoṣa, Jeṭhamitra and Devamitra and (3) Pavata's coins, which palæographically belong in all probability to the Gupta period. Thus we have :

A. Anonymous coin

B. (1)* Bahasatimitra identified with Puṣyamitra (1)† —*c.* 188 B.C.

(2)* Jeṭhamitra „ „ Vasu-Jyeṣṭha or Su-Jyeṣṭha (3)†—*c.* 144 B.C.

C. Pavata.

32 *JBORS.*, 1917, p. 477. 33 *Ibid.*, p. 480.

* The numerical figures denote the number of kings whose coins are found.

† The numerical figures indicate the place of the kings in the succession-list of the Śuṅga-Mitra dynasty as found in the *Purāṇas*.

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(3)* Ghoṣa identified with „ Ghoṣa (7)† —*c.* 117 B.C.

(4)* Devamitra „ „ Devabhūti (10)† —*c.* 66 B.C.

The so-called Pañcāla coins

Writing about the coins of Pañcāla, Cunningham remarked, 'as the coins which I am now about to describe are found in Rohilkhand, and chiefly at Ahichatra, Anola and Budaon, it is quite certain that they belong to North Pañcāla. It has been suggested that they belong to the Śuṅga kings, who ruled over North India after the Mauryas for 112 years, or from B.C. 178-66. But the assignment is uncertain, as only one of the coin names, Agnimitra, is found in the Paurāṇika list of the Śuṅgas.....I rather incline to assign the coins to a local dynasty of princes, as they are very rarely found beyond the limits of the North Pañcāla, which would not be the case did they belong to the paramount dynasty of the Śuṅgas....In the Sanskrit drama of *Mālavikāgnimitra*, translated by Wilson, Agnimitra, son of Puṣpamitra, and father ot Vasumitra, is called king of Vidiśā on the Vetravatī, that is, of Besnagar on the Betwa river. As these three names head the list of the Śuṅga kings, it would seem that the Śuṅgas were rulers of East Malwa. I conclude, therefore, that the coins found in Rohilkhand are those of some local dynasty and not of the paramount Śuṅga kings.'[34]

His contention that the kings whose names end in *-mitra* and whose coins are found at Pañcāla are local princes cannot be accepted as true.

As to the first point Rivett-Carnac and Jayaswal have shown that several coin-names besides that of Agnimitra may be identified with those found in the *Purāṇas*.

As to the second point I have shown in my discussion regarding the coins of Ayodhyā and Kauśāmbī that the Mitra coins are also found at Mathurā.

As to the third point it should be noted that Puṣyamitra, Agnimitra and Vasumitra had their capital at Pāṭalīputra and not at Vidiśā as Cunningham has said. Smith rightly observes regarding

*† See footnotes in the previous page.

34 *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 79-80.

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the capital of Puṣyamitra that 'it presumably continued to be, as of old, Pāṭalīputra'.[35]

It may now safely be stated that some of these Mitra rulers belonged to the imperial Śuṅga dynasty. Moreover we know for certain that the coins of one king have been found at different places and that all these are made of copper. The coins of Bahasatimitra are found at Ayodhyā, Kauśāmbī and Pañcāla, those of Ghoṣa at Kauśāmbī and Mathurā, those of Indramitra at Ayodhyā and Pañcāla and those of Devamitra at Kauśāmbī and Ayodhyā. The style and epigraphy of these coins are of the Śuṅga period.[36]

Coins of the following Mitra kings have been found here :—

(1) Agnimitra. (2) Bhānumitra. (3) Bhūmimitra. (4) Bṛhaspatimitra. (5) Dhruvamitra. (6) Indramitra. (7) Jayamitra. (8) Phālgunīmitra. (9) Sūryamitra. (10) Viṣṇumitra. (11) Aṇumitra.

This Bahasatimitra is identical with the Bahasatimitra whose coins are found at Ayodhyā and Kauśāmbī. Bhānumitra has been identified with Vasumitra by Jayaswal.[37] Most probably Dhruvamitra is identical with Vasumitra, because Dhruva being one of the 8 Vasus, Dhruvamitra might have Vasumitra as a second name. Coins of a king named Bhadraghoṣa have been found at Pañcāla. Jayaswal opines that he is the same as Ghoṣa identical with Ghoṣavasu, the seventh Śuṅga ruler according to the *Purāṇas*. But as we have found coins of a king named Ghoṣa at Kauśāmbī and Mathurā, we can reject this statement. Bhadraghoṣa is most probably a different person.

The Śuṅga kings may therefore be chronologically arranged on the evidence of coins found at Pañcāla in the following way :

*(1) Bahasatimitra identical with Puṣyamitra (1)†—*c.* 188 B.C.

*(2) Agnimitra identical with Agnimitra (2)†—*c.* 152 B.C.

*(3) Dhruva- or Bhānu- or Sūrya-mitra identical with Vasumitra (4)†—*c.* 137 B.C.

*(4) Indramitra identical with Vajramitra(8)†—*c.* 114 B.C.

35 *Early History of India*, p. 209.

36 *Indian Coins*, p. 13. 37 *JBORS.*, 1917, p. 477.

* The numerical figures denote the number of kings whose coins are found.

† The numerical figures indicate the place of the kings in the succession-list of the Śuṅga-Mitra dynasty as found in the *Purāṇas*.

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There remain five more Mitra rulers to be identified. Most probably they ruled as petty princes after the overthrow of the imperial Śuṅga dynasty. As a corroborative evidence it is to be noted that the coins of Phālgunīmitra palæographically is not of the Śuṅga period. Viṣṇumitra may be placed as the earliest ruler of this group because his coins are found not only at Pañcāla but also at Mathurā while coins of the other kings are found only at Pañcāla. An inscription found at Mora runs thus :—.....mitrasa-putrasa-raño Viṣṇumitrasa dhitu-Idragibhadaye dhatiye Gotamasa Mitraye danam thambho.[38] Most probably this Viṣṇumitra is identical with that of the coin-legend. We know for certainty that he was a prince and that the name of his father ended in -mitra.

There remains four more rulers to be identified viz. Bhadraghoṣa, Rudragupta, Viśvapāla and Acyuta. We do not know when the first three kings flourished but we can make the conjecture that they most probably ascended the throne after the later Mitras. Acyuta has been identified by Smith with the Acyuta of the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta[39] and thus his date is *c.* 330 A.D.

Smith has described 33 Æ Pañcāla coins. On the obverse and the reverse of the coins of Agnimitra we find 3 symbols, Brāhmī legend Agnimitrasa in square incuse and a figure, presumably of Agni, standing on low railing between two posts ; five rays proceeds from his head respectively.[40] On the obverse of the coins of Bhānumitra we find the Brāhmī legend Bhānumitrasa, with 3 symbols above and the reverse is defaced. We find on the obverse and the reverse of all the Pañcāla coins similar type of symbols. But the coins of Acyuta differ from this class. These coins which are of copper have been divided into two classes viz. (1) 'Name' type cast and (2) 'Roman head' type die-struck. On the obverse of the coins of the first type we find the Brāhmī legend Acyu- in bold characters and on the reverse wheel or sun with eight spokes. On the obverse of the coins of the second type we find head and neck of king right, as on a Roman denarius, behind head *a*, in front *cyu*, and on the reverse wheel or sun with eight spokes. I wish to place the coins of the second type later because these coins are die-struck and

38 *JRAS.*
39 *Cat. Coins, Indian Museum*, Calcutta, vol. 1, p. 186.
40 *Ibid*, p. 187. nos. 1-4.

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are influenced by Roman culture, while the coins of the former type are cast and no such influence is to be traced.

From a study of the symbols on the coins of Pañcāla we can have an idea about the religion professed by these kings. Cunningham writes, 'from this detailed examination of their coins, I conclude that the Rājās of Pañcāla were certainly Brahminists, as there is an entire absence of Buddhist symbols, coupled with the use of Brāhmaṇical names, such as Rudra and Viṣṇu, Indra, Agni and Sūrya.'[41]

The so-called Mathurā coins

At Mathurā many coins were found up to the present day. The princes whose coins are found are Balabhūti, Gomitra, Viṣṇumitra, Suryamitra, Ghoṣa, Bhavadatta, Kāmadatta, Puruṣadatta, Rāmadatta, Śeṣadatta, Śiśucandradatta, Śivadatta, Uttamadatta, Bhūmidatta and Vīrasenā. Regarding these coins Smith writes, 'Cunningham knew of only three specimens of Balabhūti; four more are now described, and three bad specimens have been excluded. The coins of Puruṣadatta are also rare. Carlleyle found a specimen at Bhuila Dih in Basti district, U. P., to the east of Oudh (*Reports*, XII. 145, 164). Bhavadatta is new, but see *JRAS.*, 1900, p. 113. Three are now added to the five specimens of Uttamadatta previously known. The coins of Rāmadatta are fairly common. Carlleyle found examples associated with coins of the satraps Rañjubula and Śoḍāsa at Indor Khera in the Bulandshar district, U. P. (*Reports*, XII. 43).'[42]

He observes again, "The coins of Gomitra, Viṣṇumitra, and Sūrya (Suya) are,....., I think, latter than those of the princes previously mentioned."[43] (*Ibid*). This later proposal can be criticised. As it will be shown, the Mitra coins are undoubtedly earlier than the coins of the former group. Regarding the coins of Vīrasena, Smith observes, "the coins of this ruler are most readily procured in the Mathurā bazar, where Cunningham obtained about a hundred. Carlleyle got thirteen at Indor Khera in the Bulandshar District, while Mr. Burn and others have collected them in the Etah District, as well as at Kanauj and other places in the neighbouring Farrukhabad District.

41 *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 84.
42 *Cat. of Coins in Indian Museum*, vol. 1, p. 190.
43 *Ibid.*

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It is clear, therefore, that Vīrasena ruled in the Central Doab, between the Ganges and the Jumna".[44]

A chronological order regarding these coins may be roughly worked out in the following way. The cast coin, which is found in the neighbourhood of Mathurā and bears the inscription Upatikya in Brāhmī at least as early as the third century B. C., may be looked upon as the earliest coin found here.[45] The coins of Balabhūti have legends in Brāhmī script of, probably, the 2nd century B. C.[46] The coins of Balabhūti are also connected with those of Bahasatimitra by identity of type—a caitya tree—and epigraphy. This tree is also found on the coins of Agnimitra according to Carlleyle.[47] Sūryamitra and Ghoṣa have been already identified with Vasumitra and Ghoṣa respectively. The Viṣṇumitra of Mathurā may be identical with the Viṣṇumitra of Pañcāla. The coins of Viṣṇumitra are found not only at Mathurā but also at Pañcāla as I have already shown, while the coins of Brahmamitra and Gomitra are found at Mathurā only. This fact most probably shows that Viṣṇumitra was more powerful than Brahmamitra and Gomitra, and thus earlier than the other two. At Ghaneshara, a village situated some three miles west of Mathurā city to the north of the road to Govardhana, some inscribed bricks have been found. On one brick we find the legend '*Gomita*', the same on the second, '*...mitamacena*' on the third and '*...cena Kohaḍena*' on the fourth. If we join these bricks, we find the following inscription 'Gomitāmachena Kohaḍena (kāritaṃ)[48] i. e. (made) by Kohaḍa, the minister of Gomitra. This Gomitra is most probably the Gomitra of the coin-legends. In this connection the Bodh Gayā Corner Pillar inscription of the wife of Brahmamitra, viz. Nāgadevī, should be noted. Coins have been found of 9 kings whose names end in *-datta*. Most probably these kings belonged to one dynasty. Now to what period are these rulers to be assigned? We know that the Śuṅgas ruled for 112 years i. e., *c.* 118 B. C.—*c.* 65 B. C. and the satraps of Mathurā from *c.* 80 B. C.—*c.* 50 A. D. So in the latter mentioned period there was most probably no Hindu local chief

44 *Cat. of Coins in Indian Museum*, vol. I, p. 191.
45 *Indian Coins*, p. 13. 46 *Ibid.*
47 *Cat. of Coins in Indian Museum*, vol. I, p. 186.
48 *JRAS.*, 1912, p. 122.

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at Mathurā. Indraji assigned these coins to the period of the decline of the Śaka power at Mathurā. Taking these controversies into consideration, we can say that Rāmadatta might have flourished before the satraps but others most probably flourished after the *satrapal* rule.

That Vīrasena was a king of the Central Doab between the Ganges and the Jumna is noted before. An inscription of a king named Vīrasena has been found at Jankhat in the Tiwa tahsil of the Farukkhabad District, U.P. The inscription runs thus :—Svamisa Virasenasa samvatsara 10 3 giṣmanam pakṣe 4 divase 8...mime... (j) ika (va)...ya...tata . ir...naya ...epru (sa)···ni (ma) i.e. in the year 10 & 3 i.e., 13 of Svāmi Vīrasena, in the fortnight 4 of the hot season, on the day 8. The date of this inscription, according to Smith, is *c.* 335 A.D. On the palæographical ground it appears that this inscription should be assigned to a date later than the 2nd century A.D. This fact agrees with Smith's conjecture. It is probable that this Vīrasena is identical with the Vīrasena of the coin-legend.

To sum up, we can say that there flourished most probably two types of monarchy—imperial and local—at Ayodhyā, Kauśāmbī, Pañcāla and Mathurā. From *c.* 280 B.C.—*c.* 190 B.C. there was local monarchy prevalent at Ayodhyā. In the last quarter of the third century B.C. the monarchical form of government was also at Kauśāmbī and Mathurā. Secondly, during the period *c.* 188 B.C.—*c.* 66 B.C. the imperial Śuṅgas established their hegemony over all these parts of India and also Pañcāla. After the overthrowal of the Śuṅga power by the Kāṇvas in *c.* 66 B.C. Ayodhyā, Pañcāla and Mathurā were most probably ruled by the descendants of the imperial Śuṅgas as local chiefs for a considerable period of time. At Mathurā after the decadence of the *Satrapal* power the kings, whose names end in *-datta*, became the rulers and also Vīrasena in *c.* 335 A.D. Kauśāmbī was most probably ruled at this time by a king named Pavata.

CHARU CHANDRA DASGUPTA

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The Jaina School of Astronomy*

II

The Theory of the two Suns

The theory of the two suns is thus explained in Mahāvīra's *Sūryaprajñapti* :—"There are two suns: Bhārata and Airāvata. They both move through half a diurnal circle in the course of 30 muhūrtas, i.e., in the course of 60 muhūrtas or two days, each of them complete a full diurnal circle. That sun which moves in the outermost circle in the southern hemisphere is called Bhārata, because he illumines the Bhāratakhaṇḍa. The other which moves through the same outer circle in the northern hemisphere is called Airāvata, because he illumines the Airāvata area. The Bhārata is visible to us."[1]

The two suns rise simultaneously and move through half a circle, one in the north and the other in the south of Meru and passing to the west go to the ocean or the nether world, as variously stated by a number of Tīrthas or astronomers. Again the next morning the Airāvata rises in the second circle in the south and the Bhārata in the second circle in the north and they complete the diurnal circle. In this way they are said to complete 183 circles in each half year, *increasing the day in the Uttarāyaṇa*, the first half of the year and decreasing the night at the same time by 6 muhūrtas. Likewise in the Dakṣiṇāyana, they complete 183 diurnal circles together *alternately changing places and making night longer and the day shorter* by 6 muhūrtas gradually. There were six different opinions regarding the intervening distance between the two suns. The first opinion is that the distance is 1133 yojanas; the second is 1134 yojanas; the third is 1135 yojanas. A fourth view is that an island and an ocean separate the two suns from each other, while the fifth is that there are two islands and two oceans between them. The sixth maintains that there are three islands and three oceans between them. According to the *Sūryaprajñapti* all these are false; the real distance between the first two diurnal circles is

* Continued from *IHQ.*, vol. VIII, no. 1, p. 42.

1 *Sūryaprajñapti* with Malayagiri's commentary, p. 22.

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$5\frac{35}{61}$ yojanas and the distance between any two circles increases at this rate per two circles from the innermost.[2] When the Bhārata and the Airāvata suns move through the innermost diurnal circle, then they are separated from each other by a distance of 99,640 yojanas.[3] The reason for this is given as follows :—Now the diameter of the Jambudvīpa is 100000 yojanas, when both the suns move through the innermost diurnal circle. Thus they make the total length of the diameter 360 yojanas. Deducting this from 100,000 we get 99, 640 yojanas as the intervening distance between the two suns. When the two suns move through the innermost circle, then the day is of 18 muhūrtas and the night of 12 muhūrtas; when beginning a new year they move through the second innermost circle, then they will be separated from each other by a distance of $99,645\frac{35}{61}$ yojanas. Now the second innermost circle is greater than the first by $2\frac{35}{61}$ yojanas as previously stated. Considering the circle of the two suns, the increase is $2\frac{35}{61} \times 2 = 5\frac{35}{61}$ yojanas.

In a year the two suns move in 366 diurnal circles, each moving through half a circle. These circles are one within the other. Each circle is imagined to be divided into 1830 parts. Since each day = 30 muhūrtas, the two suns together take 60 muhūrtas to complete the circle of 1830 divisions. Hence in one muhūrta $\frac{1830}{60} = 30\frac{1}{2} = \frac{61}{2}$ divisions. Therefore, one division is passed through $\frac{2}{61}$ muhūrta. The length of the day will be greater or less than 18 muhūrtas by this amount. Hence the rate of increase or decrease per day is $\frac{2}{61}$ muhūrta. This is when the suns are moving in the second external or internal diurnal circle. When they are moving in the third external or internal circle, the increase or decrease will be $\frac{4}{61}$ muhūrtas; therefore, when they are in the third diurnal circle, the day will fall from 18 to $18\frac{4}{61}$ muhūrtas; and the night will rise from 12 to $12+\frac{4}{61}$ muhūrtas and so on; when they move through the outmost circle i.e. the 183rd circle, then the day will fall by $183 \times \frac{2}{61} = 6$ muhūrtas and the night will gain by the same amount. Thus the longest night is the last 183rd night of the first six months and the longest day of 18 muhūrtas is the last 183rd day of the second six months. Likewise the shortest day of the first six months and the shortest night of 12 muhūrtas is the last 183rd night of the second six months.[4]

2 *Sūryaprajñapti*, p. 25. 3 *Ibid.*, p. 26.
4 *Ibid.*, pp. 10, 24.

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When the increase in the distance between the two suns is $5\frac{3}{61}$ yojanas, the day will be $18-\frac{2}{61}$ muhūrtas and the night $12+\frac{2}{61}$ muhūrtas. When they move through the third inner circle the distance between them will be $99640+2\times5\frac{3}{61}=99651\frac{6}{61}$ yojanas and the day will be $18-\frac{4}{61}$ muhūrtas and the night $12+\frac{4}{61}$ muhūrtas. When they move through the outermost circle, on the 183rd day, i.e., the last day of the first Ayana the distance between them will be $99640+5\frac{3}{61}\times183=99640+1020=100660$ yojanas. This will be reversed gradually when they move towards the innermost circle. When they are in the innermost circle the distance will be reduced to 99,640 yojanas and the day will be of 18 muhūrtas and the night of 12 muhūrtas.

In this connection it may be mentioned that the Jaina astronomers throughout makes use of the relation $\sqrt{10}:1$ for calculating the circumferences of the diurnal circles. Thus, for instance the diameter of the Jambudvīpa being 1,00,000 yojanas, its circumference is said to be equal to $\sqrt{(100000)^2\times10}=316227$ approximately. It seems that all Jaina books take $1:\sqrt{10}$ as expressing the relation of the diameter to the circumference.[5]

Thus when the distance increases or decreases by $5\frac{3}{61}$ yojanas, the measure of the increased or decreased amount of circumference is $\sqrt{(5\frac{3}{61})^2\times10}=\sqrt{(\frac{307}{61})^2}=17\frac{33}{61}$ or 18 yojanas.[6] This will be added once, twice, and so on to $\sqrt{(99640)^2\times10}=315089$ approximately to get the distance between them in circumference.[7]

5 For instance, *Jīvābhigama Sūtra* 82, 109, 112 etc. *Jambudvīpaprajñapti*, 3, *Bhagavatī Sūtra*, 91; *Tattvārthādhigama-sūtra-bhāṣya*, iii, 11. Vide a paper on the Jaina School of Mathematics by Dr. Bibhuti Bhusan Dutt, *Bulletin of the Calcutta Mathematical Society*, vol. XXI, no. 2, p. 131.

6 Compare the remark in the ancient Jaina work *Karaṇa bhāvanā*: Sattarasa joyanāiṃ aṭṭatīmsā ca egaṭṭibhāgā eyaṃ nicchatraṇa sabbahāreṇa puna aṭṭārasa joyanāim, i.e.,

$5\frac{3}{61}\times\sqrt{10}=\sqrt{10\times\frac{340\times340}{61\times61}}=10\frac{33}{61}\cdots=17\frac{33}{61}$ approximately.

7 *Sūryaprajñapti*, p. 44.

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The Motion of the Sun

Regarding the velocity with which the sun moves in the different circles, the calculation of the Jainas is very simple. Each daily circle being described by two suns, each of which travels through half of it in thirty muhūrtas, the whole circle is described by one sun in sixty muhūrtas, and consequently, in order to find the velocity of the sun the periphery of the daily circle is to be divided by sixty; the quotient is the number of yojanas travelled through by the sun in one muhūrta. The circumference of the innermost circle is 315089 yojanas. Hence in one muhūrta the sun moves through $3,15,089 \div 60 = 5251\frac{29}{60}$ yojanas. Now the illuminated area will be as much as the sun traverses in half a day. Hence, the day being 18 muhūrtas, during 9 muhūrtas the sun goes through $9 \times 5251\frac{29}{60} = 47,263\frac{29}{60}$ yojanas. Similarly, the second circle being of $315089 + 18 = 315107$ yojanas in circumference, the sun moves through $\frac{315107}{60} = 5,251\frac{47}{60}$ yojanas per muhūrta. Now half a day in the second diurnal circle is $\frac{18 - \frac{2}{61}}{2}$ muhūrtas $= \frac{548}{61}$ muhūrtas. Hence, $5251\frac{47}{60} \times \frac{548}{61}$ yojanas will be the distance the sun traverses in half a day in the second diurnal circle and therefore this is then the illuminated area. Likewise the velocity, too, becomes more by $\frac{18}{60}$ yojanas per muhūrta per outer circle than in the previous circle, i.e., 18 yojanas more than the previous circle. Likewise, each outer circle gets larger by 18 yojanas. When the sun moves through the third diurnal circle on the second day of the new year of a cycle, his velocity per muhūrta is $\frac{315125}{60}$ yojanas. Now the day measure on this day is $\frac{18 - \frac{4}{61}}{2} = 9 - \frac{2}{61} = \frac{547}{61}$ muhūrtas. Hence the illuminated area $= \frac{315125}{60} \times \frac{547}{61}$ yojanas.

Now in the innermost circle the measure of the visible area is $47263\frac{21}{61}$ yojanas. This is done in 9 muhūrtas. Hence the area attained in $\frac{1}{61}$ muhūrta is $\frac{47263\frac{21}{60}}{9 \times 61} = 47263\frac{21}{60} \div 549 = 86\frac{5}{60} + \frac{24}{60 \times 61}$ yojanas. Now the excess of velocity gained by the sun per outer circle is $\frac{18}{60}$th of a yojana per yojana; and also the circumference gets larger by 18 yojanas in each outer circle than the previous circle. Now on the third day in the second diurnal circle the measure of half the day is $9 - \frac{1}{61}$ muhūrtas $= \frac{548}{61}$ muhūrtas. Then the excess of area $\frac{18}{60}$ multiplied by $\frac{548}{61}$ gives 2 yojanas $+ \frac{41}{60} + \frac{43}{60 \times 61}$ yojanas.

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This being deducted from $83\frac{8}{60}+\frac{24}{60\times61}$ gives $83\frac{28}{60}+\frac{42}{60\times61}$ yojanas which is taken as 84 approximately. Hence the constants used in ascertaining the rate of velocity and the illuminated or visible area in each diurnal circle are (i) $\frac{28}{60}$ and (ii) 84 or $83\frac{28}{60}$.

Now when the circle is on the outermost circle the sun moves $5305\frac{15}{60}$ yojanas per muhūrta; for the circumference of this circle is 318315 yojanas. This divided by 60 muhūrtas gives $5305\frac{15}{60}$ yojanas per muhūrta. *The visible or heated area, i.e., the distance at which the sun becomes visible to men, is* $3183\frac{30}{60}$ *yojanas*; for the day when the sun is on the outermost circle is of 12 muhūrtas. Hence on multiplying by half of day time the rate of yojana per muhūrta the area at which the sun becomes visible is obtained to be equal to $6\times5305\frac{15}{60}=31831\frac{30}{60}$ yojanas. When the sun moves on the last outermost circle but one, the velocity is $5304\frac{57}{60}$ per muhūrta for the circumference of this circle is 318297 yojanas and this divided by 60 gives $\frac{318297}{60}=5304\frac{57}{60}$ yojanas. Likewise, the visible area = half the day × circumference of the circle which is velocity per muhūrta. Hence the day being $12+\frac{1}{61}$ muhūrtas, visible area $=(6+\frac{1}{61})\times\frac{318297}{60}=3191\frac{28}{60}+\frac{60}{61}$ yojanas. In the same way the visible area and the sun's velocity may be ascertained in other diurnal circles. When the sun goes from outer circle to inner circle, the velocity will be less by $\frac{18\times2}{60}$ yojanas per muhūrta per circle and the heated area gets less by 84 or 85 yojanas than in the previous outer circle.[8]

In this connection are given particulars about the *tāpakṣetra*, i.e., that part of the Jambudvīpa which on each day is illuminated. The shape of this *tāpakṣetra* is compared to that of a *Kalambuka* flower turned upwards. Each of the two sun illuminates a sector of the large circle formed by the Jambudvīpa. These sectors are, however, not complete, but a piece is cut off from each by Mount Meru which standing in the middle of the circle repels by its superior radiancy the rays proceeding from the two suns and therefore is not included in the tāpakṣetra. The interior border of the sectors is thus formed by a part of the circumference of the Jambudvīpa. Between these two sectors of light there lie two sectors of shade (andhakāra); whatever part of the Jambudvīpa is covered by the two former

8 *Sūryaprajñapti*, pp. 48-64.

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enjoys day at the time while it is night in the regions covered by the dark sectors. As the two suns revolve, these four sectors revolve with them, sweeping over the whole extent of the Jambudvīpa and producing alternate day and night in all its parts.[9] On the longest day the two suns together illuminate $\frac{3}{5}$ of the Jambudvīpa, each of them $\frac{3}{10}$ths. Suppose the Jambu circle is divided into 3660 parts, of these parts, one sun illuminates $\frac{3}{10}$ of 3660 or 1098 parts and the other a similar number of parts. They together illuminate 2196 parts. Hence $\frac{1}{10}$ or $\frac{2}{5}$ of the Jambu circle or 1464 divisions will be in the dark. On the shortest day the two suns illuminate $\frac{2}{10}$ each, together $\frac{2}{5}$ of the Jambu circle. When the suns have entered the second circle and are moving at a greater distance from the centre, the extent of the *tāpakṣetra* decreases accordingly, so that it then equals to $\frac{3}{10} - \frac{1}{10 \times 183}$ for each sun or $\frac{3}{5} - \frac{1}{5 \times 183} = \frac{3}{5} - \frac{1}{915}$ of the whole Jambu only. Similarly on the third day one sun illuminates $(\frac{3}{10} - \frac{2}{10 \times 183})$ parts of the Jambu and the other as much. Thus the illuminated part falls short by $\frac{2}{3660}$ each day with reference to each sun. Hence on the 183rd day the decrease amounts to $\frac{2}{3660} \times 183 = \frac{1}{10}$ of the Jambudvīpa for one sun and therefore $\frac{1}{5}$ of the Jambudvīpa for two suns. The extent of the *tāpakṣetra* for the two suns is then $\frac{2}{5}$ of the Jambudvīpa, or on all day the constant quantity illuminated is $\frac{1}{5}$ of the Jambudvīpa for each sun. From this the absolute dimensions of the *tāpakṣetra* are easily derived.[10]

SUKUMAR RANJAN DAS

9 This fact is explained at a considerable length by G. Thibaut in his paper on *Sūryaprajñapti* in *JASB.*, 1880, no. 3.

10 Vide also the translation of the summary of Mahāvīra's *Sūryaprajñapti* by Dr. R. Shamsastry in the *Journal of the Mythic Society*, vols. XV, XVI.

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Mir Qasim at Monghyr

After settling the affairs of the border districts of Bihar, Mir Qasim proceeded to Monghyr which he had in the meantime decided to make the permanent headquarters of his government. On his way back to Patna, he removed Rājā Rājballabh from his office of the Naib of Bihar, placed him under arrest[1] in his own camp, and appointed Rājā Naubat Rai in his place. A really satisfactory explanation of this is not available. The principal charge against Rājballabh was that he was defaulting[2] in forty lakhs of rupees. This is why the Nawab ostensibly punished him in such a signal manner. The latter had been in office since the dismissal of Rāmnārāyan, and had to all appearances worked so far quite satisfactorily. In fact, the governor in his letter to the Nawab dated July 29, 1762, fully testified[3] to the good character of the late Naib, and particularly requested him not to dishonour the latter. The Nawab, however, absolutely disregarded the mild remonstrance of Mr. Vansittart, and meted out to the Naib an exemplary punishment which appeared to be certainly of a vindictive character. The author of the *Muzaffar Namah* gives an account of the horrible tortures to which Rājballabh was subjected.[4] For instance, thorns were forcibly thrust into his nails so that he might make a confession of the amount of his total wealth. As a matter of fact, Rājballabh was deprived of everything he had and as such he shared the fate of his predecessor whom he had supplanted. Reliable persons were deputed to Dacca to confiscate all his property there,[5] and a trusted officer, Aqa Raza, was appointed specially for the purpose of superintending the forfeiture of the entire property of the late Naib.[6] It is

1 *Muzaffar Namah, Allahabad University Ms.*, (henceforth abbreviated as *MN.*), p. 329; also *Siyar*, (Lucknow Text), p. 711.

2 *Abs. PLR.*, 1759-65, p. 14.

3 *Trans. PLI.*, 1762, No. 118, p. 62.

4 *M.N.*, p. 333. It is noteworthy, however, that no other chronicle gives these details.

5 *Siyar*, p. 711.

6 *MN.*, p. 332.

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sufficiently clear that the Nawab would not have avenged himself on the latter in the above manner for minor reasons only. Rājballabh's past connection with Miran, the late 'Choṭa Nawab', was a standing cause for suspicion. He had been appointed in the place of Rāmnārāyaṇ, simply because he was expected to check the accounts of his rival with special zeal and promptness. The Nawab had aimed at utilising his undoubted abilities and great experience in order to restore order in the disordered finances of Bihar, and now that a satisfactory settlement was made there remained no special necessity for continuing his appointment. Besides, the ex-Naib had certainly given offence to the Nawab for having been alleged to have written on behalf of Ellis to the *Qalahdar* of Monghyr in regard to the European deserters who were reported to have been in hiding at Monghyr fort.[7] May it not be the explanation of the Nawab's unusual persecution of Rājballabh? In addition, the latter was reputed to be extremely wealthy, and he was one among many others who fell victims to the Nawab's rapacity and oppression on account of their hoarded wealth.

While encamping at Patna the Nawab gave an unmistakable proof of his hatred for Ellis by indignantly refusing to see the latter. His attitude was manifestly so offensive to Ellis that he took it as a personal insult. He had sent on 22nd June, 1762, a *chobdar* to the Nawab asking for the permission[8] of an interview, but not only was the permission refused, even the *chobdar* was not admitted to the Nawab's presence. The Nawab's peevish attitude can in no way be held justifiable, and it only inflamed their mutual distrust and animosity. Ellis had certainly done the right thing by proposing a visit to the Nawab, and by doing so had shown a conciliatory attitude, but the Nawab unwisely treated the advance with open contempt, and thus lost a chance of winning the good will of the Chief. Mr. Hastings in his letter to the Governor, dated the 24th of June, communicated

7 *Trans. P.I.*, 1762, No. 45. p. 29; *Vansittart's Narrative*, I, p. 308; II, p. 9, and Letter from the Nawab to the Governor, dated March 26, 1762.

8 *Bengal Public Consultations* (henceforth abbreviated as *BPC.*), 5th July, 1762 (vide Letter from Ellis, dated the 23rd June 1762).

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the Nawab's reasons for refusing the interview sought by Ellis.[9] The Nawab had represented to Mr. Hastings that "he could not put on so much dissimulation as to receive him (Ellis) with kindness, and besides he feared their conversation might turn upon their grievances, and end in a quarrel, and to avoid the indignity which such an event would occasion to him he judged it the most prudent method not to see him at all". In short, the Nawab explained his attitude on the ground that an interview with Ellis would have resulted in a quarrel! The latter had intended just to pay the respect due from his station to the Nawab, and it is hardly conceivable that there could have been a quarrel during a ceremonial interview. Ellis was perfectly right when he wrote[10] to the Governor and Council, ".....I did not think he would have refused an interview which, instead of occasioning a quarrel, as he absurdly observes, might perhaps have laid the foundation of a future good understanding". The Council rightly came to the conclusion that the Nawab should not have made public his private disagreement with Ellis in the interests of his own reputation, and that of Company.[11]

Not satisfied with personally refusing the visit of Ellis, the Nawab went to the length of forbidding the new Naib, Naubat Rai, to pay the usual complimentary visit after his appointment to Ellis.[12] Unaware of its reason, the latter considered the failure of Naubat Rai to visit him as one more deliberate insult. As a matter of fact, the Nawab wanted to establish a precedent in the matter. He would not allow his Naib to pay the first visit to the Chief, as the former represented him and as such, he thought, his Naib held a higher status than that of a Chief of the Company's Factory. The Nawab represented to the Governor that Ellis should first pay a visit to his Naib but on being pressed by Mr. Vansittart, he allowed Naubat Rai to pay the first visit to Ellis as a special case, making it clear that this should not

9 *BPC.*, 5th July. (vide Letter from Mr. Hastings, dated the 24th June, 1762).

10 Letter from Ellis, dated the 23rd July, 1762. *Vansittart's Narrative*, II, p. 77.

11 *BPC.*, 8th July, 1762.

12 *Ibid.*, (vide Letter from Ellis, dated the 25th June, 1762).

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be taken as a precedent for the future.[13] The Council, however, readily yielded on this point, and resolved,[14] "that at Patna, Cossimbazar, and Dacca the Chief of our factory shall pay the first visit to the Naib Subah who, as representative of the Nawab in his particular district, is entitled to this preference, but we expect that the Naib shall receive the Chief in the *Killah* with all due respect and formality, and that he shall return the visit". The Governor duly informed the Nawab of this decision,[15] but made this clear to him that if a *faujdar*, a *tahsildar*, or a *zemindar* had any business with the Chief, they should certainly go to the latter. Ellis resented this decision of the Council, and objected that it would be derogatory to the dignity and honour of the Chiefs, if they were to pay the first vist to the *Naib Subah*, and that this innovation upon former practice would give ample opportunity to the *Subah* to look down upon them as mere gumashtahs.[16] His objections were, however, disregarded by the Governor who wrote a long minute strongly criticising the Chief for having presumed to have claimed an equal status with the Naib Subah.[17]

Towards the end of June, 1762, the Nawab reached Monghyr,[18] and made his entry into the fort with great pomp and eclat.[19] Mr. Vansittart had thought that the Nawab would stay there during the rains only,[20] but the latter soon showed his intention to prolong his stay, and make the place his permanent capital. As this has been generally commented upon as a significant move on the part of the Nawab to remain purposely at a considerable distance from Calcutta, it deserves a close examination. The Nawab's own avowed objects were as follows:—

(i) As the affairs of Bhojpur, and other border districts of Bihar had not yet been fully settled, and as the activities

13 *BPC.*, 19th July, 1762. 14 *BPC.*, 19th July, 1762.

15 *Trans. PLI.*, 1762, No. 122. p. 64.

16 Letter from Ellis, dated 3rd August, 1762.

17 *BPC.*, 16th August, 1762.

18 *Vansittart's Narative*, II, p. 97.

19 This took place on the 15th of Zilhadj, *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, *Alld. Univ. Ms.*, p. 778. *Siyar* (p. 711) corroborates it.

20 *Vansittart's Narrative*, II, p. 97.

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of the exiled zemindars had to be watched, the Nawab considered his presence near those parts absolutely essential. The Governor also approved of his remaining at Monghyr for this special reason.[21]

(ii) The province of Bihar had been distracted so far owing to the continued military operations, and its administration needed a thorough rehabilitation. The Nawab complained[22] that his hold over the province had so far been only nominal, and he, therefore, wanted to introduce peace and order, and satisfactory government in order to establish his authority over this troublous country.

(iii) The Nawab further appeared to think[23] that Shujauddaulah, the Wazir of Oudh, coveted the province of Bihar, and might create disturbances, hence he believed it to be prudent to remain in Bihar in order to guard against any possible interference.

(iv) Mr. Vansittart also apparently encouraged the Nawab to settle the affairs of Bihar, and asked him not to be[24] under any apprehensions in regard to Bengal. Thus, relieved of his anxiety for the safety of Bengal, the Nawab could easily transfer his residence to Bihar.

There is no doubt that the above reasons are quite plausible, and are sufficient to explain away the sudden change of the capital, but they are certainly neither very convincing, nor adequate. The Nawab had personally supervised for a few months the regulation of the border districts, and the subjugation of the rebellious zemindars, had appointed his own men in different *parganahs* to collect the revenue, and guard the entrances into Bengal, and had stationed sufficient troops all over the frontier, besides coming to a private understanding with the Wazir in regard to the run-away zemindars. Thus there existed no more any urgent necessity for staying at Monghyr. If this had been

21 *Trans. PLI.*, 1762, No. 99. p. 54.
22 *Abs. PLR.*, 1759-65, pp. 9-10.
23 *Abs. PLR.*, 1759-65, p. 15.
24 *Abs. PLI.*, 1759-65, p. 24.

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his principal object, he could very well have continued his stay at Sasseram, or Rohtasgarh. So far as the province itself was concerned, sufficient order had been introduced by now, and most of the old officials had eben substituted by his own men who could surely be trusted to maintain the Nawab's authority in the country. It is certainly not a fact that a general supervision or control over them could not have been exercised from Murshidabad, although it must be admitted that Monghyr would be a more centrally situated capital for the *Subah* of Bengal and Bihar than Murshidabad. The Nawab's apprehension of a sudden invasion of Bihar by the Wazir was more imaginary than real, especially when it is known that there existed some secret agreement with the latter. If the need of frontier defence had been the determining factor, the Nawab should really have stayed at Murshidabad, in order to ward off the threatened attack of the Marathas under Sheo Bhat.[25] In fact, it was more than once apprehended that the Marathas would invade Bengal by the way of Visnupur, or Birbhum,[26] and the Governor repeatedly requested the Nawab to sanction[27] an armed expedition to Cuttack, but in vain. The Nawab was "simply" indifferent to this matter, and appeared to be inclined to placate the Marathas by paying them the arrears of the *Chauth*, but the Council advised[28] him not to pay the *Chauth*, and pressed him to undertake an expedition against Cuttack, and thus strengthen the South-Western frontier of Bengal, which was open to the inroads of the Marathas. The Nawab gave evasive replies, and did not realise the necessity and utility of annexing Cuttack, hence the Council had to abandon the scheme.[29] The Nawab was, however, aware of the fact[30] that the entrance into Bengal from the South-Western side was not properly safe-guarded, still it is strange that he paid no attention to it. It is, therefore, clear that the Nawab was not primarily actuated by

25 *Abs. PLR.*, 1759-65, 45. Sheo Bhat threatened to invade Bengal, if the *Chauth* was withheld any longer.

26 *BPC.*, 8th May, 1761; *Trans. PLI.*, 1761, No. 404.

27 *Trans. PLI.*, 1761, Nos. 425-6. *Trans. PLI.*, 1762, Nos. 3, 6, and 34.

28 *BPC.*, 16th Jan. 1762; *Trans. PLI.*, 1762, No. 42. p. 27.

29 *BPC.*, 18th Feb. 1762.

30 *BPC.*, 16th Jan. 1762 (vide Letter from the Nawab, 25th Dec. 1761).

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the desire to guard against an attack of Bihar, when he chose to settle at Monghyr, because the danger from the Wazir was obviously less serious than the menace of the Marathas to Bengal. In shelving the proposed Cuttack expedition, the Nawab showed an utter lack of a grasp of the problems of frontier defence. Lastly, that Mr. Vansittart did not object to the Nawab's stay at Monghyr does not mean much. The Governor had made this his settled policy not to meddle with the personal predilections of the Nawab, and so he could not have dissuaded the latter from removing his residence in consonance with his policy of non-intervention.

The transference of the head-quarters from Murshidabad to Monghyr appears to have been due to deeper reasons.[31] In the first place, the Nawab required a strongly fortified place for his permanent residence, and Murshidabad would obviously not satisfy him. At Monghyr, he could have at his disposal a satisfactory fort which by means of the necessary improvements he could make stronger and more serviceable. He must certainly have felt the want of proper fortifications at Murshidabad, and extraordinarly cautious and suspicious as he was, he could never have regarded himself safe in the old capital. A place like Rohtasgarh would have been too near the frontier line. Monghyr or Rajmahal alone appeared to be centrally situated, and of the two, Monghyr was decidedly better both in point of its fortifications, and strategic position commanding the communication between Bihar and Bengal. It should not be forgotten that the Nawab was consistently aiming at securing his position, and this fact does amply explain the sudden preference for Monghyr.

In the second place, the Nawab would be able to start with a clean slate at a new place where he would be absolutely free from the atmosphere of the old capital, its intrigues and corruption. Murshidabad had been the centre of the late Nawabs, and was still associated with their names. Mir Qasim's vanity would require some other place where he could more effectively, and with a greater sense of security

31 (According to *MN.*, p. 328) the Nawab was unwilling to go to Murshidabad on account of his "*rebellious character.*"

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inaugurate his new regime. He apparently sought to be original in all matters, and altered every aspect of the late administration—its personnel, policy, and general tone. Is it not, therefore, intelligible that the Nawab should publicly signalise this change by shifting the capital itself? In fact, this transference of the capital indicated in a manner that could not be mistaken, the Nawab's complete emancipation from the English control, and the establishment of his undisputed sway over the *Subah*. That it had a spectacular side cannot be denied, hence the psychological factor should not be ignored in this connection.

In the third place, the Nawab had been led to suspect that Mir Jafar would be restored by the Company sooner or later, and the attitude of Ellis and the members of the opposition in the Council only deepened his suspicions. In the circumstances, he may have deemed it a prudent step to leave the old capital, and settle at a place remote from Calcutta, so that in case his appointment to the Subahship were to be annulled by the Company, he would have sufficient facility, either for offering resistance, or for quickly escaping to Oudh.

In the fourth place, the Nawab had been considering since his sojourn in the frontier districts of Bihar the feasibility of annexing Nepal to his dominions—a project which soon afterwards ended in a disastrous failure. He may have, therefore, decided to be as near the northern borders as possible, so that he might direct, and superintend the military operations against Nepal, and control it after its annexation which he considered to be very easy.

In the fifth place, the Nawab would not feel secure so long as Ellis who was alleged to be a centre of attraction to all those who were inimically disposed towards him, continued to remain in Bihar. The Nawab wanted to prevent the Naib at Patna from gaining a position of virtual independence as in former days with the support of the Company's servants, and he was determined to obviate the repetition of the days of Rāmnārāyaṇ when Bihar was only nominally subject to the authority of Murshidabad. This necessitated the Nawab's presence as near Patna as possible. At Patna itself, he could not have expected peace of mind owing to his open estrangement from Ellis, hence Monghyr would be a suitable place whence he could be able not only

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to control his officers in Bihar, but also keep a vigilant watch over the activities of the Chief whom he looked upon as his worst enemy.

Finally, there is the usual explanation that the Nawab deliberately removed his head-quarters simply to remain at a safe distance from Calcutta, so that he might be less liable to supervision and interference, and might develop an army without hindrance with a view to establish his complete independence by ultimately overthrowing the power of the English.

At Monghyr, the Nawab immediately set himself to the work of repairing the fortifications, and the existing buildings, and commenced the construction of new edifices to beautify the town.[32] No ugly buildings were to remain, and under the orders of the Nawab a large number of such buildings were demolished to be rebuilt in a style liked by the latter. It is difficult to state how far this expensive programme of building works was justifiable, but there is no doubt that it was inspired at least partly by vanity and ambition.[33] The Nawab wanted to make a pompous display of his wealth and power. The old walls of the town were improved, and new walls were erected towards the north and the south of the city for more strength and security.[34] The fort too was soon repaired and the necessary additions and alterations were made to it. Most of the artillery remaining at Murshidabad had to be brought gradually to Monghyr,[35] and new pieces of cannon were also purchased.[36] In short, the Nawab took great pains to adorn, and strengthen his present capital.[37]

The new regime at Monghyr was marked by the Nawab's usual ruthlessness and terrorism. A large number of persons were ordered to be imprisoned, although they had not been charged with any definite crime. The Nawab obviously acted in accordance with his policy of removing all those officials who had been in any way connected with the previous Nawabs. In pursuance of this object, he had already either executed, or imprisoned most of the old officials on some pretext,

32 *Siyar*, p. 711. 33 *MN.*, p. 335.
34 *Ibid.*, p. 336. 35 *Ibid.*, p. 336.
36 *Abs. PLR.*, 759-65, p. 14. The Nawab offered in July, 1762 to purchase 100 pieces of cannon.
37 *Riyazu-s-Salatin* (A.S.B. Text), p. 381.

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and now he put into prison without any trial whatsoever the principal *mutasaddis* of the old regime, who were still at large, and confiscated their property.[38] It is needless to add that these unhappy prisoners had to endure[39] untold sufferings during their captivity, and most of them were subsequently massacred. Among those who happened to be thus committed to prison[40] were the Ray Rayan, Ummid Ray, his son Nitta Nand, Kālī Parshad, Rām Kishor, Rājballabh and his sons, Dulāl Ray, Rāmnārāyaṇ, Munshi Jagat Ray, Muhammad Masum, Shahamat Jang, Muzaffar Ali, Nazr Ali Khan, and Shah Abdullah. Not content with the confinement of the important functionaries of the old government, the Nawab seized even some of the powerful zemindars of Bengal, and had them imprisoned, lest they should defy his authority, intrigue against him with his enemies, or tyrannise over defenceless people.[41] In fact, the Nawab made it a principle of his administration to humble the big landlords of the country, whom he regarded as his potential enemies. Among the zemindars who had been condemned to imprisonment[42] were those of Dinajpur, Nuddea,[43] Kharakpur, Birbhum, Rajshahi, and Buncary.

In his new capital, the Nawab took great pains to rule after the fashion of the Great Mughals, and sedulously imitated their practice, as if to revive the glories of the Mughal Court. Two days in the week, he used to sit in the hall of audience, and decide cases after hearing the parties who were freely allowed to lay their grievances before him.[44] The Nawab usually consulted men conversant with law before giving his decisions, and showed his anxiety to dispense even-handed justice.[45] Ghulam Husain has paid an eloquent tribute to the Nawab's personal interest in the administration of justice,[46] and has given a picturesque description of the court at Monghyr It is needless

38 *MN.*, p. 333. 39 *Ibid.*, p. 330.
40 *Riyazu-s-Salatin*, p. 383; *Siyar*, pp. 713-15; *MN.*, p. 330.
41 *Siyar*, p. 712.
42 *Riyazu-s-Salatin* (A.S.B. Text), p. 383; *MN.*, p. 330.
43 *Abs. PLR.*, 1759-65, p. 15.
44 *Siyar*, p. 712; *Khulasat* (*JBORS.*, V, p. 606).
45 *Khulasat* (*JBORS.*, V, p. 606).
46 *Siyar*, p. 712. Kalyan Singh (*Khulasat*) confirms the account of Ghulam Husain.

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to add in this connection that the Nawab was anxious to be impartial only when his own interests were not affected. He could be atrociously unfair and tyrannical, when he had to deal with persons whom, for some reason or other, he considered dangerous to himself, and always gave vent to his innate cruelty when he awarded punishment to such people.[47] That he used to inflict inhuman punishment is illustrated by a few cases cited[48] by Ghulam Husain himself. A certain young officer in the army had chanced to offer his hospitality to the servant of one whom the Nawab kept in confinement on suspicion, and the latter got very much annoyed at this, and ordered his nose to be cut off. Another official suspected to have been in correspondence with the runaway zemindars of Bhojur was ordered to be bound to an elephant's foot, and dragged till death. Some time after his arrival at Monghyr, the Nawab lost his eldest son[49] whom he had lately kept at Murshidabad under the care of his maternal uncle, Turab Ali Khan.[50] The Nawab's wrath curiously fell upon the unfortunate physician, Asadullah Khan, who had happened to treat the prince during his illness. The physician narrowly escaped death by managing to leave the capital in the disguise of a *faqir*.[51] This is a striking illustration of the Nawab's arbitrary tyranny.

The Nawab was not satisfied with making Monghyr merely his administrative head-quarters; he wanted that the new capital should also be a centre of culture. He attracted a number of poets, authors, and pious men of note to his court by munificent liberality. Among the latter, the most honoured was, of course, the famous poet, Shah Muhammad Ali Hazin whose works were purchased by the Nawab at a high price, and who was besides awarded a liberal pension.[52] Several lakhs of rupees were given in charity to the Sayyids, and other poor people.[53] All this was done to impress the people with his magnanimity and piety.

47 *MN.*, p. 330. 48 *Siyar*, p. 715.

49 *MN.*, p. 331.

50 *Trans. PLI.*, 1761, No. 423, p. 214.

51 *MN.*, p. 331. There is no mention of this incident in *Siyar*, or in any other chronicle.

52 *Siyar*, p. 712. 53 *Siyar*, p. 712.

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In short, the Nawab did all that lay in his power to glorify his new regime at Monghyr. He also applied for, and secured from the Emperor, several titles of honour, although he was not given the honour of the Wazirship of the Empire, and the appellation of Asaf Jah, which he eagerly coveted.[54] Mir Qasim was henceforth known as Nawab Ali Jah.[55]

NANDALAL CHATTERJI

54 *Siyar*, pp. 713-14.
55 *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari* (*Alld. Univ. Ms.*), p. 778.

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Fire-Arms in Ancient India*

III

(7) *Guns and gun-powder*

In *Vāsiṣṭha Dhanurveda* (a work of the 12th century) there are three verses briefly describing *nārāca, nālikā* and *śataghna.* I translate them thus : "Those bāṇas which are entirely metallic are called *nārāca.* Five large feathers are tied to each. Few succeed in using this arrow. *Nālikā* is a light bāṇa, and is ejected by means of a tube. They are useful for hitting objects placed very high or forts situated at a long distance. The wise should place *śataghna* in forts for the security of the throne, and a large quantity of *rañjaka* (gun-powder) and *vaṭi* (bullets)." As stated before, *nārāca* and *nālikā* were metallic arrows, one solid and the other hollow. They were propelled by a bow. But the *nālikā* of the passage mentioned above was propelled by means of long distance-tubes. The implement could not be a blow-gun.[1]

There is thus scarcely any doubt that the hand-gun was first used for shooting short metallic arrows. The idea may have been originally the same as the blow-gun, and possibly iṣikā-astra mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* was a blow-gun. In course of time, the name *nālikā* was applied to guns.

Śataghna of the above passage is a cannon. It was placed on the walls of forts in the place of *śataghnis* of spiked columns. The words *rañjaka* for gun-powder is still in use. It is a Sanskrit word, meaning an exciter, from root *rañj* (to glow). The word *vaṭi* for bullets is also Sanskrit, as also *vaṭikā.* The words *rañjaka*

* Continued from vol. VIII, No. 2, p. 271.

1 The blow-gun also called blow-pipe is a weapon in common use among savages in S. America, Borneo and Philippine Islands. It is a tube, three to fourteen feet long, formed of a reed, bamboo or wood bored through. The arrows measure about a foot. The Bhils of Central India are said to use similar blow-pipes. These are also in use among the Nāgās, one of the Hill tribes of Assam.

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and *vaṭikā* occur in connection with military drill described in the *Dhanurveda*.

A full description of guns and cannon together with the method of preparation of gun-powder is given in the *Śukra-Nītisāra*. The probable date of the work is the eleventh century A.D., and the place of its composition appears to have been somewhere in the south-west of Rajputana. There has been a great deal of interpolation in the extant edition, but if we examine the classification of arms we notice that the account of guns appears in its suitable place in the scheme. It is evident that there is no break in the old tradition and that *nālikā* was not a foreign invention.

Let us translate the passage in which guns and gun-powder are described: "The *nālikā* is of two kinds, large and small. The small are 45 inches long, have a stock of tough wood, and a barrel of bamboo with a bore of three-fourths of an inch." (The rest of the description agrees with musket with touch-hole placed at the side and filled with priming-powder). "The small *nālikās* are carried by infantry and cavalry. The larger *nālikā* has no wooden stock, is made of steel or other metals and carried on wheels. The small shot for the smaller arms is made of lead or other metals, and the balls (*golā*) for the larger are made of iron with or without shot inside them. The gun-powder, *agni-cūrṇa*, is composed of 4 or 5 or 6 parts of *suvarci lavaṇa* (salt-petre), 1 part of sulphur and 1 part of charcoal of *Arka* (*Calotropis gigantea*), *Snuhi* (*Euphorbia nivulia*) and other trees burnt in a pit so as to exclude air. The ingredients are to be purified separately, ground to fine powder and then mixed. The mixture is next soaked in the sap of *Arka* (*Calotropis*) and *Rasuna* (garlic) dried in the sun and reduced to coarse powder like granulated sugar. There are many kinds of *agni-cūrṇa* known to experts, and they are composed of varied proportions of charcoal, sulphur, salt-petre, realgar, orpiment, calx of lead, cinnabar, iron filings, zinc dust, shell-lac, blue vitriol, resin of pines, etc. Some give out white light, like that of the moon."

The juice of garlic is adhesive. The milky sap of *Calotropis* contains gutta, and the object of treating the dry mixture with the juice is to promote incorporation of the ingredients as well as to facilitate granulation.

A perusal of the description of *nālikā* and its powder takes us far in advance of the age of agnibāṇa of which there is no mention in *Śukra*. The bow had lost its importance, but was still in use.

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There were still beliefs in the efficacy of *mantras* and secret weapons of old, but they were no longer forthcoming. Instead, cannon "if properly used" was found "to lead to victory." The detailed description of the method of preparing powder and the use of bamboo for an iron barrel, and the instruction as to the manner of using a gun leave no doubt on one's mind that ancient mode of warfare was passing through a transitional stage, specially in the evolution of the weapons of offence. What is more striking is the introduction of recipes for pyrotechnics, which fact reminds us of the use of rockets in the warfare of former times.

What may be the date of the passage? The work, *Śukranītisāra*, as a whole, underwent revision at least thrice. The last revision took place in the eleventh century, and the passage appears to belong to the same date. The use of the words *karpara* for *karpari* (zinc), *suvarci* for *suvarcala* (salt-petre), *nīlī* to denote blue vitriol does not indicate an earlier date.

It seems, there were at least two centres of construction of guns, one represented by Vasiṣṭha, probably of Northern India, and the other by Śukra of Western Rajputana. For, they use names which, though Sanskrit, are not the same excepting one. The former has *nālikā* for hand-guns, *śataghna* for cannon, *rañjaka*, for powder, and *vaṭi* for balls; while the latter has *laghu nālikā* for light guns, *bṛhat nālikā* for heavy cannon, *agni-cūrṇa* for powder, and *golā* for balls. They agree only in the use of the word *nālikā* for guns. The *dhūpa* of the *Agni-Purāṇa* and *Kha-dhūpa* of *Bhaṭṭi*, meaning rockets is called *rañjaka nālikā* in Vasiṣṭha, reminding us of *nala-dīpikā* of Kauṭilya. The reason of these differences seems to be the absence of literature on the subject, which for obvious reasons was kept secret. In eastern India, where was written *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa*, a gun was called *lauha-nāla* and even *nārāca*.

(8) *The powder and gun are of Indian invention*

The history told in the preceding pages will leave no room for doubt that the evolution of powder and gun has taken place in a natural way in India. The poets of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata* might exaggerate the action of the *divya astras* but could not invent them without the help of a model in actual use. There were fire-balls, fiery arrows, and fiery shot and there were some such as *Brāhma-astra*, *Nārāyaṇa-astra*, *Pāśupata-astra* and other

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rare *astras* against which armour then in use was no protection The *nala dīpikā* of Kauṭilya was replaced by *dhūpa* about the fourth century after Christ and the rockets preceded guns in warfare. The word, *bāṇa*, replaced the word, *dhūpa*, and denoted rockets and bombs. The word is still in use in the same sense in most vernaculars in India. In the Appendix to vol. VI of his *History of India*, Sir H. M. Elliot tells us that in A. D. 1232 the Chinese defended themselves against the Tartars by the use of rockets and that in modern Europe they were in use as early as A. D. 1380. It seems rockets preceded cannon also in Europe. This historian further tells us that in the eleventh century an ancient Sanskrit treatise on fire-arms was translated into Arabic, and a Persian translation of the latter was made in 1126. This information, he says, is recorded in a Persian history named *Mujmalu*. Dr. Oppert thoroughly examined the Arabic literature and wrote that the Arabs were said to have learnt the manufacture of gun-powder from India and improved upon it.

At any rate the Arabs did not know gun-powder before their connexion with India. They knew the use of *Manjanīk*, the powerful propelling engine. According to Elliot it was first used about A. D. 200. Muhammad Qasim fixed *Manjanīk* which required 500 men to work it in the capture of Daibal (A. D. 711-712). Fiery projectiles (*ātish bāzī*) were used in the capture of Alor which fell shortly after Daibal. The historian rejects the story and considers them to be arrows of *naphtha*. A little before A. D. 1200 we come to the dynasty of the Ghorians, but no mention is made by the Muhammedan writers of any incendiary preparations. In A. D. 1368 Muhammed Shah Bahmani I got 300 gun carriages as spoils from the Raja of Bijanagar. The historian finds no reason to disbelieve the statement. Guns were in common use in India before the first arrival of the Portuguese in A. D. 1498. In A. D. 1526, Babar wrote that the Bengali soldiers were skilful gunners. In Bijapur there is still seen a large cannon as a relic of the conquest by Aurangzeb in A. D. 1687. It was cast in one piece, a feat considered impossible in Europe a few decades ago. It is known as *malik myadān*, king of the field. A man can comfortably lie down in its chamber. But the field guns were usually made of iron plates about two inches wide placed longitudinally, welded together and encircled with similar plates. A second layer of longitudinal and upon it a layer of circular plates were welded with the first. Some of them measured

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thirty to thirty-five feet in length. Smaller guns found in enormous numbers with their raised bands are known as *gāṇṭhiā*, knotted, and remind us of the original model of bamboo. On the side of Indian literary testimony there is *Prithviraj Raso* composed by the Raja's court-poet, Cānd Bardāi, in A. D. 1193 [2] But unfortunately there have been interpolations in the bardic song and the accounts of fights described have to be admitted with caution. The dates of the events narrated in the work have been proved to be correct, and the use of guns cannot be wholly fictitious. We learn that cannon was used to be carried on the back of elephants instead of on carriages as told by Śukra. These were called 'hāth-nāl' or 'hāth-nār' and also 'karannāl' (kari-nāla). (Hāth is hāthi, and karī means an elephant). It is said that balls thrown from the cannon, kilkikā, fell at a distance of twenty miles. The word *bāṇ* has b en employed to denote rockets, and the word 'kuhak-bāṇ' perhaps meant shells. There are words like *tupak* for the hand-gun and *kāmmān* for cannon, and *kāmmān-bāṇ* for balls. Kāmmān is a Persian word, and the poets could have avoided it if they chose, so also, 'havāi', for bāṇ.

Of all the Asiatic countries, Persia, possessing salt-petre abundantly as India, could claim the credit of discovering gun-powder. But history is against it and the Persian words used in connection with it are also against it. Let us examine a few.

At the outset it may be noted that the words, *tôp* (canon), *banduq* (musket), and *bārud* (gun-powder) find no place in the celebrated Persian Dictionary by Paul Horn, who evidently thought them to be foreign. Many conjectures have been made as to their origin. but they appear to be fanciful. It seems Sanskrit can throw light on the origin.

The word *tôp* appears to be a Turkish corruption of Skt. *dhūpa*. Persian *tupang* or *tufung* originally meant a rocket, exactly as Skt. *dhūpa* did. Cānd Bardāi has *tupak* for hand-gun. Possibly Skt. *dhūpa* used to be called *dhūpam* in the vernacular of southern India, giving the Persian form *tupang*. In *Shāhnāmā*, *tufung* means a rocket.

The word *banduq* has been supposed to be derived from *bunduq*, a bullet. But the origin of the latter is unknown. The old form of

2 I am indebted to Mr. Amritalal Sil for much valuable information regarding guns of Bijapur and Cānd Bardāi.

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banduq is *pendak*, and it has been suggested that *pendak* is akin to Skt. *piṇḍaka* a ball. We have seen that Skt. *bāṇa* at first meant a missile, and became later the name of the implement for throwing it. Are we to suppose that the same change took place in Persian also?

Thus we see that India did not borrow her knowledge of fire-arms from Persia. She possesses a connected history of the evolution of fire-arms.

JOGESH CHANDRA RAY

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MISCELLANY

A Note on a passage in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa

The *Kāśikā* on Pāṇini (IV, 3, 104)[1] informs us that Caraka was the name of Vaiśampāyana and that owing to the connection with him, his pupils are called the Carakas,[2] so that according to the *Kāśikā* his full name was Caraka Vaiśampāyana. It is known from the *Mahābhārata*, the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* (I, 7) and all the *Purāṇas* that Vaiśampāyana was an Adhvaryu or Yajurvedic priest and professor. He is also mentioned as the professor of the *Mahābhārata* in the *Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra* (III, 4).

It is also mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* (I, 60, 21-23) that Vyāsa Pārāśarya instructed his pupil Vaiśampāyana to narrate the old history of the *Mahābhārata* to Janamejaya Pārikṣita. In the light of these informations it will now be easy to understand the true meaning of that passage in the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* which establishes the contemporaneity between Caraka Adhvaryu and Yājñavalkya Adhvaryu. The passage, as punctuated by us, is:

हुत्वा वपामेवाग्रेऽभिघारयति, अथ पृषदाज्यं, तदु ह चरकाध्वर्यवः पृषदाज्यमेवाग्रेऽभिघारयन्ति प्राणः पृषदाज्यमिति वदन्तः, तदु ह याज्ञवल्क्यं चरकाध्वर्युरनुव्याजहारैवं कुर्वन्तं, प्राणं वा अयमन्तरगादध्वर्य्युः, प्राणः एनं हास्यतीति ॥

Mādhyandin. Sat. Brā., III, 8, 2, 24.

This passage has been a bit mistranslated by Eggeling. His translation is:

"Having offered, he bastes first the omentum, then the clotted ghee. Now the Carakādhvaryus, forsooth, baste first the clotted ghee, arguing that the clotted ghee is the breath; and a Caraka Adhvaryu, forsooth, cursed Yājñavalkya for so doing, saying 'That Adhvaryu has shut out the breath, the breath shall depart from him!'"

1 कलापिवैशम्पायनान्तेवासिभ्यश्च। Pān. IV, 3. 104.

2 चरक इति वैशम्पायनस्याख्या तत्सम्बन्धेन सर्वे तदन्तेवासिनश्चरका इत्युच्यन्ते।
Kāśikā edited by Bala Shastri, p. 346.

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It is evident that the insertion of the indefinite article 'a' just before 'Caraka Adhvaryu' in the above translation is wrong, for had a certain pupil of Caraka Adhvaryu been intended, there would have have been a word like कश्चित् or एकतमः in the original Brāhmaṇa passage quoted above. As there is no such adjunct equivalent to the English indefinite article 'a' before or after चरकाध्वर्युः in the original passage, it is evident that the Adhvaryu priest (or Yajurvedic priest) Caraka (=Vaiśampāyana) himself is pointed out in the above passage. Why 'a Carakādhvaryu' inspite of the explicit mention of Carakādhvaryu himself? This passage in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* absolutely establishes the contemporaneity between the Adhvaryu priest Caraka Vaiśampāyana, the court-historian of Janamejaya Pārikṣita, and the Adhvaryu priest Yājñavalkya Vājasaneya. The *Mahābhārata* (XII, 318, 17) strengthens this contemporaneity with the information that Yājñavalkya was the nephew i.e. sister's son or Bhāgineya of Vaiśampāyana. The *Mahābhārata* (XII, 318, 19-20) also says that Yājñavalkya was the pupil of his maternal uncle Vaiśampāyana with whom he quarrelled and composed and compiled the White Yajurveda. All the *Purāṇas* unanimously support the *Mahābhārata* in this respect, while the Viṣṇu and the *Bhāgavata* add that Yājñavalkya taught the Vedas to Śatānika, the son of Janamejaya whose court-historian Vaiśampāyana was. The *Vāyu* (99, 250-255) says that Janamejaya performed two Aśvamedha sacrifices according to the rules and formulas given by (Vājasaneya) Yajñavalkya while the *Matsya* (50, 57-64) says that Vājasaneya (=Yājñavalkya) officiated as the Brahman priest in these two Aśvamedha sacrifices performed by Janamejya. These are the two Aśvamedha sacrifices to which Yājñavalkya referred during the debate held in Janaka's court by saying "Thither where Aśvamedha sacrificers go" to the sarcastic question "Whither have the Pārikṣitas gone?" put to him by Bhujyu Lāhyāyani (*Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, III, 3, 1) who was a pupil of Caraka.

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Notes on Aśoka Rescripts

Dusaṃpaṭipādaye (P.E.I.)—Hitherto the form and the meaning of this term have not been clearly understood. The passage that contains the word runs as follows:—

Hidata-pālate dusaṃpaṭipādaye aṃnata agāya dhaṃma-kāmatāya agāya palikhāya etc. etc.—[Hultzsch, *Inscriptions of Aśoka*, p. 146,—Nandangarh P.E.I., section C].

Hultzsch has interpreted the expression *hidata-pālate dusaṃpaṭipādaye* as "(Happiness) in this (world) and in the other (world) is difficult to secure" (p. 119). The term *dusaṃpaṭipādaye* was long understood to be equivalent to a Sk. °*-pādyaḥ*, a future participle form, by Aśokan scholars, and Professor D. R. Bhandarkar also explained it in the same way in the first edition of his *Aśoka*. The latter has, however, changed his view as he now thinks that "this is philologically impossible, as remarked by Michelson" (see his *Aśoka*, second edition, p. 336, n. 1). He prefers to take *saṃpaṭipādaye*= sampratipādayet'; that is to say, he wants to make *dusaṃpaṭipādaye* equivalent to a finite verb (Optative) prefixed by *du-*, as is shown also by his rendering 'One *may* with difficulty promote'. But such a procedure would make the construction extremely unidiomatic. He has not adduced any instance of such a use of a finite verb with the prefix *du-*, meaning 'difficult'. At any rate, it is not warranted by the dialect of the Aśoka rescripts. For instance, see R.E.V. section C, where occurs the expression *so dukaraṃ karoti*, instead of *so dukaroti* as the Professor's interpretation would require.

I think that *dusaṃpaṭipādaye* is neither a regular future participle nor an optative verbal form. I should like to point out that the term admits of a striking equivalence with such derivative adjectival forms in Pāli as are made up of the prefix *du-* or *su-* and the stem or formative part of a verb. Compare the italicized words in the following instances, where the final *-aya* represents neither an optative termination nor the future participle suffix *-ya*, but is only a part of the verbal stem:—

(i) "Pañc' ime bhikkhave uppannā *duppaṭivinodayā*:.....
uppanno rāgo *duppaṭivinodayo*, uppanno moho *duppaṭi-*

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vinodayo, uppannaṃ paṭibhānaṃ *duppaṭivinodayaṃ*, uppannaṃ gamikacittaṃ *duppaṭivinodayaṃ*."—(*Aṅguttara*, III. pp. 184-85).

(ii) "Phandanaṃ capalaṃ cittaṃ dūrakkhaṃ *dunnivārayaṃ*".—(*Dhammapada*, verse 33).

(iii) "Yo *duddamayo* damena danto".—(*Theragāthā*, verses 5, 8).

(iv) "Vutti *susamudānayā*" = 'a living easy to procure'.—(*Jātaka*, III. p. 313, l. 24).

(v) "*Dussaṇṭhāpayo* gharāvāso" = 'domestic life is difficult to settle down to'.—(Fausböll, *Dhammapada with commentary*, p. 199, ll. 10-11 = Norman, *Commentary on the Dhammapada* vol. 2, pt. 1, p. 302, n. 4).

Instances of such adjectival forms can be multiplied from the Pāli literature. Again, the Aśoka rescripts themselves contain analogous forms, which, though apparently somewhat different, are really cases of derivative adjective formed from *du* + some formative part of a verb. For instance, cf. R.E. VI (section N of Hultzsch, p. 196):—

Gir. *Dukaraṃ* tu idaṃ añatra agena parākramena.
Kāl. *Dukale* chu iyam anatā agenā palakamenā.
Shāh. *Dukara* tu kho imaṃ añatra agrena parakramena.
Mān. *Dukare* cha kho añatra agrena parakramena.
Dhau. *Dukale* chu iyaṃ amnata agena palakamena.
Jau. *Dukale* chu iyaṃ amnata agena palakamena.

It is evident from the table that *dukale* and *dukare* are not finite verbs in the optative, but adjective forms, as their variants *dukaraṃ* and *dukara* show. It is also noteworthy that the passages quoted are, in respect of construction, exactly on a par with the passage of P.E.I which contains the term *dusaṃpaṭipādaye*. For another parallel construction with *dukale*, *dukare* and *dukaraṃ*, see R.E. X, section E. Compare also the analogous forms *dupaṭivekhe* (P.E. III, section D) and *duāhale* (Sep. R.E.I., and my notes in *IHQ.*, June, 1932, pp. 377-9). All these instances show that *dusaṃpaṭipādaye* cannot be regarded as a finite verb in the optative, as Prof. Bhandarkar would have it.

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As regards the meaning of the term, different suggestions have been made by different scholars, e.g. Senart='difficult to provide', Bühler='difficult to gain', Smith='difficult to secure' (See Bhandarkar, *Aśoka*, second edition, pp. 336-7, n. 1). Hultzsch agrees with Smith, and the latest explanation, offered by Prof. Bhandarkar, is 'One may with difficulty promote' (*loc. cit.*). The latter also suggests that in order to ensure uniformity of meaning, *saṃpaṭipad*, as it refers to Aśoka's officers and not to his people, "must be taken to mean 'cause (people) to attain to' ".

But such a causal sense of *saṃpaṭipad* is not uniform in the rescripts, even though it may refer to Aśoka's officers. For instance, we have in Sep. R.E.I. the non-causal form *saṃpaṭipajamīne* (Dhau. l. 16) side by side with the causal *vipaṭipādayamīne* (Dhau. l. 15) and in the same context, and both in the non-causal sense, the only difference being that while the former is affirmative, the latter is negative. It seems, therefore, better to take *saṃpaṭipādaya* in general sense, and, if causal at all, then as causal by "svârtha". In so, it very aptly suggests the meaning 'to duly give effect to', 'to bring to perfection', 'to fulfil', 'to execute properly', that is to say, 'to consummate'. Thus, in the same pillar edict the expression "anuvidhīyaṃti *saṃpaṭipādayaṃti* cha, alaṃ cha palaṃ samādapayitave (l. 8.)" would mean "(my officers) are conforming to (my anusaṭhi) and consummating it (lit. bringing it to perfection), and (they are) capable of initiating others". The same idea of 'consistent and successful management or execution' i.e. 'consummation' also runs through the term *saṃpaṭipādayitave* at Sep. R.E. II, last line: "Hevaṃ kalaṃtaṃ tuphe chaghatha *saṃpaṭipādayitave*"—'acting thus (i.e. according to Aśoka's instruction or anusaṭhi), you (i.e. his officers) will be able to consummate it (i.e. justify the anusaṭhi)'.

Accordingly, the expression *hidata-pālate dusaṃpaṭipādaye* signifies 'the here-and-the-hereafter is difficult to consummate (i.e. to work out perfectly)'—whether the consummation be through the agency of the officers or through that of the people, or Aśoka's own offspring. The fact is that Aśoka was anxious to ensure the bliss of *hidata-pālata* not only to his people (as in R.E. VI, IX, XI; P.E. III, IV; M.R.E. I), but also to his offspring (as in R.E. XIII; P.E. VII), his

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officers (as in Sep. R.E. I and II) and his Borderers (as in Sep. R.E. II), and all of them were expected by him, as these edicts show, to work out their salvation by conforming to his moral instructions (anusaṭhi) in theory and practice, whereby alone the course of *hidata-pālata* could be perfected. Compare also: *Hevaṃ hi anupaṭīpajaṃtaṃ hidata-pālate āladhe hoti* (P.E. VII. 1. 31) where the worker and winner of the bliss is Aśoka's offspring and not his officers.

Thus, the term *dusaṃpaṭipādaye* does not refer only to the officials' difficulty in causing people to attain to 'hidata-pālata', but it is used in a general way at the beginning of the rescript to signify the general difficulty with which any toiler is faced in having to work for 'hidata-pālata'; and it is only when Aśoka particularly refers to the activity of his officers in that behalf in any particular context that the term may assume a bearing that will connect the officers alone with the act. But no such specification is present in the expression *Hidata-pālate dusaṃpaṭipādaye*.

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Kapardaka Purana

In the inscriptions of the Sena Dynasty of Bengal, we have the reference to a coin called *Kapardaka-purāṇa*.[1] The village Vāllahiṭṭikā mentioned in the Naihāṭī grant of Ballāla Sena had an annual income of 500 Kapardaka-purāṇas and the Tarpaṇ-dīghī plates of Lakṣmaṇa Sena refer to a piece of land which yielded an annual income of 150 Kapardaka-purāṇas; there are similar other references in the grants of the Sena kings.[2] We know that the *purāṇa* or the *dharaṇa* is nothing but a silver coin of 32 *ratis* or 58 grains,[3] but there is great uncertainty about the significance of the term *Kapardaka-purāṇa*.

Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar is justified in stating that the *Kapardaka-purāṇa* cannot "denote a Purāṇa which is equal to one *Karpardaka* or *cowrie* in value".[4] Surely a coin weighing 32 *ratis* of silver cannot be equated to a *cowrie* in value. Prof. Bhandarkar was, therefore, constrained to impose a different significance on this term. He thinks that a *Kapardaka-purāṇa* is a coin, "a purāṇa, which is shaped like a Kapardaka or cowrie".[5] He also points out that the word *hiraṇya* refers to the metallic representations of cowries as *Kapardaka*. In the Sanskrit lexicon *Medinī*, the word is given two meanings viz. (a) *Śātakumbha* or gold, and (b) *Varāta* or cowrie.[6] From these Prof. Bhandarkar draws the conclusion "that when *Kapardaka* is given as another word for *hiraṇya*, the former must be taken to signify a 'gold cowrie' i.e. a gold coin shaped like a shell cowrie. Hiraṇya thus, according to the *Medinī*, signifies *śātakumbha* i.e. (gold) bullion and *Kapardaka*, i.e. (gold) cowries".[7] In support of this hypothesis, he refers to the Egyptian and Chinese metallic representations of cowries and appeals to the analogy of the *rūpya* coins of Olbia. The Greek city of Olbia was situated in the north shore of the Black Sea and the tunny fish "formed the staple commodity of the communities that lived in

1 Bhandarkar, *Ancient Indian Numismatics* (The Carmichael Lectures), pp. 139, 176.

2 Banerjee, *Prāchīna Mudrā*, pp. 14, 15.

3 Bhandarkar, *Ancient Indian Numismatics* pp. 92-3, 180.

4 *Ibid.*, pp. 139, 176

5 *Ibid.*

6 *Ibid.*, p. 177.

7 *Ibid.*

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those regions".[8] The tunny fish, therefore, came to be used as a medium of exchange; and when coins came into use, "the bronze coins of this city were shaped like fishes" and had two letters inscribed on them which are taken to be the abbreviation of the Greek word 'tunny,' the fish.

But this analogy is not a full explanation of the *Kapardaka-purāṇa*. As pointed out by Prof. Bhandarkar himself the bronze coins of Olbia, shaped like fish, mark one of the stages of the transitional period from barter to metallic currency. The disadvantages of barter are well-known; it necessitates a double coincidence and consequently stands in the way of commercial expansion.[9] So various articles like cow, grain, ornaments etc. came in to serve as mediums of exchange.[10] At last, the metals are found to be best suited for the purpose and a certain amount of metal—gold, silver, copper etc.—came to be weighed out for purposes of exchange.[11] The final stage is marked by the advent of coins which are nothing but different weights of metals with devices impressed on the pieces either by the State[12] or by the bankers,[13] testifying as to the weight and purity of each piece. So it is evident that the system of fashioning a coin after an article which served as a medium of exchange must be anterior to the origin of coinage in the correct sense of the word. Consequently, what is true of the transition period previous to the advent of coins cannot be applicable to Bengal under the Senas in the 12th century A.D., hundreds of years after coinage had been evolved in this country.

Prof. Bhandarkar is conscious of the weakness of his arguments, but he wants to explain it off. Concluding his arguments he says: "It is true that the instances I have adduced are from the mediæval history of ancient India, but as I have already said, forms of money originating in the early stages of civilisation are preserved down to the historical periods. There can, therefore, be nothing unreasonable in

8 Bhandarkar, *Ancient Indian Numismatics*, p. 136.
9 Jevons, *Money and the Mechanism of Exchange*, ch. I.
10 S. K. Chakravortty, *Ancient Indian Numismatics*, p. 7.
11 *Ibid.*, p. 11.
12 Head, Barclay V., *Historia Numorum*, p. xxxiv.
13 Babelon, *Les Origines de la Monnaie* etc.

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supposing that gold and silver cowries came originally to be employed only when metallic currency was introduced but survived down to mu later times in some parts of India at least".[14] But the strongest argument against his theory is that not a single such coin, a *purāṇa* shaped like a *kapardaka* or cowrie had been discovered in this country. The current coins of the Pāla Dynasty that ruled in Bengal before the Senas were the *purāṇas* or *dharaṇas*, the silver coins of approximately 58 ratis as mentioned in the literature and found in various parts of the land[15]; and in some of the inscriptions of the Sena Dynasty the coin referred to is the *purāṇa* which is evidently the standard coin of the realm.[16] In the Sena period *Kapardaka-purāṇa* is not the only currency in use, but side by side, there are references to the *purāṇas*. There is no reason for thinking that while coins, in the proper sense of the word, were in circulation in Bengal before the Senas and after them, they went out of their way to have their coins shaped like *kapardakas*; this was not only very difficult as regards fabrication but decidedly marks a retrogression in the evolution of coinage. So the interpretation of Prof. Bhandarkar is not very sound.

Kapardaka or *cowrie* is locally known as *kauri* or *kavadi* and is "the small white shell of *Cypæa* or *Moneta*".[17] It had been used as currency from time immemorial in Southern Asia and specially in China. Masudi (943 A.D.), Marco Polo and other writers refer to its use in Southern India, the Maldives and Bengal.[18] The cowries are even now employed in the Dacca town and the demand for these shells is due to various purposes. These are not only used for currency but are also needed for adornment of cattle, horses etc. and are used by females in their indoor games. In 1905-6, 21,405 cwt. of cowries valued at Rs. 81, 710 and in 1906-7, 18, 638 cwt. valued at Rs. 68,845 were imported to this country. The major portion comes from East

14 Bhandarkar, *Ancient Indian Numismatics*, pp. 177-78.

15 Smith, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum*, pp. 239-40 (Eastern or Magadha type, about tenth century A.D.).

16 Banerjee, *Prācīna Mudrā*, 14-15: (2) Sundarbana Copper Plate of Lakṣmaṇa Sena and (6) Madanpāḍa Copper Plate of Viśvarūpa Sena.

17 Sir George Watt, *The Commercial Products of India*, p. 989.

18 *Ibid*.

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Africa and "a considerable local supply is obtained from the Laccadive and Maldive Islands".[19] Cowries are referred to in the *Jātakas* as *sippikāni*;[20] and the word *vaṭa* meaning a cowrie came to signify 'a coin'. It was used as a medium of exchange and became a generic expression for a coin, just as *kārṣāpaṇa* of copper came to be a general expression [21] and signified coins whether of gold, silver or copper. The use of cowrie for purposes of exchange was a long standing one, and Bengal had a special predilection for it. Specially during the period under discussion, silver became scarce. In the mediæval period before the discovery of America, the world supply of silver was "drawn chiefly from Central Asia. The rise of the Arab power and the consequent disturbances in Central Asia interrupted trade between India and the west by land and sea and must have curtailed, if they did not cut off completely, the import of silver from abroad".[22] The silver coins of the Pāla Dynasty are very few in number and rude in shape.[23] It is thus possible that under the Senas, the silver currency had been supplanted to a great extent by other mediums of exchange, perhaps of copper and preferably of cowries. The metallic coins were merely a theoretical currency and must have been very scarce and practically fallen out of use in Bengal. This is to be inferred from the statement of Minhās-us-Sirāj, the author of the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, who visited Lakhnauti, the chief town of Bengal, in 641 A.H. and writes that "there was no money current in Bengal till the Muhammadans carried it down with them on the conquest of the country in A.D. 1203".[24] The only way by which we can reconcile this statement with the condition of things prevailing in this country is to accept the *cowrie* as the principal, and perhaps for all practical purposes, as the only medium of exchange.

This conclusion is also borne out by the fact that *Kāhan* (the ver-

19 Sir George Watt, *The Commercial Products of India*, p. 989.
20 *The Cambridge History of India*, vol. 1, p. 218.
21 Rapson, *Catalogue of the coins of the Andhra Dynasty* etc., p. clxxix; D. R. Bhandarkar, *Ancient Indian Numismatics*, Lecture III.
22 C. J. Brown, *The Coins of India*, p. 53.
23 V. A. Smith, *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, p. 239.
24 E. Thomas, *Ancient Indian Weights* (Numis. Orient), p. 37, fn. 5.

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nacular word for Skt. *Kārṣāpaṇa* and Pāli *Kahāpaṇa*, the generic expression for coin in classical literature) is always equated to a number of cowries.[25] The minute sub-divisions of a cowrie also point to their importance and general use as currency.[26] So the only reasonable conclusion is that *Kapardaka* or 'cowrie' had become by the time of the Senas of Bengal the principal, if not the only medium of exchange and *purāṇa* the age-old general expression for coin was perhaps a theoretical standard of value. Payments were made in cowries and a certain number of them came to be equated to the silver coin, the *purāṇa*, thus linking up all exchange transactions ultimately to silver, just as at present the rupee, the silver coin, is linked up to gold at a certain ratio. The correct interpretation of *Kapardaka-purāṇa* is that it refers to a silver coin which, however, was paid in cowries i.e. *purāṇa* was merely a theoretical currency and was linked up with the real currency of the country, the cowries which changed hands in exchange transactions. The referene to *purāṇa* converts the cowrie to a token currency and how many cowries had to be equated to a *purāṇa* depended upon the market fluctuations. "In 1740 a rupee in Bengal exchanged for 2,40 cowries: in 1840 for 6,500'."[27] So the real significance of *Kapardaka-purāṇa* in Bengal, after a careful consideration of the monetary condition under the Senas, seems to be that the silver coin *purāṇa* was the standard coin of the realm but not in general use, and was equated to, and paid for, in cowries; it is this latter fact that is pointedly referred to in the word *kapardāka*. But when the word *purāṇa* is mentioned alone in the inscriptions, the silver coin was undoubtedly equated to the prevailing cowrie currency; and the addition of the word *kapardaka*, therefore, left no doubt about its correct significance.

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25 A *Kāhan* is equal in value to 16 *Paṇas* of 20 *gaṇḍās* i.e. 80 cowries each. See Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, pp. 16-17.

26 E. Thomas, *Ancient Indian Weights*, p. 19, fn. 3; "Thus 3 krant or 4 kak or 5 Bat or 9 Dant or 27 Jau or 32 Dar or 80 Til or 800 Sano are each equivalent to one Kaurī."

27 Sir W. Elliot, *Coins of Southern India*, p. 59, fn. 2.

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Some Problems of Pre-Buddhist History and Chronology

It was the endeavour of the writer of the *Political History of Ancient India from the Accession of Parikṣit to the Extinction of the Gupta Dynasty*, part I (1919), to expose epic and Purāṇic tradition to the search-light of Vedic and early Buddhist evidence, and reconstruct a chronological frame-work for the pre-Bimbisārian period which, though opposed to certain traditional ideas, is in accordance with the testimony of the earliest literary treasures of the Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas. The author sought to prove that Janamejaya, son of Parikṣit, and his priests, Tura Kāvaṣeya and Indrota, flourished five or six generations before Janaka of the *Upaniṣads* and his contemporaries Uddālaka Āruṇi and Yājñavalkya. He pointed out that it was difficult to identify this Janaka with any of the kings of that name mentioned in the epic and Purāṇic lists. He noted no doubt the arguments that might be advanced in support of the view that he was the original of the legendary Sīra-dhvaja whom the *Purāṇas* represent as the father of Sītā. These, however, were not regarded as conclusive, and it was further pointed out that, in the absence of external corroboration, it was impossible to accept the entire Purāṇic list of Vaideha kings from Sīra-dhvaja downwards as reliable. The author went on to suggest that Śāṅkhāyana, who was two generations removed from Janaka of the *Upaniṣads*, was possibly a contemporary of Āśvalāyana and that Āśvalāyana was in all probability identical with Assalāyana of Sāvatthi mentioned in the early Pāli texts as a contemporary of Buddha and of Kakudha Kātyāyana, one of the leading sophists of the age.

These results have recently been challenged by Paṇḍit V. Vedāntatīrtha (henceforth abbreviated as V.) in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, April-July, 1932. He urges that "although Tura Kāvaṣeya stands at the 6th step in the series of teachers above Yājñavalkya and Janaka" Janamejaya himself should be placed "only a step above Janaka in conformity with several epic, Purāṇic and Vedic synchronisms". It is not necessary for us to discuss the Purāṇic synchronisms because V. himself speaks of the *Purāṇas* thus: "Collateral successions have sometimes been described in the

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Purāṇas as lineal; sometimes orders of succession (have been) reversed, (and) synchronisms misplaced." As to the epics it is well to remember that they refer to Paraśurāma as a contemporary of Rāma Dāśarathi as well as of Bhīṣma and Karṇa, and represent Hanumat and Vibhīṣana as having met Bhīmasena (*Mbh.*, iii. ch. 147-151) and Sahadeva (*Mbh.*, ii. 31) respectively. A critical study of these and similar statements in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* would convince any impartial student that it is extremely unsafe to depend for historical synchronisms on the uncorroborated evidence of such texts. We shall, therefore, confine ourselves to an examination of the Vedic evidence which, in the opinion of V., supports the view that "Janamejaya Pārīkṣita was . . . an older contemporary of Janaka Vaideha and Yājñavalkya Vājasaneya."

V. observes that the use of *laṅ* in the verb *bhu* in the interrogation "*Kva Pārīkṣita abhavan*" attributed to a contemporary of Yājñavalkya and Janaka, shows that the death of Janamejaya and his brothers happened during the lifetime of Yājñavalkya. But the question was not actually framed for the first time by a sage of Janaka's Court. He had heard about it and its solution from people in the Madra country. The passage, therefore, is what is termed by grammarians and others as a *mūrdhābhiṣikta udāharaṇa*, and it cannot be regarded as establishing the contemporaneity of Janamejaya and Janaka. Moreover, persons with a real acquaintance with our ancient literature know that *laṅ* was often used in reference to events that happened in olden times.[1]

Another argument brought forward to prove the synchronism of

1 Cp. चम्पस्य तु पुरी चम्पा।
या मालिन्य भवत् पुरा॥
हरिवंश, ३१, ४६

तथांगस्यतु राजर्षे राजासीद्-दधिवाहनः।
सापराध छदेप्साया अनपानोऽभवन्नृपः॥
अथ चित्ररथस्यापि राजा दशरथोऽभवत्।
लोमपाद इति ख्यातो यस्य शान्ता सुताभवत्॥
वायुपुराण, ९९. १००-१०३.

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Janamejaya and Janaka of the *Upaniṣads* is that "a Vedic teacher named Dantabāla Dhaumra was . . . received by king Janamejaya Pārikṣita". 'Dantabāla Dhaumra' is represented as the corrupt form of the name 'Dantāla Dhaumya' which occurs in the *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa* as the designation of a contemporary of Somaśuṣma Sātyayajñi and, therefore, of Janaka. Now, the emendation of the name 'Dantabāla Dhaumra' into 'Dantāla Dhaumya' is as unjustifiable as the equation of Mādhavācārya, the author of the *Sarva-darśana-saṃgraha*, with Madhvācārya, the *Draita* exponent of the Vedānta. Moreover, as the reference to Dantabāla occurs in the mythical legend of Janamejaya and the two ganders, its value for chronological purposes may very well be discounted.

Writers who bring down Janamejaya, the contemporary of Indrota, to the time of Somaśuṣma, fifth in the descending line from that teacher, forget that in the time of Dṛti Aindrota, the son and pupil of Indrota, Janamejaya was obviously dead and the Kuru throne was occupied by Abhipratārin Kākṣaseni (*Vedic Index*, I, 373).

It will be seen that in his anxiety to support his theory V. has found it necessary to emend Vedic texts and blink over details that do not exactly fit in with his notions. But what is more regrettable is the attribution to the author of the *Political History* of views which he did not really entertain. Thus V. coolly suggests that the author has placed *all* the Videhas mentioned in the *Purāṇas* from Śīradhvaja to Kṛti, six generations after Janamejaya Pārikṣita. As a matter of fact, the author, while not oblivious of the possibility of the Janaka of the *Upaniṣads* being the original of the Purāṇic Śīradhvaja, does not consider the identification as certain and regards the Purāṇic lists of later Vaidehas as of doubtful historical and chronological value. He says distinctly even in the first edition of his work (p. 38) that "with the exception of Ariṣṭa and Nemi or Nami none of the kings in the Purāṇic lists can be satisfactorily identified with the Videhan monarchs mentioned in the Vedic, Buddhist and Jaina literature. It is, therefore, difficult to say how far the Purāṇic lists are historical". The point has been made clearer in the later editions of the *Political History*, where it is stated that "as the identification of Śīradhvaja with the Vedic Janaka is by no means certain, it is not easy to deter-

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mine which of the kings mentioned in the Purāṇic lists actually came after the contemporary of Āruṇi and Yājñavalkya".

The view, however, that has evoked the most bitter criticism is the identification of Āśvalāyana with Assalāyana, the contemporary of Buddha, with which is connected the problem of the identity of Kabandhī Kātyāyana. The identification of Āśvalāyana with Assalāyana was suggested on the following grounds:—

(1) Identity of names: Āśvalāyana = Assalāyana.

(2) Identity of the place of residence: Āśvalāyana was a man of Kosala (Kausalya). Assalāyana, too, was a man of Kosala, being an inhabitant of Sāvatthi in Kosala.

(3) Connection with the *Kalpa* literature: Āśvalāyana is a great master of the *Kalpa Sūtras* and his name is associated with the famous works on ritual known as the *Āśvalāyana Śrauta Sūtra* and *Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra*. Assalāyana, too, is described as "*Tiṇṇaṃ vedānaṃ pāragū sanighaṇḍu ketubhānaṃ*" *Ketubha* is explained as "*kappa vikappo kavīnaṃ upakārāya satthaṃ*", Kappa = Kalpa, 'the rules concerning rites, one of the Vedāṅgas.'

(4) Synchronism with the Philosopher Kātyāyaṇa who is called *Kabandhî* in the *Praśna Upaniṣad* and Pakudha or *Kakudha* in the Pāli texts. Pakudha (Kakudha) Kātyāyana was not a 'degenerate mediocrity' but "the head of an order, of a following, the teacher of a school, well known and of repute as a sophist, revered by the people, a man of experience, who has long been a recluse, old and well-stricken in years" (*Sāmaññaphala sutta*, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, I. 66).

Prof. Barua, who accepts the identity of Kabandhî Kātyāyana with Kakudha Kātyāyana, and traces a community of ideas in their philosophy, puts forward the suggestion that Kabandhî and Kakudha refer to the same physical deformity, viz. a hump on the shoulders (*Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy*, 281). But he does not develop the point. In the *Atharva Veda*, however, Kabandha, when used in reference to a *Puruṣa* (X. 2. 3), means the part

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of the body that is "four-fold" (*catuṣṭayam*), with ends connected (*saṃhitāntam*,) above the knees (*jānubhyāmūrdham*) and soft or pliant (*śithiram*). It is sharply distinguished from the *Kusindha* or trunk which supports the *aṃsau* (shoulders), and is *sudṛḍha* (firm). The *Kabandha* above the *knees*, which is *four-fold*, *śithira* and *saṃhitānta* (with ends connected), and is sharply distinguished from the *Kusindha* (trunk, not body) which supports the shoulders, must be identified, not with the belly or trunk, but with the *śroṇī* and the *urū* mentioned in the same verse (the two hips and the two thighs, four in all). And it is well known that *Kakudmatī*, lit. possessed of *Kakud*, refers, according to Amara, to the same part of the body (*kaṭo na śroṇī-phalakaṃ kaṭiḥ śroṇi kakud-matī*). It may also be noted here that in the Vedas (*Ṛg.*, V, 54, 8), *Kabandhin* is a special epithet of the Maruts who, by the way, are often styled *gomātāraḥ* 'having a cow for their mother' (*Vedic Mythology*, 78) and to whom the *Kakud* of the *ṛṣabha* ("bearing a *Kabandha*") is especially appropriated (*Atharva*, IX, 4, 38). In post-Vedic literature *kakud* frequently means a mountain peak (cf. *Raghu*, XIII, 47). The same idea may be conveyed by the word *Kabandhin*, 'cloud-capped' for according to Yāska (X, 4, 1) *Kabandha iti megha ucyate*, and *Parvatāśaya*, 'resting on mountains' means clouds and clouds alone according to the *Śabda-candrikā*. Megha-sakha, Meghmāla and Meghavat are well known mountain names (Cp. also the list of Meghanāmāni in the *Nighaṇṭu* (i. 10).

In this connection it is interesting to note that Kakudha Kātyāyana was a believer in 'seven things' that are 'steadfast as a *mountain peak*, as a pillar firmly fixed'.

Further, the word *kakudha* is frequently used in Pāli literature to mean a *kakudha-bhaṇḍa*, which literally means a vessel, decoration or equipage (*bhājanādi parikkhāra*) with a projection or bulge (*kakud*) and is specially applied to the *uṇhīsa* and four other *insignia regis*. Now, the word *kabandha* has also the sense of a barrel, cask or large bellied vessel and, if the etymology of Kṣīrasvāmin (*kasya śiraso bandhotra*

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kabandhaḥ) is correct, it meant literally an *uṣṇīs*, rather than an *apamūrdha kalevara*.

Lastly, in the *Mahāvaṃsa*, XV, *kakudha* is the name of a little *vāpi* (reservoir of water). According to Yāska and Amara, *kabandha* has the sense of water. So that *Kabandhin* may also mean a reservoir of water.

The chief reason why V. finds it impossible to accept the identity of Āśvalāyana and Kabandhî Kātyāyana with elder contemporaries of Buddha, is the apprehension that as a consequence of such identifications Hiraṇya-nābha will have to be placed in the sixth century B.C., and Yājñavalkya and his contemporaries will be brought down 'to only a step above Gautama Buddha'. It should be remembered by V. that Āpastamba (*Dh. S.*, 1. 2. 5. 4-6) clearly refers to Śvetaketu as an *avara* and that Pāṇini, a writer who knew the *Yavana* alphabet and made his mark, according to the *Kāvya Mīmāṃsā* (p. 55), in the city of Paṭalīputra founded after the death of Buddha, does not include Yājñavalkya's works among Purāṇa-prokta Brāhmaṇas. (IV. 3. 105 read with Kātyāyana's *Vārttika*). Cp. also the commentator's statement *Yājñavalkyādayo hi na cirakālā ityākhyāneṣu vārtā* (Goldstücker. *Pāṇini*, p. 106). The *Saṃhitās* and *Brāhmaṇas* are not works of single authors or the products of a single age, and though the bulk of these works may be very old (*purāṇa-prokta*), particular portions may be late as is suggested by the evidence of Pāṇini and others.

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Uvvata on Syllabication of Consonants

Consonants are considered to be the dependants of vowels. Generally the letters are to be seen in words in three different modes: separate vowels, vowels combined with consonants, and vowels combined with two or more combined consonants. Regarding the last two, there arises a doubt about the dependence of a particular consonant to a particular vowel (the preceding or the following). The settlement of this is important for accentuation. So Kātyāyana, in his *Prātiśākhya* treats of this subject in six sūtras I. 102 to 107. This subject is termed *pūrvāṅga-parāṅga-cintā*.

(1) The first letter of a *saṃyoga* (combination) becomes part of the preceding vowel.

E.g., *Aśśvaḥ*.

Here is a combination of two 'ś' and one 'v'. So the first 'ś' becomes part of the previous 'a', and the latter 'ś' and 'v' becomes part of the following 'a'. The production of the sound of the word is thus indicated by *aś/śvaḥ*.

(2) The yamas, with the preceding letter, become part of the previous vowel.

E.g., *Rukkmam*.

Here is a combination of 'k', 'yama', and 'm'. The letters 'k' and 'yama' are part of the first vowel, and 'm' of the second.

(3) The *kramaja*-letter is also considered to be part of the previous vowel. *Kramaja* (kramāj jāta), means a duplicated letter which follows the first letter of a combination.

E.g., *Pārśśvyam*.

Here the letter 'r', two 'ś's, 'v', and 'y' are combined. The 'r' is the first letter of a combination, the first 'ś' is *kramaja;* so these two form part of the preceding vowel, the second 'ś', 'v' and 'y' being part of the latter. The sound-product of this word is *pārś/śvyam*.

Another example—*Varssyāya*.

Here the letters 'r', two 'ṣ's, and 'y' are combined. *Repha* is the

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first of the combination, the first 'ṣ' is *kramaja;* these two are part of the previous vowel, and the remaining 'ṣ' and 'ṇ' are of the latter.

(4) The next letter of the *kramaja* is also considered to be part of the preceding vowel, if it is followed by a mute.

E.g., *Pārṣṇyā.*

Here repha, 'ṛ', two 'ṇ's, and 'y' are combined. *Repha* is the first letter of a combination, 'ṣ' is *kramaja,* the next to the *karmaja* is 'ṇ', and it is followed by a mute (another 'ṇ'), so the first three become part of the preceding vowel, and the remaining 'ṇ', and 'y' of the last vowel.

This statement of Uvvaṭa (*vide* sūtra, I. 105,), does not seem to be correct, because he states that 'ṣ' is *kramaja.* In the previous sūtra he has described *kramaja* as a term of the letter which undergoes duplication. Here 'ṣ' is not doubled. So leaving the letter 'ṣ', the first 'ṇ' is to be considered as *kramaja* and its following letter, the second 'ṇ', according to present rule, fails to become as part of previous vowel, because it is not followed by a mute, but it is followed by 'ṇ'. Therefore '*pārṣṇyā*' is not a suitable illustration for this rule. If the syllabification alone of the above illustration is changed as '*pārṣṣṇyā*', there is no difficulty. The 'r' is the first letter of a combination; the first 'ṣ' is *kramaja;* these two with the following letter. the second 'ṣ' (which is followed by a mute 'ṇ') these three become part of the preceding vowel, and the 'ṇ' and 'y' of the latter. The author of the *Prātiśākhya-pradīpa-śikṣā* also supports this (*Śikṣāsaṃgraha,* Benares ed., p. 225). It runs as follows:

"क्रमजाद् उत्तरं व्यञ्जनं स्पर्शे परे पूर्वाङ्गं भवति। पार्ष्ण्यां वा। रेफो द्वौ षकारौ पूर्वस्य, णकारयकारौ परस्य।"

Therefore it is suggested that the commentary of Uvvaṭa on I. 105 might be read with slight modification:

"यथा—पार्ष्ण्यां। रेफो द्वौ षकारौ णकारो यकारश्च संयोगः। तत्र रेफः संयोगादिरिति कृत्वा, पूर्वषकारः क्रमज इति कृत्वा, 'तस्माच्चोत्तरं स्पर्शे' इति कृत्वा अपरः षकारश्च, इति पूर्वाङ्गम्, णकारः यकारश्च उत्तरस्वरस्याङ्गम्।"

(5) The letters at the end of a word are also to be part of the preceding vowels.

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E.g., *Vāk*.

Here 'k' is the ending letter.

Ūrk.,

Here *repha* and 'k' are combined, the *repha* being the first letter of a combination, and 'k' being the ending letter, both of them form part of the preceding vowel.

In sūtra I. 107 Kātyāyana describes the object of these rules. It is evident that the accents *ucca* (acute), *nīca* (grave), and *svarita* (circumflex) are the qualities of vowels. There is no special rule anywhere narrating the accentuation of consonants. On the other hand, the consonants also undergo the changes of accentuation when they are pronounced. So there must be some decided understanding in the accentuation of consonants. The idea is, that the consonant, which depends on a particular vowel, should be pronounced in the same accent, as the vowels.

"स्वर उच्चः स्वरो नीचः स्वरः स्वरित एव च।
स्वरप्रधानं त्रैस्वर्यं व्यञ्जनं तेन सस्वरम्॥"

APPENDIX

KĀTYĀYANA-PRĀTIŚĀKHYA (chap. I. 100-107)

(with Uvvaṭa's Commentary)

सहाद्य व्यञ्जनैः ॥ १ ॥

आद्यैः व्यञ्जनैः सहितः स्वरोऽक्षरं प्रत्येतव्यम्। यथा—मो। ओकारसहितोऽक्षरं प्रत्येतव्यम्। यथा—द्रु+अन्नः < द्रवन्नः। उकारो दकाररेफसहितोऽक्षरम्।

उत्तरश्चावसितैः ॥ २ ॥

आद्यैर्व्यञ्जनैः उत्तरैश्चावसानगतैः सहितः स्वरोऽक्षरम्। यथा- वाक्। वकार-ककारसहित आकारोऽक्षरम्। प्राङ्—पकाररेफडकारसहित आकारोऽक्षरम्। एवं तावद्यः कः स्वरो भवति तदधस्तनान्युपरितनानि च व्यञ्जनानि तदङ्गानि भवन्तीत्येतत् प्रतिपादितम्।

अधुना स्वरयोर्मध्ये द्विप्रभृतीनां व्यञ्जनानामङ्गत्वनिरूपणायाह--

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सँय्योगादिः पूर्वस्य ॥ ३ ॥

सँय्योगादिभूतो वर्णः पूर्वस्य स्वरस्याङ्कं भवति। यथा—अश्धः। द्वौ शकारौ वकारश्च संय्योगः ; तत्र संय्योगादिः पूर्वस्येति कृत्वा पूर्वशकारः पूर्वस्य स्वरस्याङ्कम् ; उत्तरशकारवकारावुत्तरस्य स्वरस्याङ्कम्। यथा—ह्व्यम्। द्वौ वकारौ यकारश्च संयोगः ; तत्रैको वकारः संयोगादिः पूर्वस्येति कृत्वा पूर्वस्याङ्कम् ; वकारयकारावुत्तरस्य।

यमश्च ॥ ४ ॥

यमः पूर्वस्याङ्कं भवति, चशब्दात् पूर्ववर्णसहितः। यथा—रुक्ष्मम्। ककारद्वय-यममकाराः संयोगः ; तत्र ककारयमौ पूर्वस्य ; मकार उत्तरस्य।

क्रमजं च ॥ ५ ॥

क्रमाज्जातं क्रमजम् ; यत्संयोगादेः परस्य वर्णस्य द्विरुक्त्या जायते तत् क्रमजमित्युच्यते यथा—पाश्श्र्व्यम्। रेफो द्वौ शकारौ वकारो यकारश्च संयोगः। तत्र रेफः संयोगादिः, क्रमजश्च प्रथमः शकारः, पूर्वाङ्कम् ; द्वितीयः शकारो वकारो यकारश्चोत्तराङ्कम्। वर्ष्याय। रेफो द्वौ षकारौ यकारश्च संयोगः ; तत्र रेफः संयोगादिः पूर्वषकारः क्रमजः एतौ पूर्वाङ्कम् ; अपरः षकारो यकारश्चोत्तराङ्कम्।

तस्माच्चोत्तरं स्पर्शे ॥ ६ ॥

तस्मात् क्रमजाद्युत्तरं व्यञ्जनं तत् पूर्वाङ्कं भवति स्पर्शे परभूते। यथा—पाष्ण्र्या, रेफषकारौ द्वौ णकारौ यकारश्च संयोगः। तत्र रेफः संयोगादिरिति कृत्वा, षकारः क्रमजमिति कृत्वा, तस्माच्चोत्तरं स्पर्शे इति कृत्वा पूर्वणकारश्च, एते पूर्वाङ्कम् ; द्वितीयणकारो यकारश्चोत्तरस्य स्वरस्याङ्कम्।

अवसितं च ॥ ७ ॥

अवसानगतं पूर्वाङ्कं भवति। यथा—वाक्, ककारोऽवसितः। ऊर्क्, अत्र रेफ-ककारयोः संयोगः ; रेफः संयोगादिः, ककारोऽवसितः, एतौ पूर्वस्य स्वरस्याङ्कम्।

पूर्वाङ्कपराङ्कचिन्तायाः प्रयोजनमाह—

व्यञ्जनं स्वरेण सस्वरम् ॥ ८ ॥

व्यञ्जनं यद्यस्य स्वरस्याङ्कं तत्तेनैव स्वरेण समानस्वरं भवति। अधस्तनान्येवोदाहरणानि।

V. VENKATARAMA SHARMA

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The Besnagar Inscription of Heliodoros

Dr. Hemchandra Raychaudhuri in his very interesting paper, *The Mahābhārata and the Besnagar Inscription of Heliodoros* which originally appeared in *JASB*, 1922, Vol. XVIII, p. 269, ff. and is now incorporated in his *Studies in Indian Antiquities*, Calcutta University 1932, has very satisfactorily shown the relation of the *Mahābhārata* with the inscription of Heliodros in which occurs the following couplet:

trini amuta padāni (su) anuṭṭhitāni
nayaṃti svaga dama cāga apramāda

Dr. Raychoudhuri has quoted a verse from the *Strīparvan* of the *Mahābhārata* showing the relation between them. From the same work two more verses may be quoted in this connection, which have closer relation to the stanza of the Inscription. They are found in the *Sanatsujātā Parvan* included in the *Udyogaparvan*, in which *dama*, *tyāga*, and *apramāda* are much praised. They are as follows:—

दमस्त्यागोऽप्रमादश्च एतेष्वमृतमाहितम् ।
तानि सत्यमुखान्याहुर्ब्राह्मणा ये मनीषिणः ॥

Udyogaparvan, 43. 22.

दमस्त्यागोऽथाप्रमाद इत्येतेष्वमृतं स्थितम् ।
एतानि ब्रह्ममुख्यानां ब्राह्मणानां मनीषिणाम् ॥

Udyogaparvan, 45. 7.

In passing it may be noted that as regards *apramāda* the following lines of the *Dhammapada* and the *Mahābhārata* are striking:

अप्पमादो अमतपदं पमादो मच्चुनो पदं ।

Dhammapada, I. 1.

प्रमादं वै मृत्युमहं ब्रवीमि तथाप्रमादममृतत्वं ब्रवीमि ।

Udyogaparvana, 41. 4.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA

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Identity of Vidyaranya and Madhavacarya

The following few lines are intended to furnish a reply to the material points raised by Mr. Rama Rao in his article "Vidyāraṇya and Mādhavācārya" published in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, December, 1930 wherein an attempt is made to disprove the identity of Vidyāraṇya and Mādhavācārya. As regards external evidence the author bases his theory on the fact that "if Mādhavācārya is identical with Vidyāraṇya, the fact would have leaked out in one or the other of the good number of inscriptions", and "that the few inscriptions which refer to Mādhavācārya (brother of Sāyaṇa) never indicate any connection between him and Vidyāraṇya".

The whole basis of the statement is unsound as absence of mention of any fact does not necessarily disprove the fact itself. The identity in question can only be disproved if there is any positive identification of Vidyāraṇya with anybody else or if the inscriptions definitely speak of the non-identity of the two persons. It must be noted moreover that it was not customary for a Sannyāsin to be referred to by his name in the "Pūrvāśrama" i.e. pre-Sannyāsa stage. It is not understood how the writer expects any reference to or mention of the name 'Vidyāraṇya', which was adopted by him in his subsequent Sannyāsa stage, in the inscriptions that might have come into existence in the pre-Sannyāsa period of his life.

As regards the internal evidence, it is stated "that the details about the life of Mādhavācārya found in his own works failed to show any connection between him and Vidyāraṇya". There is no reference to Mādhavācārya in Vidyāraṇya's works, because, a Sannyāsin is not expected to make references to his past life and there cannot be any reference to Vidyāraṇya in Mādhavācārya's works, because the name Vidyāraṇya was adopted by him in a subsequent stage of his life, perhaps years later.

There is no difference of opinion regarding the authorship of the first three works of Mādhavācārya, viz., *Parāśara-smṛti-vyākhyā*, *Vyavahāra-Mādhava* and *Kāla-Mādhavīya*. Regarding *Jīvanmukti-viveka*, the very reference in the introductory works to his Guru Vidyātīrtha, only proves that the author of that work was identical with

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that of *Parāśara-smṛti-vyākhyā*. Though there is no mention of the author in the colophon in the Mysore Oriental Library Ms., no. 145, other Mss. of the work noticed in R. L. Mitra's *Notices of Sanskrit Mss.*, vol. 4, p. 82, no. 1486; and Stein's *Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss. in the Library of the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir*, nos. 1989-1992 mention Vidyāraṇya as the author. Mr. Rama Rao has proved that the author of the work is Mādhavācārya. But we have just pointed out that Vidyāraṇya is definitely mentioned as the author elsewhere. So it automatically follows that they are identical.

The attribution of the *Jīvan-mukti-viveka* to Vidyāraṇya by the editor of the Ānandāśrama edition is not simply a groundless presumption, but is supported by such authorities as Acyutarāya, a commentator on the same work. It is curious that the writer tries to disprove the identity of the two names by referring to Mādhavācārya as a householder and Vidyāraṇya as a *Sannyāsin* as if a *Gṛihastha* cannot turn to become a *Sannyāsin* at a later stage. The entire argument falls to the ground when it is made clear that Vidyāraṇya is the name adopted by Mādhavācārya when he assumed the yellow robe. The author of the *Jīvanmukti-viveka* has announced himself in the following verse to be the author of the *Parāśara-smṛti-vyākhyā* also:—

eteṣāṃ tu samācārāḥ proktāḥ pārāśara-smṛtau/
vyākhyāne 'smābhir atrāyaṃ parahaṃso vivicyate//

There is no difference of opinion that the author of the *Parāśara-smṛti-vyākhyā* is Mādhavācārya. It automatically follows therefore that "Vidyāraṇyā" and "Mādhavācārya" are identical.

The next course adopted by the author is an attempt to disprove Mādhavācārya's authorship of the Vedic commentaries and foist it on his brother Sāyaṇa. The statement of the *Śivatattva-ratnākara* and other evidences cannot be accepted as more reliable proofs are forthcoming in favour of the identity.

In a subsequent issue of the *Indian Historical Quarterly* (March 1931) the writer states that Vidyāraṇya is considered to be the author of the *Veda-Bhāṣya*, and that he should be identified with Sāyaṇacārya who, he asserts, is alone the author of the *Bhāṣya*. Though the names of both Mādhava and Sāyaṇa appear in the commentaries the writer

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gives prominence only to Sāyaṇa for the simple reason that only his name occurs in the colophon.

The arguments advanced to prove that Mādhavīya does not mean the production of Mādhava are not very convincing. It is not made clear why, if Sāyaṇa had written them, the term Mādhavīya should have crept in, instead of 'Sāyaṇīya' or 'Bukkabhūpalīya', after the patron-king.

The same argument could be easily turned against the writer, as Mādhavācārya who had already gained a wide reputation, might have admitted his brother Sāyaṇa also to a share of the credit. However no significance need be attached to these presumptions for neither of these brothers was lacking in scholarship or skill. It is quite clear from internal references, that the Bhāṣya was undoubtedly a production of the combined intelligence and genius of the two brothers. References such as *"kṛpāluḥ Sāyaṇācāryo vedārthaṃ vaktum udyataḥ"* and *"kṛpālur Mādhavācāryo vedārthaṃ vaktum udyataḥ"*, in the commentaries lead to the conclusion that each of them devoted his attention to a particular part and produced between them the great *Bhāṣya*.

The writer disposes of Ahobalapaṇḍita's authority, as the Paṇḍita was a recent man of 1700 A.D. and that 'the information given by him might have had its origin in a legend'. The Paṇḍita's statement should not be so easily disregarded, as he lived in an age not very distant from Vidyāraṇyā's. The 'Legends' too were not only prevailing among eminent scholars of his time, but were found to have been current even about Vidyāraṇyā's age.

Kauṇḍapācārya, the author of the *Prayogaratnamālā* (or the *Apastamb-ādhvara-tantra-ryākhyā*) was a contemporary of Vidyāraṇya whom he alludes to as the author of the Vedic commentaries:

vedārthaviśadīkartā vedavedāṅgapāragaḥ/
Vidyāraṇyayatir jñātaḥ śrautasmārtakriyāparaiḥ//

It has been admitted that the Bhāṣyas are the works of either Mādhavācārya or Sāyaṇacārya or both. It therefore necessarily follows that Vidyāraṇya must be identical with either Mādhavācārya or Sāyaṇācārya or with both. Since Sāyaṇa and Mādhava are two different

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persons Vidyāraṇya could be identical with only one of them. Which one, evidences cited will prove.

Mitra Miśra, the author of the *Vīramitrodaya* (a digest of Dharmaśāstras of the sixteenth century) refers in the *Vyavahārādhyāya*, pp. 583, 672 to Vidyāraṇya as the author of the *Parāśara-smṛti-vyākhyā*.

Another author Narasimha by name (who lived from 1360 to 1435 A.D.) in his work *Prayogapārijāta* makes mention of Vidyāraṇya as the author of the *Kāla-nirṇaya* otherwise known as *Kāla-Mādhavīya*:—

Śrīmad Vidyāraṇyamunīndraiḥ *Kālanirṇaye* pratipāditaḥ prakāraḥ pradarśyate:—tatra Paiṭhīnasiḥ:—śrautasmārtakriyāḥ (*Prayogapārijāta*, p. 411, Nirnayasagar Press, Bombay). Since it is now admitted that the author of the *Parāśara-smṛti-vyākhyā* and the *Kāla-Mādhavīya* is Mādhavacārya he must be identical with Vidyāraṇya.

The writing of Narasimha (between 1360 and 1435 A.D.) and Kaundapācārya (of the latter part of the 14th century) referred to above cannot but be taken as evidences from contemporary authors, and similarly the writings of Ahobalapaṇḍita and Mitramiśra shown above are evidences from authors who flourished a few centuries immediately after. These clearly prove the identity of Vidyāraṇya and Mādhavācārya.

It is only on such solid grounds that the identity of Vidyāraṇya with Mādhavācārya was established by a number of ancient scholars of repute and the Mādhava-Vidyāraṇya theory was erected thereon by the modern scholars. By a reference to Kāuṇḍapa's works it has been shown in the *Sources of Vijayanaĝar History* that the character and description of Vidyāraṇya agree point by point with that of Mādhavācārya, the brother of Sāyaṇa.

It is obvious from the foregoing discussion that Vidyāraṇya cannot but be identical with Mādhavācārya, the author of the commentaries. Other points noted by the writer are not touched as they are either based on indirect evidences or loose presumptions.

K. Markandeya Sarma

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Nālanda Stone Inscription of Yasovarmadeva
(A Rejoinder)

I have carefully read Dr. R. C. Mazumdar's criticism of my note on Dr. Hirananda Sastri's article on the above-named document in the June issue of this Journal but find in it nothing which has not already been refated. All this is stated by Dr. Hirananda Sastri in the *Annual Report of the Archæological Survey Department* for 1925-26 (p. 131).

If I can understand matters, Dr. Sastri based his original view on the script of the inscription. Dr. Mazumdar also does the same. Dr. S. found that the script of the inscription cannot be called late for it is used in documents which are decidedly early. The name Yaśodharman does not appear to be a cogent one for *yaśas* can hardly be called a *'dharma'* or 'quality.' Fleet also did not consider it to be a very reasonable appellation. The quotation which Dr. M. has given does not improve matters. Dr. S. has noticed it. Had Dr. Mazumdar shown that the name Yaśodharman exists elsewhere, or that so-and-so was called Yaśodharman, there would have been some force in his argument. The names given by Fleet in the footnote which Dr. M. has quoted in extenso do end in *dharman* and look all right with this termination. But *yaśas* does not. Consequently I agree with Dr. S. that the name of the king was Yaśovarman and not Yaśodharman. If Fleet was against the idea where was the need for him to dilate on the matter? Nobody denies that names ending in *dharman* existed in ancient India. What has been doubted is the existence of the name Yaśodharman in earlier times. Let Dr. M. cite an instance showing that so-and-so was so called.

I think there is another point the importance of which Dr. M. has not fully appreciated. It is the use of the word *Śāstā* in the epigraph. Dr. S. has given both the views. It is not understood how Dr. M. calls his translation of the verse containing this word as 'apt to mislead the unwary' Dr. Vogel's suggestion regarding the interpretation of Śāstā is there and every reader of the article, be he wary or unwary, will read and consider it. This interpretation does not appeal to me and it appears that Dr. S. was also of the same opinion. The idea of

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calling an image of Buddha as of so-and so is '*un-Buddhistic*' and those who have seen the Buddhists making donations or benefactions of any kind must have noticed how particular the Buddhists are in making everybody present touch the gift to make it common. The same idea was prevalent among the ancient Hindus who in their *āhutis* laid special strees on repeating *idaṃ=agnaye idaṃ na mama*—'it is for Agni and is *not* mine'. It is doubtful if Bālāditya could call the image as his own=(i.e. the Buddha of Bālāditya). It might be contended that he did not do so, but the other people. Besides, is it the Buddha of Bālāditya or of anybody else who resides within, or the Buddha, the Enlightened, the Emancipated Lord, the exclusive property of nobody that pervades us all according to the Mahāyānists? Which interpretation looks more plausible? The composer of the *praśasti*, especially when he came in long after Bālāditya, could hardly have paid special regard to the image because of its being set up by Bālāditya. Why should he think of Bālāditya who was dead and gone? For a Buddhist of later period it will be immaterial whether an image was made by a chief or an ordinary fellow so long as it represents the Lord. On the contrary, if the maker is alive, or died recently, it might be of some significance. That much could be conceded, if the royal maker was so egoistical as to call the image after his own name. But could he not issue a command regarding its safety? Why should it be said that the *śāstā* of Bālāditya is present in us? Will not Lord Buddha or mere *śāstā* do? And can he not punish the offender? It is true that the image is mentioned by later writers as a piece of history but not as the *śāstā* or Buddha of Bālāditya. Whether this image was made by Bālāditya or by anybody else, Buddha remains the same. It is the order of the king which is to be respected in such cases. The image is protected because of the order or the sword behind it. It is this point which goes to decide the matter to a large extent.

The question of the alphabet has been fully answered by me and I need not recapitulate what has been stated already. Every letter can be a test letter. Earlier forms continue to be retained in later documents. Could we call them antique on that account? That an alphabet is used in books or *granthas* does not impl-

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that it is not employed in inscriptions. The fact that the whole *varṇa-mālā* is given in the Horiuzi palm-leaf manuscript is very significant and its value should not be under-estimated.

I have already explained the use of *śaśāsa* in the record. In fine, nothing which has so far been found controverts Dr. Sastri's view. On the contrary his opinion that Bālāditya was probably a vassal of Yaśovarmadeva would explain the whole question of the part taken by Bālāditya in fighting the Hūṇas. Perhaps Mihirakula was attacked by Yaśovarman while engaged in an expedition against Bālāditya.*

A. K. MRITHYUNJAYAM

* The controversy is closed.—Ed.

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Cauhān Mahārājas of Pāṭnā State (Mahākośala)

In a previous paper[1] I dealt with the "Dates of the Cauhān Mahārājās of Sambalpur Aṭhārāgarh". In this I propose to deal with the main house of Pāṭnā, the first and oldest seat of Cauhān Mahārājās of Mahā-Kośala.

In the absence of any inscriptional document, we have to depend entirely on official records and on the writings of later day authors, both Vernacular and Sanskrit, but these too are comparatively meagre.

These Sanskrit and Vernacular works are:—(1) *Prabodh Candrikā*[2] by Mahārāja Baijal Deva of Pāṭnā (ii) *Kośalānanda Mahākāvyam* by Paṇḍit Gaṅgā Dhar Miśra of Sambalpur (iii) *Cikitsāmañjarī*[3] by Paṇḍit Gopīnāth Sadaṅgī of Sambalpur (iv) *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa* in 9 lettered Oriya verses by Gopāl Telaṅga of Sambalpur (v) *Jaya Candrikā*[4] (a poem in Hindi) by Paṇḍit Prahlād Dube of Sarangarh.

The first official statement pertaining to the history of the Pāṭnā Rāj family is found in the *C. P. Gazetteer*, compiled by C. Bernard.

It gives a complete list of the Pāṭnā Cauhān kings, who are designated as '*Mahārājās*'. "The following is a list of the Mahārājās of Pāṭnā from the time of Rumail Deo to the present Mahārāja, showing approximately the period that each reigned:

1	Rumail Deo ...	...	...	32 years
2	Mahaling ...	...	...	6 ,,
3	Baijal Deo I ...	...	...	65 ,,
4	Baikraj Deo ...	...	...	13 ,,
5	Bhojinj Deo ...	...	...	34 ,,
6	Pratap Roodra Deo ...	...	...	39 ,,
7	Bhopal Deo ...	...	...	11 ,,

1 *IHQ.*, September, 1930 p. 568.

2 Found by me at Ratanpur, the ancient capital of the Haihaya Princes of Mahākośala. The manuscript was written by Kṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa about 100 years ago.

3 A Palm-leaf manuscript is in possession of one Ghansyām *Kumbhakār* a local physician of Padigaon in the Raigarh state.

4 The original manuscript of this poem is in the possession of the Ruling Chief of the Sarangarh state C. P.

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8	Nagsingh Deo	30	,,
9	Bikramadit Deo	34	,,
10	Baijal Deo II	39	,,
11	Bhunjun Hīrādhar Deo	30	,,
12	Narsing Deo	7	,,
13	Chutterpal Deo	3	,,
14	Baijal Deo III	63	,,
15	Hirdai Narayan Deo	15	,,
16	Partap Deo	22	,,
17	Vikramaditya Deo	15	,,
18	Mukund Deo	30	,,
19	Balram Deo	8	,,
20	Hridaysai Deo	7	,,
21	Rai Sing Deo	80	,,
22	Prthviraj Singh Deo	3	,,
23	Ram Candra Deo	55	,,
24	Bhopal Deo	28	,,
25	Hirabhaujjur Deo	18	,,
26	Sur Pratap Deo	1 year	

present in 1868 A.D.

The total length of years from Rumail Deo to Hīrādhar Deo, 11th Mahārājā is 333 and from the 12th Mahārājā to the last 354, in all 687 years. If we deduct 687 years from 1866, we get 1179 A.D. as the approximate date when the Cauhān family first assumed sovereignty over the Pāṭnā State. It was administered by a council of eight *malliks* or representatives, otherwise known as the *Āṭh-mallik* form of government.

From the *Jayacandrikā* we learn that after the fall of Prthvirāj Cauhān, the last Hindu Emperor of Delhi, one of his daughters-in-law, who was then in a state of pregnancy, was sent to a safe place. This lady in due course came to the Pāṭnā State and gave birth to a son named Rumail Deo. This must have occurred soon after the battle of Thāneśvar about 1193-94 A.D. Assuming that Rumail Deo proclaimed himself as a ruler of Pāṭnā State when he was about 20 years, we find a difference of 14+20=34 years only. If we omit the period of reign

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of Nagsing Dèo, whose name does not appear in the list of kings given by Prahlād Dube in the *Jayacandrikā* the difference vanishes. The name of Nagsing Deo (no. 8 of *C.P. Gazetteer* List) is not also mentioned in the Sanskrit work, *Kośalānanda Kāvyam* which furnishes us with the following list:

1	Rāma Deva reigned for	...	52 years*
2	Mahāliṅga[5]	...	6 ,,
3	Baijal Deva	...	65 ,,
4	Vatsarāja Deva	...	29 ,,
5	Bhojarāja Deva	...	0 ,,
6	Vīramalla Deva	...	30 ,,
7	Pratāpamalla Deva	...	44 ,,
8	Bhūpāla Deva	...	0 ,,
9	Vikramāditya Deva	...	34 ,,
10	Baijala Deva II	...	13 ,,
11	Hīrādhar Deva	...	30 ,,
12	Narsingh Deva	...	

Instead of Nagsing Deva, this list gives a new name (no. 6) Vīramalla Deva.

The Ratanpur list as given in a manuscript called *Ratanpurke havāl* omits two names and reverses the order as shown below:

1	Ramai Deo	6	Bhojrāj Deo
2	Mahāliṅg Deo	7	Vikram Deo
3	Vatsarāja Deo	8	Baijal Deo II
4	Vīramalla Deo	9	Hīrādhar Deo
5	Baijal Deo I	10	Narsingh Deo

* This might be the years of his age. 26 years of his region which he would have begun at his 26th years. But this is mere supposition.

5 वर्त्तमाने गजपतौ राजराजेश्वरक्षितौ। रविरामयुगे ख्याते विद्यमानेन्दके कलौ॥ तस्य पुत्रो महालिङ्गः समाःषट् बुभुजे महीम्। पितुः प्रतापतपनार्दितभूपतिसेवितः॥

रवि=12; राम=3; युग=4=4312 Kali era.

in 1931, the Kali era is 5032. The śloka refers to 4312 Kali era i.e. back whether this is the date for the coronation of Rāma Deva or of his son Mahaling, is not clear.

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This list is not very reliable. In it Baijal Deva I has been shown as the 5th king while all other documents mention him as the 3rd Mahārājā of Pāṭnā, who conquered about 72 forts and reduced Bāmrā, Gaṅgāpur, Bonai, Baud, Surguza, Dhenkanal, and Sonepur to subjection.

Prahlad Dube's *Jayacandrikā* has:

1	Ramai	6	Pratāpamalla Deva
2	Mahāliṅga	7	Bhūpāl Deva
3	Baijala Deva I	8	Vikramajit Deva
4	Bhojrāj Deva	9	Baijala Deva II
5	Vikram Deva	10	Hīrādhar Deva

11 Rāma Deva (Narsingh Deva of other Lists)

In the absence of any inscriptional record giving the genealogy of the Cauhān Mahārājās of Pāṭnā, it is very difficult at this distance of time to say which of the lists is more correct. It may be that Vatsarāja might have assumed the title of *Viramalla*, and both these might mean one prince or 'Bhūpāl Nagsing Deva' representing one name, might have been taken to be two names.

The *Prabodhacandrikā*[6] gives three names Vikramārka (Vikramāditya), Baijala Deva II and Hīrādhara Deva (father of Balaram Deva I ruler of Sambalpur).

The only inscription hitherto brought to light which mentions Baijal Deva is incised on a stone slab affixed to the temple at Narsingh-

6 The authorship of this treatise on Sanskrit Grammar, is attributed to Maharaja Baijal Deva (II) himself. He composed it for the use of his son Hīrādhar Deva.

संसाराम्भोधितरणं रामनामानुकीर्तनम् ।
रामनामान्विता तस्मात् प्रक्रिया क्रियते मया ॥
बालकानां प्रबोधाय तोषाय विदुषामपि ।
साफल्यमपि संसारे कीर्त्यवस्थापनाय च ॥
चिन्तयन्निति निर्यातः क्रीडन्तं श्रीहिराधरम् ।
श्रीमान् बैजलभूपालो विलोक्य सुतमब्रवीत् ॥

This बैजलचन्द्रिका is known in Bengal and Orissa as बैजलकाव्यम् or बैजलकारिका ।

माधुरी (Lucknow), p. 750 vol. IV, No. 48.

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nāth, now in the Bora Sambhar Zamindari, Dist. Sambalpur, Orissa. This inscription is in transitional Oriya characters and has not yet been published anywhere. It was dated but now the date cannot be deciphered as it has been worn out.

According to Mr. Beglar, "the date is either 672 or 728 which is utterly inconsistent with the forms of the characters, if referred to either the Saka or the Vikrama era. I am therefore inclined to consider it as a Hijra date."

In 1904-5, Dr. Bhandarkar visited Narsinghnāth but by that time the date was worn out. But taking other points (Vikārināma Saṃvatsar, Caitra Pūrṇimā and Friday) into consideration, he came to the conclusion that the inscription was dated in A.D. 1359-60. I, with the help of Prof. Mahavir Prasad Sribastavya have tried to work out the details and find that the cyclic year Vikāri fell on a Friday with हस्ता नक्षत्र and चैत्र पूर्णिमा in the Vikram year 1470=1413 A.D. March 17th, and not in A.D. 1359 as shown by Dr. Bhandarkar. This inscription mentions that Baijal Deva, son of Bairaj Deva king of Pāṭnā built the temple of Narsingh on the Gandhamādan hill, and to quote Mr. Beglar "made a gift of one hundred (cows?) coins with village Loisinghā. It was consecrated by Loma Harsan (लोमहर्षण ?) Panigrahi, sent by Baijal Singh." In the list of kings we find three Baijal Devas. The father of the first is named Mahaling and that of the third, Chutterpal Deva. Now remains the second Baijal Deva the author of *Prabodhcandrikā*. His father was Vikramārka or Vikramāditya Deva. If Bairājdevarāja (as Dr. Bhandarkar deciphers it and which Mr. Belgar reads as Bachha Raja) stands for Vikramāditya, then it is certain that Baijal Deva of the inscription is no other than Baijal Deva II of the list, and he must have been reigning about Vikram Saṃvat 1470 or 1413 A.D.

Mr. Beglar writes:—"On the southern side of the hill, there is a temple called '*Deucul Durla*' after the name of the Rāṇī who constructed it. Close to the temple is a thatched *hut* in which the image of Bhairava is enshrined. On this image, too, there is an inscription in old characters, from which only the words '*Pāṭnā* and Baijal Deva' can be deciphered, the rest of the inscription is not readable".

The above name is also engraved in the hall attached to Narsingh Nāth's temple. (*Arch. Sur. Report*, 1881-82, vol. XVII).

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While describing the Narsinghnāth temple[7] Dr. Bhandarkar says:—

The door-frame on the north * * * * * * Near this door-frame on its proper left is the standing image of a warrior with hands folded and with a sword held against the breast between it and the left hand. Judging from the analogous instances, this seems to have been the figure of the personage who was principally connected with either the construction or the restoration of the temple.

L. P. PANDEYA

7 Text of the Narsinghanath Temple inscription:—

ॐ नमः श्रीनृसिंहाय। अस्ति स्वस्ति श्रीविकारीनाम संवत्सरे चैत्रपूर्णिमा शुक्रवासरे हस्तानक्षत्रे पाटणानगरस्थित वच्छराज (बइराज या बैकराज) देवराजाके स्वपुत्र श्रीबैजलदेव राजा हरिपापतीर्थे गन्धमादनपर्वते विडाल नरसिंहनाथस्वामीङ्कर देउल तोल इला ❀ ❀ ❀ गाइ शतिक लोरमसिंगाग्रामदिलो ❀ ❀

(In transitional Oriya characters).

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REVIEWS

PRAMĀṆASAMUCCAYA of Diṅnāga edited and restored into Sanskrit with Vṛtti, Ṭīkā, and Notes by H. R. Rangaswamy Iyengar, M.A., Government Oriental Library, Mysore (Mysore University Publication).

As observes Dr. Brajendranath Seal in his Foreword, Diṅnāga is rightly regarded as the father of the mediæval school of Indian Logic. His views are referred to or quoted in order to support or refute them in the most important works on the subject, whether Brāhmaṇic, Buddhist, or Jaina. Indeed, no student of Indian Logic can follow its growth and development without being thoroughly acquainted with the views of Diṅnāga.

Unfortunately his works of which the most important is the *Pramāṇasamuccaya* are now not extant in original Sanskrit excepting some fragments or passages referred to or quoted in different books, such as the *Nyāyavārttika* of Uddyotakara, *Tātparyaṭīkā* of Vācaspatimiśra, *Mīmāṃsāślokavārttika-ṭīkā* of *Pārthasārathimiśra*, *Tattvasaṃgrahapañjikā* of Kamalaśīla, and so on. A number of these passages has been collected in a book form by Professor Randle. However, the *Pramāṇasamuccaya* in its entirety, as the other works of Diṅnāga, is still available in Tibetan. Its detailed account has been given by the late Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. S. C. Vidyabhushana in his *History of Indian Logic*. It has been announced that Prof. Stcherbatsky is preparing an edition of the Tibetan text and a translation of the *Pramāṇasamuccaya-vṛtti* for the Bibliotheca Buddhica Series. Our sincere thanks are now due to Mr. H. R. Rangaswamy, (and not *Ramaswamy* as writes Jarl Charpentier in reviewing the present volume in the *BOSS.*, vol. VI, p. 1031) for publishing the first chapter of the work in its Sanskrit form. It is complete in six chapters, and we hope, the remaining chapters will follow in due course. The Sanskrit text in the volume under review is mostly restored or reconstructed from its Tibetan version, while some of the kārikās have been collected from different Sanskrit works in which they are found as quota-

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tions. Generally the kārikās of such logical or philosophical books are written in utmost brevity and as such are not in all cases easy to understand. Hence the authors themselves used to write *vṛttis*, and Diṅnāga, too, wrote a *vṛtti* on his *Pramāṇasamuccaya*. In order to elucidate the meaning of the kārikās, reconstructed or original, Mr. Iyengar has added extracts from this *vṛtti* in Tibetan along with its restoration in Sanskrit. In the same way he has given copious extracts from another commentary called *Viśālāmalavatī* of Jinendrabuddhi. Besides, there are valuable notes by Mr. Iyengar based on different works closely bearing on the points. That the task before the author is in no way an easy one can be realized only by those who have some idea of, or acquaintance with, the work of this nature. Yet a perusal of the volume would evince that Mr. Iyengar is quite fit for the work he has undertaken, and the students of Indian Logic will ever remain thankful to him.

There are, however, some cases for correction or modification, or improvement with regard to the reconstruction or other matters, and it is hoped it will be effected in the next edition.

Let us quote a kārikā (I. 11)) in its Tibetan version:

śes pa gžan gyis ñams myoṅ na/
thug med de la'ṅ dran pa ste//
de bžin yul gžan la'pho ba/
med gyur de yaṅ mthoṅ ba ñid//

Its Sanskrit as given by Mr. Iyengar is as follows:

ज्ञानान्तरेणानुभवेऽनवस्था तत्र च स्मृतिः।
विषयान्तरसञ्चारस्तथा न स्यात् स चेष्यते॥

Excepting the word *iṣyate* at the end which, according to Tib. (*mthoṅ ba ñid*) must be nothing but *īkṣyate*, it is all right. But this kārikā is partly or entirely quoted twice by *Pārthasārathimiśra* in his commentary, *Nyāyaratnākara*, on the *Mīmāṃsāślokavārttika* of Kumārila (Benares ed., pp. 277 and 321) with different readings, first there being *anubhave hiṣṭā tatrāpi ca*, and the *anubhavo'niṣṭas tatrāpi hi* for *anubhave'navasthā tatra ca* of Mr. Iyengar in the first half. That his restored reading is quite right according to the Tib. text (*ñams myoṅ na thug med de la'ṅ*) is beyond doubt. But the question is with

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regard to the two readings referred to in the *Nyāyaratnākara*. That one of these two is wrong goes without saying. But which is the correct one? I think, it is the second with the single exception of *hi* which must be *ca* as in its first reading, and it is supported by Tib. (*'aṅ*), though the first reading itself requires modification, as we shall see presently. However, the difficulty lies in accounting for the difference between the Tib. and this second reading, in accordance with which one should read *dod med* for *thug med* in the Tib. text, but it would be taking too much liberty. That the word *anavasthā* (Tib. *thug med*) is here required is quite clear also from Kumārila's words (*tasya tasyāpi cānyena saṃvittāv asthitir bhavet*, and *anyena vānubhāve'sāv anavasthā prasajyate*, pp. 277 and 321), in connection of which Pārthasārathimiśra quotes the line. Besides, as the Tibetan version reads it very clearly we can in no way discard the reading given by Mr. Iyengar in favour of *anubhavo'niṣṭa*° in the printed text of the *Nyāyaratnākara*. Undoubtedly, somehow or other the mistake crept in. The reading *jñānāntareṇānubhave* once given by Pārthasārathimiśra, and literally supported by Tib. finds further support from the following words of Kumārila: *anyena vānubhāve*. The reading (p. 321) *īkṣyate* suggested by Tib. *mthoṅ ba ñid*, as referred to above shows that the Skt. Mss. before the Tib. translator had it for *iṣyate*, or he himself wrongly read it as *īkṣyate*. We wish Mr. Iyengar had discussed such readings also in other cases.

We should like to quote one kārikā more (I. 4):

thun moṅ min pa'i rgyu yi phyir/
de yi tha sñad dbaṅ pos byas/
der don du mas bskyed pa'i phyir/
raṅ don spyi yi spyod yul can//

Mr. Iyengar reconstructs it thus:

असाधारणहेतुत्वाद् व्यपदेश्यं तदिन्द्रियैः ।
तत्र नैकार्थतोत्पादात् स्वार्थसामान्यगोचरः ॥

As regards the second half one may propose to read *tatropādād anekārthaiḥ*, or preferably *utpādanād anekārthaiḥ* even omitting *tatra* (*der*) for *tatra naikārthatotpādāt*, the suffix *-tā* in *arthatā* being not required, as it gives a meaning which is not appropriate here. Now with regard to the first half, strictly speaking, Tib. *tha sñad byas*

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suggests *vyapadiṣṭaṃ* or *vyapadiśyate* and not *vyapadeśyaṃ* for which Tib. would read *tha śñad bya*. However, the actual reading of the line, as Mr. Iyengar himself has discovered as a quotation in the *Tattvārtharājavārttika* of Bhaṭṭa Akalaṅkadeva, Benares, p. 38, is *asādhāraṇahetutvād akṣais tad vyāpadiśyate*. Yet he has rejected it in his restoration without any ground. This line is quoted also by Haribhadrasūri in his *vṛtti* on the *Nyāyapraveśa*, Sanskrit Text, *GOS.*, p. 35, l. 23, and it is to be noted that it has been pointed out, though with some doubt, by Prof. Mironov in his edition of the same work reconstructed from Haribhadra's *vṛtti*, which is published in the *T'oung Pao*, 1931, l. 8. With the line under discussion the Benares edition of the *Tattvārtharājavārttika* referred to above reads the following as the first half of the couplet:

pratyakṣaṃ kalpanāpoḍhaṃ nāmajātyādiyojanā.

Evidently the reading *-yojanā* in *nāmajātyādiyojanā* is a wrong one.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA

1 KESAVPAṆḌIT'S RAJARAMA-CARITAM OR SRI CHATRAPATI RAJARAM'S JOURNEY TO JINJI edited by V. S. Bendrey, published by the Bhārat Itihās Saṃśodhak Maṇḍal. Poona 1931. Pp. 23+80.

2 RISE OF THE PESHWAS by Prof. H. N. Sinha, M.A., The Indian Press, Ltd., Allahabad, 1931, pp. 255.

For the last twenty-five years Mahārāṣṭra scholars have been engaged in searching, sifting, editing and publishing original sources of Marāṭhā History and their devoted zeal and indefatigable industry have been amply rewarded by important discoveries and valuable finds. The work of Sane, Rajwade, Parasnis and Khare is widely known to all students of Indian History. The contributions of the late Mr. S. M. Divekar, however, still remain inadequately appreciated. It was he who brought to our notice such contemporary Sanskrit works as *Śiva Bhārat* and *Parnal Parvat Grahaṇākhyān*. These historical poems were discovered in the famous library at Tanjore. Mr. V. S. Bendrey

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belongs to the same confraternity of scholars as the late Mr. Divekar, and he has practically made the period of Sambhaji his own. It is to him that we are indebted for another addition to the Sanskrit sources of Marāṭhā History. Keśav Paṇḍit's *Rājārāma caritam* is written in the customary Paurāṇic style and consists of five brief cantos. He describes Rājārām's flight to Karṇāṭak and then brings his narrative to an abrupt end. The editor suggests that the poet probably died early in 1690 and did not live to add further to his account of the life and exploits of his hero. In the learned introduction we read that Keśav Paṇḍit was a Karhāḍā brāhmin of Saṅgameśvar and had served under Śivāji, Sambhāji and Rājārām. It was under Sambhāji that he attained some prominence and obtained from that prince a generous gift. The manuscript was known to Dr. Burnell but he wrongly described it as an account of the coronation of Rāma, the epic hero. The error was corrected in the new catalogue and Mr. Bendrey obtained a transcript of the text. He has published it with a Marāṭhī translation and notes and added a map to illustrate the campaign of Rām Candra Pant during the closing months of 1689. The introduction is really useful and interesting.

Prof. H. N. Sinha is to be congratulated on the handy little volume he has produced. He ably surveys one of the most important periods of Marāṭhā history and gives an accurate and reliable account of Bālāji Viśvanāth and his two immediate successors. With the notable exception of Mr. G. S. Sardesai few Mahārāṣṭra scholars have turned their attention to the important work of synthesis demanded by the fast accumulating original materials, and as they usually write in Marāṭhī, the average student in other parts of India hardly derives any benefit from their publications. His needs should no longer be overlooked as Marāṭhā history has of late come to its own and forms a recognised subject of study in most of the Northern Indian Universities. Prof. Sinha has not unearthed any new evidence and his examination is confined mainly to the published sources, Marāṭhī and English. But his work will be of very great use to those non-Marāṭhā students to whom Sardesai's *Marāṭhī Riyāsat* remains a sealed book. Moreover, the period surveyed by Prof. Sinha is full of intricacies which often bewilder the beginner, and a lucid and clear narrative had been a long-

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felt need. University students all over India will be grateful to Prof. Sinha for providing them with an excellent text book.

SURENDRA NATH SEN

ROCK-CUT TEMPLES AROUND BOMBAY by Kanaiyalal H. Vakil, B.A., LL.B., pp. XX+160, Plates 59. Published by D.B. Taraporevata Sons & Co., Bombay.

The celebrated cave temples of Elephanta and the less-famed rock-cut shrines of Jogeshwari, Kanheri and Mandapeshwar are made the subject-matter of study in this neat little volume by Mr. Vakil, well-known as an art-critic. His book is divided into several parts, the first giving general information about these monuments, such as their age, their relative importance etc., while the second, third, fourth and fifth present in some detail the sculptural and architectural features of the respective rock-hewn structures. In the appendix, the learned author describes at some length the very interesting stone reliefs discovered at Parel (Bombay), and while discussing their iconography and age emphasises the importance of these new discoveries to the students and exponents of Indian Art.

The cave shrines at Elephanta, as these are situated in and near the city, very appropriately called the 'Gate of India', are among the most frequently visited and described monuments of India. From mere travellers' guidebooks to the learned archæological publications, dealing with objects of general and antiquarian interest in this part of the country,—in none of these, have the massive grandeur and sublime beauty of their architectural and sculptural designs failed to evoke more than their proper share of admiration and appreciation. Though such has not been the fate of the three other less known shrines, still they have also been, in a manner, studied and admired. But Mr. Vakil's style of presentation of the essential features of these noble memorials of India's past and of showing how to study and appreciate their beauties in their proper perspective has struck a new line. To put his viewpoint in his own words:—"The current emphasis on 'what' is being represented is shifted to 'how' it is being

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represented"; thus while taking stock of all the notable contents of these ancient structures, he does not set much store by the enumeration of what according to him seems to be unnecessary architectural and iconographic details, but lays special stress on the manner of representation of the sculptural and architectural motifs. To refer to a typical example:—The well-known and much admired relief in Elephanta depicting the marriage of Śiva and Pārvatī does not appeal to him merely on account of the "proportion", "the careful execution" and "minuteness" noticeable in individual figures of this relief; 'these are not the sole or the best claim of the panel'. 'The unerring concentration of the sculptor towards the interpretation of the poetic solemnity of the main incident of his theme is its unmistakable and indisputable triumph'. Again, the above relief, when considered in relation to the one on the opposite side of the panel showing Śiva as Kāla-Bhairava, cannot but suggest the idea to an observant mind that the sculptor in a masterly way has depicted the contrast between the normal appearance of the great god and his appearance as the lover and the bridegroom. This contrast has been beautifully described in the immortal lines of the great Kālidāsa, and the learned author's extremely apt quotation of these from *Kumārasambhava* emphasises his point. This has throughout this book been the writer's attitude in appraising the real value of the architectural and sculptural themes of these shrines,—each of which has been discussed in its own proper setting and environment.

Thus, this well-written little volume will be of extreme benefit not only to the general visitors to these noble monuments, for they are here fully informed by the writer *about what to see and how to see*; but also to the earnest and serious students of Indian art for it will supply them with much food for reflection about the general tendencies of the modern methods of art criticism in relation to the artistic heritage of India. One may not, however, see eye to eye with the author in all matters of opinion expressed by him and exception may be taken to the severe strictures so frequently passed by him on the archæologist's method of studying these monuments; still it must be observed that the author has made the study of these specimens of the Indian achievements in the domain of art a really fascinating one, and has been able to do so, because he could approach his subject with

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genuine love and admiration, and with broad, but at the same time, circumspect vision.

The publishers should be congratulated on the nice get-up of this brochure. It has a large number of illustrations some of which are very helpful.

J. N. Banerjea

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Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute,

vol. XIII, pts. iii-iv

JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH.—*Gleanings from the Udayasundarīkathā*. Soḍḍhala writing his *Udayasundarīkathā* in the 11th century A. C. has given an account of his family in the first chapter of the work. The historical facts contained therein have been culled together in this paper, specially the interesting information about the Kāyasthas. According to the story given here, the Kāyastha caste originated in the eighth century of the Christian era. It is noteworthy that the author of the *Kathā* calls himself a Kāyastha, and at the same time, claims to be a Kṣatriya.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI.—*Kulārṇavatantra—Its Extent and Contents*. This is mainly an account of a Ms. of the *Kulārṇavatantra* which differs materially from the published editions of the work.

CHARU CHANDRA DAS GUPTA.—*Some Notes on the Chronology of the Sena Kings of Bengal*. From a study of the inscriptions connected with the Sena rule, as also of the two works, *Dānasāgara* and *Adbhutasāgara*, the writer has come to the conclusion that Vijayasena ruled from *c.* 1095 A.C. to 1157 A.C. followed by Ballālasena's reign extending up to 1169 A.C.

ADRISH CHANDRA BANERJI.—*The Mālavas*.

B. N. KRISHNAMURTI SARMA.—*On the Date of Śrīkaṇṭha and the Bṛhatsaṃhitā*.—Evidences have been put forward in the first part of the article to show that Śrīkaṇṭha, the author of the *Brahmamīmāṃsā* flourished in the 12th cent. A.C. It has been argued in the second part that the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* quoted by Madhva was a Purāṇic work no longer extant. Mr. T. R. Chintamani's view that Śrīkaṇṭha belonged to the 13th century and quoted from Akhaṇḍānanda's *Tattvadīpana* as also his assertion that the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* cited by Madhva was nothing more than an anonymous contemporary work, have been vehemently opposed here.

BIMALA CHURN LAW.—*Pāli Chronicles*.

A. S. ALTEKAR.—*The Date of Harṣa-Pulakeśin War*. The date of

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the war between Maṇavarmma and Pulakesin II in which the former could not get the upper hand has been put within the limit of the years 630 to 634 A.C.

VANAMALI VEDANTATIRTHA—*The Age of Janaka and Others.* In comparing some of the results obtained by Dr. S. N. Pradhan in his *Chronology of Ancient India* with those obtained by Dr. H. C. Ray Chowdhury in his *Political History of Ancient India*, the writer of this paper supports the former author. It is contended that the evidences advanced by Dr. Ray Chowdhury to prove that the Vedic Janaka was separated by six generations from Janamejaya's time are not convincing.

The evidence of the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.*, where Bhujyu Lāhyāyani tests Yājñavalkya by putting to him the question *Kva Pārīkṣitā abhavan*—"Whither have the Pārikṣitas gone" rather tends to make Yājñavalkya a contemporary of Janamejaya as maintained by Dr. Pradhan on account of the use of *Laṅ* form of the root *bhū*. The writer also argues that the untenable identifications of Guṇākhya Śāṅkhāyana with the author of the *Śāṅkhāyana-Gṛhyasūtra* as also of Āśvalāyana Kauśalya and Kabandhin Kātyāyana of the *Praśna Up.* with Aśvalāyana (of Sāvatthi) and Pakudha Kaccāyana of the *Majjhima Nikāya* as made in the *Political History of Ancient India* are at the root of the error in that work about the chronological relation between Janamejaya and Janaka.

V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR.—*The Arthaśāstra re-examined or the Culture and Date of the Arthaśāstra.* Against the theories that the *Arthaśāstra* was written between 480 and 510 A.C. within the Malwa territory which was then under the domination of Greeks, Śakas and Hūṇas, and that the ideals and culture reflected in the work are non-Indian, the author of this paper remarks: The similarities between the passages in the Aśoka inscriptions and the *Arthaśāstra* point to the antiquity of the latter and its connection with the Mauryas. The political ideals finding favour in the *Arthaśāstra* are also found in the Tamil *Kuṛal* of the 2nd century B.C. Further, the Śabaras, Caṇḍālas and Āṭavikas mentioned in the *Kautilīya* cannot be the monopoly of the Malwa kingdom. The political theories and institutions noticed in the *Arthaśāstra* have nothing in them alien to the Hindu ideals on polity.

BETTY HEIMAN.—*The Philosophical Aspect of Ahiṃsā.*

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Indian Antiquary, July 1932

PURAN CHAND NAHAR.—*Antiquity of the Jaina Sects.* The writer deals with some problems connected with the comparative antiquity of the two Jaina Sects, the Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras, and regards the latter sect to represent the genuine Jaina spirit.

Ibid., Aug., 1932

B. BANNERJEA.—*An Inquiry into the Position of Women in Hindu Society.* The conclusion of the author is that the status of Hindu women though in theory not much elevated is not at all inferior to the position given them in non-Hindu societies.

Journal of the American Oriental Society,

vol. 52, No. 1 (March 1932)

ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY.—*Viṣṇudharmottara, Chapter XLI.* The chapter of the work dealing with painting has been translated from Sanskrit with comments in English.

Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay

vol. XIV, No. 8

S. C. MITRA.—*A Note on Human Sacrifice among the Birhors of Chota Nagpur.*

Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society,

vol. 8, nos. 1 and 2

H. D. VELANKAR.—*Vṛttajātisamuccaya of Virahāṅka.* In continuation of ch. 4 in vol. V of the Journal, the 5th and the 6th chapters of the *Vṛttajātisamuccaya*, a treatise on Prakrit metres, have been edited here with introduction and notes.

ALFRED MASTER.—*Some Parallelisms in Indo-Aryan and Dravidian with especial reference to Marathi, Gujarati and Kanarese.*

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Journal of Indian History, vol. XI, pt. 1 (April, 1932)

W. H. MORELAND.—*Pieter van den Broeke at Surat (1620-29).* In continuation of the previous instalment, portions of the unpublished diary of Pieter van den Broeke who was an important figure in the early history of the Dutch East India Company have been translated here with annotations.

SURENDRANATH SEN.—*Half a Century of the Maratha Navy.* This portion of the continued article describes the activities of Kanhoji Angria and Sekhaji Angria in connection with the Maratha Navy during the years 1798-1633.

V. SRINIVASAN.—*The Dutch in India.*

R. A. NILAKANTHA SASTRI.—*Early Pandyan Chronology.*

ABDUL AZIZ.—*History of the Reign of Shāh Jahān.* The imperial treasury at the time of Shāh Jahān is the subject-matter of this instalment.

Ibid., August, 1932.

K. G. SESHA IYER.—*A Chēra Royal Poet of the Śaṅgam Period.*

M. GOVINDA PAI.—*The Gupta and the Valabhi Eras.*

SRI RAMA SHARMA.—*Humayun and Maldev.*

W. H. MORELAND.—*Pieter van den Broeke at Surat (1620-29).* The translation of the diary concluded.

NANDALAL CHATTERJI.—*The Beginning of Mir Qasim's disputes with the English.*

Journal of Oriental Research, April-June, 1932

K. A. NILAKANTHA SASTRI.—*The Rāmāyaṇa in Greater India.*

AMARNATH RAY.—*The Dakṣiṇāmūrti Hymn and the Mānasollāsa.* This is an attempt to connect the *Dakṣiṇamūrtistotra* and the *Vārtika* thereon called *Mānasollāsa* with the *Pratyabhijñā* literature of Kashmir. The *Stotra* and the *Vārtika* ascribed to Śaṅkara and his disciple Sureśvara respectively may in fact be the productions of Abhinavagupta and his disciple Kṣemarāja.

P. S. SUBRAHMANYA SASTRI.—*History of Grammatical Theories in Tamil.*

V. RAGHAVAN.—*Writers quoted in the Abhinavabhārati.* This paper draws attention to the names of several writers on Dramaturgy

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noticed by Abhinavagupta in his commentary on the *Nāṭya-śāstra.*

N. AYYASWAMI.—*Extracts from Jayānanda's Commentary on the Madhyamakāvatāra, Chap. VI retranslated into Sanskrit from the Tibetan Version.*

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, July, 1932

B. G. BHATNAGAR.—*Local Self-Government in the Vedic Literature.*

RAGHU VIRA.—*The Chandonukramaṇī of the Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā.* The first section of the work forming a part of the *Varāhapariśiṣṭas* has been edited.

Journal of Urusvati Himalayan Research Institute, vol. II, 1932

A. E. MAHON.—*Recent Archaeological Discoveries in India.*

GEORGES DE ROERICH.—*Studies in the Kālacakra.* The Kālacakra system, the mystic religious order of Tibet so important for the study of Central Asian Buddhism, has been described in this paper. The writer proposes to translate certain Tibetan texts on the Kālacakra doctrine and the Realm of Śambhala, whence the system is said to have been brought to India in the 10th century A. C.

Nagaripracarini Patrika (Hindi), vol. XIII, 1 & 2

KASHI PRASAD JAYSWAL.—(भारशिव राजवंश) *The Bhāraśiva Kings.* after the reduction of Brāhmaṇism to a very precarious position by the Śaka-Kuṣāṇa rulers in the early Christian era, there arose in India in c. 250 A.C. two dynasties of kings, the Vākāṭakas and the Bhāraśivas, who helped in the revival of Brāhmaṇism. It is stated in a Vākāṭaka copper-plate that the Bhāraśivas established their kingdom on the banks of the Bhāgīrathī and celebrated the Aśvamedha sacrifice for ten times. The well-known holy place of Daśāśvamedha in Benares is said to be associated with these kings. It is conjectured that the Bhāraśiva kingdom was situated near Benares and Allahabad.

GAURISHANKAR HIRACHAND OJHA.—(पद्मावत का सिंहल द्वीप) *The Siṃhala-dvīpa in the Padmāvata.* The Siṃhaladvīpa mentioned in the *Padmāvata* as the birth-place of Padminī of Chitor cannot be

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taken to be the Island of Ceylon. The place is to be identified with a village called Singoli situated 40 miles east of Chitor.

VASUDEV SHARAN AGRAWAL.—(मथुरा की बौद्ध कला) *The Buddhist Art at Mathurā.*

GURUPRASAD.—(संध्यक्षरों का अपूर्ण उच्चारण) *Incomplete Pronunciation of Dipthongs.*

GORELAL TEWARI.—(बुंदेलखंड का संक्षिप्त इतिहास) *A short History of Bundelkhand.* The paper is concluded in the 2nd issue of vol. XIII of the journal.

Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society,
vol. XXIII, No. 1 (March, 1932)

V. RAGHAVENDRA RAO.—*South Indian Temples.* The writer traces the evolution of temple architecture from the Vedic times and describes its different styles found in Southern India.

K. NARAYANASWAMI IYER.—*Śrīvidyā.* This is an exposition of Śrīvidyā or the knowledge of the highest form of Śakti worship leading to salvation.

N. SUBBA RAO.—*Chikkadevarāja Wadeyar of Mysore and his Successors* (1673-1761).

K. G. SANKAR.—*The date of the Eleventh Paripadal.*

S. SRIKANLAYA.—*Heavenly Mansions of the Hindus.*

Philosophical Quarterly, July, 1932

E. AHMED SHAH.—*Appearance and Reality.* The writer argues that inspite of Śaṅkara's efforts to establish the illusory character of the world, it has not been conclusively established as commonly supposed.

ASHUTOSH SASTRI.—*Is Vedāntism Mysticism?*

P. MODI.—*Akṣara: A forgotten Chapter in the History of Indian Philosophy.* The position of *akṣara* (the impersonal Immutable) described in early philosophical literature as a metaphysical principle has been dealt with in this paper.

SAILESWAR SEN.—*The Nature of Śabdapramāṇa in Vātsyāyana's Nyāyabhāṣya.*

J. N. SINHA.—*The Nature of Pramā.* The views of the Naiyāyikas, Jainas, Mīmāṃsakas, Śaṅkara-Vedāntists, Sāṅkhyas and Buddhists

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about the real nature of valid knowledge have been examined here.

Sāhitya-parisat-Patrikā (Bengali), vol. XXXIX, no. 2

NALINIKANTA BHATTASALI.—(লক্ষ্মণসেনের নবাবিষ্কৃত শক্তিপুর-শাসন ও প্রাচীন বঙ্গের ভৌগোলিক বিভাগ) *The newly discovered Śaktipur-Copper plate of Lakṣmaṇasena and the Geographical Divisions of old Bengal.* The extent of the Pauṇḍravardhana Bhukti and Vardhamāna Bhukti has been ascertained and an identification of the Kaṅkagrāma Bhukti mentioned in the copper-plate has been suggested.

BRAJENDRA NATH BANERJI.—*An Account of the Newspapers of Bengal (1835-57)*

Tirumalai Śri Venkateśvara, vol. I, no. 1 (August, 1932)

P. V. JAGADISA IYER.—*Places of Antiquarian Interest in South India.*

M. RAMAKRISHNA KAVI.—*Two Cryptic Words in the Arthaśāstra.* The word *Kharapaṭa* which has been printed in the Mysore edition of the *Kauṭilīya* as *Kharapaṭṭa* and taken by the translator to be 'a procession of an ass' has been corrected into *Kharapaṭa.* By a reference to the Malayalam commentary and various other texts containing the word, *Kharapaṭa* has been settled to be the name of a work.

The name of a kind of coral is *Ālakandaka* in the Mysore edition. Bhaṭṭasvāmin calls it *Ālasāndraka* explaining it to be a product of the sea coast of the country named Alasandra in Barbara. But Bhikṣu Prabhumati, author of the *Cāṇakyaṭīkā* reads the word as *Ālaksāndraka* and explains it as the product of the region of Alaksāndra in *Yavana* country.

M. DORASWAMAYYA.—*Siṅgabhūpāla—His Date.*

T. A. VENKATESWARA DIKSHITAR.—*A Reply to Some of the Criticisms of Dr. Thibaut on Śaṅkara's Interpretation of the Sūtras of Bādarāyaṇa.*

V. VIJAYARAGHAVACHARYA.—*The Śilpasūtra of Nārada.* Edited.

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The Bhakti-Rasa-Śāstra of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism

Among the six immediate disciples of Śrī-kṛṣṇa-caitanya, the so-called six Gosvāmins of Vṛndāvana, to whom was left the task of elaborating and defining the doctrines, creeds and practices of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism, the credit of first systematising its supreme religious emotion of Bhakti belongs to Rūpa Gosvāmin. Himself a poet and rhetorician, as well as a devout scholar and ascetic, he took up for treatment the emotional aspect of Vaiṣṇava Bhakti, and gave an authoritative exposition of its psychology and rhetoric with all the enthusiasm of a scholastic, yet devout, mind.

In Rūpa Gosvāmin's two systematic Sanskrit works on the Vaiṣṇava Rasa-śāstra, viz., the *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu* and its supplement the *Ujjvala-nīla-maṇi*, the religious sentiment of Bhakti has been approximated to the supreme relish of literary enjoyment, known as Rasa, of orthodox Sanskrit Poetics. A new turn was thus given not only to the old Rasa-theory of conventional Poetics but also to the religious emotion underlying the older Vaiṣṇava faith. Rūpa Gosvāmin gives an elaborate exposition of the mediæval sentiment of Love, sublimated into a deeply religious sentiment, by bringing erotico-religious ideas to bear upon the general theme of literary Rasa, especially the Erotic Rasa. His two works, embodying what may be called the Bhakti-rasa-śāstra, constitute a kind of Rhetoric of Bhakti, with all its psychology, conceit and imagery. If the mediæval Troubadours of France and

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Italy conceived the love of Christ as an aspect of the Law and wrote a Grammar of amorous sentiment,[1] the mediæval Vaiṣṇavas of Bengal conceived the love of Kṛṣṇa as an aspect of Psychology, and wrote a Rhetoric of the erotic sentiment. As Bhakti is conceived as a Rasa, it was essentially of the nature of a subjective emotion. The literary Sahṛdaya, as the recipient connoisseur, was replaced by the religious Bhakta, the devotee of nice sensibility. The love of Kṛṣṇa (*kṛṣṇa-rati*) was installed as the dominant feeling (*sthāyi-bhāva*) which, through its appropriate Excitants (*vibhāvas*), as well as Ensuants (*anubhāvas*) and auxiliary feelings (*vyabhicāri-bhāvas*), was raised to a supreme relishable condition in his susceptible mind as the Bhakti-rasa. For the working out of this novel idea the whole apparatus of orthodox Sanskrit Poetics was ingeniously utilised, although the orthodox rhetorician himself would not regard Bhakti as a Rasa, but as a Bhāva.[2] Our poet-

1 Dr. Ganga Charan Kar has already made an ingenious comparative study of this parallelism in a thesis which we hope he will soon publish. There are three other rhetorical works produced by Bengal Vaiṣṇavism, viz., *Nāṭaka-candrikā* of Rūpa Gosvāmin, *Alaṃkāra kaustubha* of Kavikarṇapūra and *Kāvya-candrikā* of Kavicandra. Although they occasionally bring in Vaiṣṇava ideas and choose illustrative verses of a Vaiṣṇavite character, they are not directly concerned with Bhakti-rasa, but are regular rhetorical treatises composed on conventional lines (See my *Sanskrit Poetics*, i, pp. 254-259). As such they need not be taken into account here. Jīva Gosvāmin also devotes a considerable part of his *Prīti-sandarbha* (ed. Prāṇa Gopāla Gosvāmin, Calcutta, B.S. 1337) to the subject of Bhakti as a Rasa, following in general the analysis of Rūpa Gosvāmin. Jīva's treatment, however, is somewhat different, for he brings in a great deal of theological and metaphysical matter to explain the subject. The same remarks apply also to his *Bhakti-sandarbha*, which incidentally refers to the topics of Bhakti as a Rasa. As he keeps closely to Rūpa's exposition of the subject in its general outline, it is not necessary for us to analyse Jīva's treatment in detail here. We shall content ourselves with noting only striking points from it, relevant to our subject. Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja's exposition of the doctrine of Bhakti in his Bengali *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*, Madhya xix etc., is nothing more than a summary of Rūpa Gosvāmin's two Sanskrit works, and need not, therefore, be separately considered.

2 The terms *rasa* and *bhāva* are difficult to translate, but they have been rendered respectively by the terms 'sentiment' and 'emotion.' For the distinction, as well as for the difficulty of rendering these terms by modern critical vocabulary, see my *Sanskrit Poetics*, ii, pp. 168-70, 325-26 and 349-51. These remarks also apply to the rendering of other technical terms of the Rasa-śāstra, which often

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rhetorician, who was also an ardent devotee, follows very closely (even though his peculiar theme makes him depart in detail) the general outlines of the orthodox scheme of Poetics, adopting its main ideas and technicalities but making them applicable to the conception of emotional Bhakti. Not content with theoretical analysis, Rūpa Gosvāmin also took the trouble of writing a number of devotional poems and dramas and compiling an anthology on Kṛṣṇa-līlā for the special purpose of illustrating his theme. Every detail of his elaborate analysis is freely illustrated by more than six hundred quotations from these works, as well as very largely from current sentimental and religious literature.

For a proper understanding of this Vaiṣṇava Bhakti-rasa, as expressed in its literary and religious productions, it would be necessary, therefore, to appreciate the fundamentals as well as the details of this presentation of Bhakti as a psychological entity, as a literary-erotic emotion transmuted into a deep and ineffable devotional sentiment, which is intensely pesonal and is yet impersonalised into

indicate shades of meaning or concepts for which it is sometimes difficult to find a modern equivalent. Such terms have been translated or explained, as far as possible, in accordance to their actual definitions in the texts. The question whether Bhakti is Rasa or Bhāva is more or less academic, but it has been discussed at some length by Jagannātha in his *Rasa-gaṅgādhara* (ed. Kāvyamālā, 1913, p. 45). In the opinion of orthodox rhetoricians, it is *devādi-viṣayā rati* and therefore a Bhāva, and not a complete Rasa. Some advanced thinkers, however, would admit the Vātsalya, Preyas, Śraddhā, and even Bhakti as a Rasa; but this admission was probably made in later times through the influence of Vaiṣṇava theory itself. Jagannātha, one of the latest writers, however, represents the general orthodox attitude. He adds further that, being based on Anurāga or attachment, Bhakti cannot, as some maintain to the contrary, be comprehended in Śānta Rasa. Replying to this, Jīva Gosvāmin (*Prīti-sandarbha*, p. 673-4) remarks that the phrase *devādi* means "ordinary gods" and does not apply to the supreme Kṛṣṇa; and that Bhakti, along with its Vibhāvas etc., is in its own nature *alaukika*, and therefore conforms to the rhetoricians' requirements (*yat tu prākṛta-rasikai rasa-sāmagrī-virahād bhaktau rasatvaṃ neṣṭaṃ, tat khalu prākṛta-devādi-viṣayam eva saṃbhavet ..... tathā tatra kāraṇādayaḥ svata evālaukikādbhuta-rūpatvena darśitā darśanīyāś ca*). Madhusūdana Sarasvatī also discusses this question in the same strain in his *Bhagavad-bhakti-rasāyana* (ed. Benares, 1927, ii, 75-80), but he adds that Bhakti as a Rasa is *svānubhava-siddha* and therefore incapable of direct proof.

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a mental condition of disinterested joy. But the attitude is a curious mixture of the literary, the erotic and the religious, and the entire scheme as such is an extremely complicated one. There is an enthusiasm, natural to the analytic scholastic mind, for elaborate and subtle psychologising, as well as for developing and refining the inherited rhetorical traditions; but the attempt is also inspired very largely by an antecedent and still living poetic experience (Jayadeva and Bilvamaṅgala), which found expression also in the vernacular poetry (Vidyāpati and Caṇḍīdāsa), as well as by the simple piety of popular religion which reflected itself in the conceptions of such Purāṇas as the *Śrīmadbhāgavata*, the fountain source of mediæval Vaiṣṇava Bhakti. But it goes further and rests ultimately on the transcendental in personal religious experience of an emotional character, which does not indeed deny the senses but goes beyond their pale.

In the following pages we propose to give a general survey of the Rasa-śāstra of Caitanyaism by a rapid analysis of the two works of Rūpa Gosvāmin mentioned above, which form the chief original authorities on the emotionalism of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism. The quaint figurative title of the first work, which means "The Sea of the Nectar of Devotional Sentiment" (*Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu*), is fairly appropriate in designating an abstruse treatise of bewildering proportions and of boundless depths of analytical acumen. The *quinta essentia* of the devotional sentiment is the Ujjvala or Madhura Rasa, by which is meant, in terms of Vaiṣṇava emotionalism, the Śṛṅgāra or Erotic sentiment of Kṛṣṇa as the ideal hero, the term Ujjvala (=bright) having been apparently suggested by Bharata's description[3] of the Rasa, and Madhura characterising its sweet and intoxicating character. But sufficient justice could not be done to this essential sentiment in a work which crowds in its broad scope the various subtle moods and aspects of Bhakti in all its maze of sinuous detail. The next work, the *Ujjvala-nīlamaṇi*, therefore, is offered as a supplement which strictly confines itself to this topic of Vaiṣṇava amatory psychology; and its

3 The *Nāṭya-śāstra* (ed. Grosset, pp. 89-90): *yat kiñcit loke śuci medhyam ujjvalaṃ vā tac chṛṅgāreṇopamīyate,*

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strange poetical title, with its obvious pun, indicates that the Ujjvala Rasa, being the bright sapphire (*nīlamaṇi*) borne out of the depths of the Sea of the Nectar of Religious Devotion, is to be embalmed as a name or symbol of the Lord of sapphire-like radiance in a work bearing this blessed name.

The Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu

The *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu*[4] is divided into four parts (*vibhāgas*), respectively entitled Pūrva, Dakṣiṇa, Paścima and Uttara,—a veritable quadrangular scheme of a strange world of spiritual experience. Each part is divided into *Laharīs* (waves) in keeping with the figurative title of the work. Like all scholastic writers, Rūpa Gosvāmin delights in elaborate definitions, fine distinctions and minute classifications of the devotional sentiment in all its moods, phases, adjuncts and situations; but the master-analyst is seen in the firm grip not only upon the subtle details of the whole gamut of a peculiar religious emotionalism, but also upon its fundamentals, both in theoretical conception and in its practical realisation.

The Pūrva-vibhāga, consisting of four Laharīs, gives a preliminary discussion of the different types of Bhakti. The first Laharī discusses Bhakti in general (*Sāmānya-bhakti*); the second gives an exposition of *Sādhana-bhakti* (Bhakti attainable by special external Effort) and its two varieties, Vaidhī and Rāgānugā; the third deals with *Bhāva-bhakti* (Bhakti resulting from spontaneous inward Emotion); and the fourth treats generally of *Prema-bhakti* (Bhakti ripened into a sentiment of Love).

In the first Laharī, the *Sāmānya-bhakti* (Religious Devotion in general) is distinguished from the *Uttamā Bhakti* or the highest Religious Devotion, which is defined as harmonious (*ānukūlyena*) pursuit

4 Our references are to the Murshidabad edition of the work (Rādhāraman Press, Berhampore) in Bengali character, published in 1331 B.S. (=1924 A.D.), with the commentary, entitled *Durgama-saṅgamanī*, of Jīva Gosvāmin. Viśvanātha Cakravartin (d. about 1754 A.D.), who himself is said to have composed a commentary on this work as well as on the *Ujjvala-nīlamaṇi*, also wrote summaries or surveys of these two works, entitled respectively *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu-bindu* and *Ujjvala-nilamaṇi-kiraṇa* (ed. Prāṇagopāla Gosvāmin, Navadvīpa, 1333 B.S. = 1926 A.D. in Bengali character).

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of Kṛṣṇa (*kṛṣṇānuśīlana*), freed from all other desire (*anyābhilāṣa-śūnya*) and unconditioned by cognition and will (*jñāna-karmā-dyanāvṛta*). The commentary of Jīva Gosvāmin explains that the word 'harmonious' implies that the pursuit should be such as is agreeable to Kṛṣṇa and should not be perverse or contrary; that 'all other desire' refers to desire for worldly enjoyment (*bhoga-rāsanā*) and desire for liberation (*mokṣa-vāsanā*), which are thus excluded; that 'cognition' means the knowledge of the identity of Brahma and Jīva (*nirbheda-brahmānusandhāna*) which is hardly suited to an attitude of Bhakti, and that 'will' refers to such compulsory and occasional duties as are enjoined by the orthodox Smṛtis (*smṛtyādyukta-naimittikādi*), and not the acts of worship relating to Kṛṣṇa (*bhajanīya-paricaryādi*). Rūpa Gosvāmin himself establishes later on (p. 151f.) that Karma itself is not an *aṅga* or means of Bhakti, nor is Jñāna or Vairāgya. Wealth etc. are also not *aṅgas*, because by themselves they can never produce Bhakti; nor are the virtues of self-control (*yama*) or purity (*śuci*), because they come naturally to the true devotee. True Vairāgya or Renunciation is that which, without any attachment (*anāsakta*) enjoys all worldly objects properly (*yathārha*) and results in an eagerness in relation to Kṛṣṇa (*kṛṣṇa-sambandhe nirbandhaḥ*); but that is Phalgu Vairāgya, unsuited to Bhakti, by which desirous of liberation (*mumukṣu*) renounces, through *prākṛta-* all objects in relation to the deity. Neither is worldly attachment (*bhoga*), nor liberation (*mokṣa*) the true object of Bhakti, although neither is in itself inconsistent with Bhakti (p. 61).[5] The section then proceeds to discuss and illustrate in detail the six characteristics of the Uttamā Bhakti, viz., (1) capacity for removing suffering (*kleśaghnatva*). Suffering may be due to sin (*pāpa*), to desire, the seed of sin (*pāpa-bīja*), or to nescience (*avidyā*). The fruits of sin may have either begun to mature (*prārabdha*) or not begun (*aprārabdha*). All these are removed by

5 Jīva Gosvāmin goes further and lays down (*Tattva-sandarbha*, ed. Murshidabad, 1910, p. 112) that Jñāna and Karma themselves depend upon Bhakti (*jñānades tu bhakti-sāpekṣatvam eva*), i.e. there cannot be any true cognition and will without Bhakti. Again, he establishes (*Bhakti-sandarbha*, ed. Gauḍiya Maṭha, Calcutta, p. 65): *bhaktyaiva jñānaṃ siddhyati*.

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Uttamā Bhakti; (2) capacity for bestowing good (*śubhadatva*), producing either good qualities (*sadguṇa*) or happiness (*sukha*); (3) capacity for producing indifference to liberation (*mokṣa-laghutā-kāritva*); (4) difficulty of attaintment (*sudurlabhatva*); (5) essential identity with a particular mood of compact happiness (*sāndrānanda-viśeṣātmatā*), which is infinitely higher than the happiness of attaining Brahma; (6) capacity for attracting and keeping under control (*vaśīkaraṇa*) Kṛṣṇa himself (*śrī-kṛṣṇākarṣaṇatva*). Of these characteristics, (1) and (2) belong conspicuously to Sādhana-bhakti, (3) and (4) to Bhāva-bhakti, (5) and (6) to Prema-bhakti; but as each of these three forms of Uttamā Bhakti constitutes also stages of realisation, the first four really belong to Bhāva-bhakti and all the six to Prema-bhakti. Although all beings are eligible for Bhakti (p. 65), the Adhikārin or person fit to receive it is one who has faith in Kṛṣṇa (*jāta-śraddha*) and who is neither too much attached (*nātisakta*) nor too indifferent (*na nirviṇṇa*) to the world.

Of the three forms of Uttamā Bhakti, viz., Sādhana-bhakti, Bhāva-bhakti and Prema-bhakti, the next section proceeds to deal with the first, the Sādhana-bhakti. It is defined as Bhakti realisable by the senses (*kṛti-sādhya*; *kṛti*=the senses)[6] and not by *bhāva* or inward emotion, of which, however, it is a means (*sādhya-bhāva*, explained as *sādhyo bhāvo yayā sā*). It is said to have been explained in *Śrīmadbhāgavata*, vii, 1, and may be either Vaidhī or Rāgānugā, both of which are forms of Bhakti attained by extraneous means and ways. The Vaidhī Sādhana-bhakti occurs where the impulse to devotional acts comes

6 Lest the word *sādhya* 'realisable' should mislead, Rūpa Gosvāmin adds that Bhakti is *nitya-siddha* (eternally existing), but by *sādhya* is merely meant its manifestation (*nitya-siddhasya bhāvasya prākaṭyaṃ hṛdi sādhyatā*). Jīv Gosvāmin explains that Bhakti is *nitya-siddha*, because it is an aspect of the Svarūpa-Śakti or Intrinsic Energy of the Bhagavat, but this metaphysical explanation which Jīva Gosvāmin dilates upon in his *Bhakti-sandarbha* need not concern us here. What it implies is that the Sādhana of Bhakti is merely an already existing and natural impulse of bliss and love in man as a reflex of the attribute of infinite bliss and love in the Bhagavat (see *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* of Kṛṣnadāsa Kavirāja, Madhya. xxii. 103-4:

श्रवणादि क्रिया तार स्वरूपलक्षण। तटस्थलक्षणे उपजये प्रेमधन॥ नित्यसिद्ध कृष्णप्रेम साध्य कभु नय। श्रवणादि शुद्धचित्ते करये उदय॥)

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entirely from the injunction of the Vaiṣṇava Śāstra (*śāstrasya śāsanenaiva*) and where the state of Rāga is not reached (*rāgānavāptatvāt*).[7] Viśvanātha Cakravartin explains that by the term Śāstra is meant exclusively the *Śrīmadbhāgavata* which enjoins acts of devotion (*tac ca śāstraṃ bhajana-pratipādakaṃ śrībhāgavatam eva*).[8] As this type of Bhakti follows the *vidhi* or injunction of the Śāstra, it is sometimes called Maryādā-mārga or the Way of Convention. The Aṅgas or means of Vaidhī having already been defined in detail in the *Haribhakti-vilāsa*, Rūpa Gosvāmin contents himself by a reference to that work, briefly summarising them as sixty-four in number and illustrating them from the scriptures. These are acts like resorting to the spiritual teacher (*guru-pādāśraya*); initiation and instruction by him (*dīkṣā-śikṣādi*); serving the spiritual teacher with confidence (*viśrambheṇa guru-sevā*); following the example of saintly persons (*sādhu-vartmānuvartana*); enquiry into the true *dharma* (*saddharma-pṛcchā*); renunciation of worldly enjoyment for the sake of Kṛṣṇa (*bhogādi-tyāgaḥ kṛṣṇasya hetave*); dwelling in places of pilgrimage (*tīrtha*) like Dvārakā, Mathurā or the banks of the Ganges; abjuring books (with the exception of the scriptures) and of the practice of the various arts and controversy (*bahu-grantha-kalābhyāsa-vyākhyā-vāda-vivarjana*); putting on the signs of a Vaiṣṇava (*vaiṣṇava-cihna-dhāraṇa*); writing the name of Hari on the body by means of sandal etc. (*hari-nāmākṣara-dhāraṇa*); prostrate obeisance (*daṇḍavan natiḥ*); worship (*arcanā*); going round the image of the deity (*parikramā*); repeating (*japa*), singing (*gīta*) or recital (*saṃkīrtana*) of the name of the Lord; partaking of the offerings made to the deity (*naivedyāsvāda*) and of the water of his holy feet (*pādyāsvāda*); observing *ekādaśī* or other days of fasting, attending the Birth-festival (*janmāṣṭamī*) etc.; constantly resorting to the *Śrīmadbhāgavata*, the Tulasī plant, Mathurā and the Vaiṣṇava devotees, all of which are dear to the Lord; and so forth. Of these the first three ways of cultivation are, however, declared to be of special value; but Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja's *Caitanya-*

7 *śravaṇa-kīrtanādīni śāstra-śāsana-bhayena yadi kriyante tadā vaidhī bhaktiḥ*, Viśvanātha Cakravartin's *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu-vindu*, p 11.

8 *op. cit.* p. 14.

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caritāmṛta (Madhya, xxi, 125) distinguishes five, viz., the society of saintly persons (*sādhu-saṅga*), the chanting of Kṛṣṇa's name (*nāma-kīrtana*), listening to the reading of the *Bhāgavata* (*bhāgavata-śravaṇa*), dwelling at Mathurā (*mathurā-vās* , reverential service of his image (*śrī-mūrtir śraddhāye sevana*), i.e. fellowship, song, scripture, pilgrimage and image worship. Any one of these modes, even a little of the five, can evoke Bhakti. Th Vaidhī Sādhana-bhakti, which consists of these positive acts and practices of piety and which is described as 'worship by the body, the senses and the mind' (*kāya-hṛṣīkāntaḥ-karaṇānām upāsanā*), also involves, negatively, the avoidance of the so-called *Sevāparādhas* (offences relating to worship) and *Nāmāparādhas* (offences relating to the name of the Lord). The commentary gives (p. 89) a list of thirty-two Sevāparādhas, to which are added twenty-three more from the *Varāha-purāṇa* and ten again from some other source. These consist of offences like entering the temple in a conveyance, or with one's shoes on, or without washing one's feet; not observing the festivals of the Lord; not doing obeisance; eating what is not offered to the deity; not observing silence during worship, etc. The Nāmāparādhas are the logical result of the theory of the efficacy of the blessed name (*nāma-māhātmya*). They are given as ten in number by the commentary (pp. 93-94) and include such offences as unwillingness to listening to the *māhātmya* of the name, equalising the *nāma-māhātmya* to the merit of other pious acts, instruction in the subject to persons devoid of faith, etc. Then the section proceeds to lay down that the Vaidhī Bhakti may be *ekāṅga*, i.e. attainable by means of one *aṅga* only (e.g. Parīkṣit by hearing, Śukadeva by reciting, Arjuna by friendship, Hanūmat by service, Prahlāda by recollection, Bali by self-surrender, etc., as in *Padyāvalī* 53), or it may be *anekāṅga* or attainable by more than one *aṅga* (e.g. Ambarīṣa).

But passionate souls soon pass beyond outward rule and form to an inner and more esoteric way of realisation. The second type of Sādhana-bhakti, named Rāgānugā, is so called because it follows (*anugā*) the trend of the devotion and attachment (*Rāgātmikā Bhakti*) of the people of Vraja who stood in actual relation to Kṛṣṇa.[9] Rāga is

9 *virājantīm abhivyaktaṃ vraja-vāsi-janādiṣu /*
rāgātmikām anusṛtā yā sā rāgānugocyate // p. 162.

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defined as the natural, deep and inseparable absorption (*sārasvikī tanmayī parāviṣṭatā*) in the desired object (*iṣṭa*), viz., Kṛṣṇa. The Rāgānugā is distinguished from the Vaidhī (p. 173-75) inasmuch as in the Vaidhī the realisation is through the injunction of the Śāstra, but here it is through the greed (*lobha*) of realising the feelings of the people of Vraja.[10] It consists of devoted meditation or recollection (*smaraṇa*) of Kṛṣṇa and his dear ones (*preṣṭha*), and living either physically or mentally[11] in Vraja as a Sādhaka or as a Siddha, following the ways of Vraja-loka (*vraja-lokānusārataḥ*) with a desire to realise the same state of emotion (*tadbhāva-lipsā*). One desirous of this way of realisation will adopt the particular *bhāva* (e.g. Rādhā-bhāva, Sakhī-bhāva, etc.) of the particular favourite of Kṛṣṇa according to his or her līlā, veśa and svabhāva, and live in the ecstasy of that vicarious enjoyment. The feeling is achieved chiefly by *smaraṇa* or recollection (*rāgānugāyāṃ smaraṇasya mukhyatvam*), a concentrated imaginative process which is supposed to be more effective for a mystic union with the beloved object. It is indeed not achieved by the direct injunction of the Śāstra, but it does not also arise spontaneously in one's own self. It is engendered by imitating the action and effort of those connected with Kṛṣṇa and is thus a phase of Sādhana-bhakti attainable by extraneous ways.[12] It is, however, governed by no Śāstric

Viśvanātha Cakravartin (*op. cit.* pp. 11-12) explains: *nijābhimata-vraja-rāja-nandanasya sevā-prāpti-lobhena yadi tāni (=śravaṇa-kīrtanādīni) kriyante tadā rāgānugā bhaktiḥ.*

10 Viśvanātha Cakravartin (*op. cit.* p. 15) explains: *vraja-līlā-parikarastha-śṛṅgārādi-bhāva-mādhurye śrute idaṃ mamāpi bhūyād iti lobhotpatti-kāle śāstra-yuktyapekṣā na syāt.*

11 *kuryād vāsaṃ vraje sadā* (p. 174). The commentary explains: *sāmarthye sati vraje.....śarīreṇa vāsaṃ kuryāt, tadabhāve manasāpītyarthaḥ.*

12 The Rāgānugā Bhakti is explained in greater detail by Viśvanātha Cakravartin in his *Rāga-vartma-candrikā* (ed. as above), where (p. 69) as an example of *sādhaka*, Rūpa Gosvāmin himself is mentioned, and as *siddha* Rūpa-mañjarī of Vraja, of whom Rūpa Gosvāmin is supposed in Vaiṣṇava hagiology to have been an incarnation, and whose *bhāva* he is supposed to have realised. In *Gaura-gaṇoddeśa-dīpikā* (śl. 180-186) we are told that of the beloved Gopīs of Kṛṣṇa, Rūpa-mañjarī became incarnated as Rūpa Gosvāmin, Lāvaṇya-mañjarī as Sanātana Gosvāmin, Rati-mañjarī as Raghunātha Dāsa, Guṇa-mañjarī as Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, Vilāsa-mañjarī as Jīva Gosvāmin, and Rasa-mañjarī as Raghunātha Bhaṭṭa. In this way a complete scheme of reincarnation of the

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rules whatever, even if they are not necessarily discarded; but it follows the natural inclination of the heart. The devotee by his ardent meditation not only seeks to visualise and make the whole Vṛndāvana-līlā of Kṛṣṇa live before him, but he enters into it imaginatively, and by playing the part of a beloved of Kṛṣṇa, he experiences vicariously the passionate feelings which are so vividly pictured in the literature.

As the Rāgātmikā Bhakti of the ancient people of Vraja is the model or source (*ādarśa*) of Rāgānugā, it is analysed and explained in detail. The Rāgātmikā way arises from desire (*kāma*, e.g. the Gopīs), enmity (*dveṣa*, e.g. Kaṃsa), fear (*bhaya*, e.g. Śiśupāla), or affection (*sneha*, e.g. the Yādavas). But enmity and fear with reference to Kṛṣṇa, being uncongenial, may be left aside; and affection (*sneha*) being a form of fellowship (*sakhya*) would come under the Vaidhī, or being an aspect of *preman* (love) does not come at all under Sādhana-bhakti. Hence, the Rāgātmikā Bhakti may be either

(i) Kāma-rūpā, consisting of a desire for enjoyment (*sambhoga-tṛṣṇā*) inspired by an exclusive effort to please Kṛṣṇa (*kṛṣṇa-saukhyārtham eva kevalam udyamaḥ*), and resulting in Preman or love found only in the Gopīs (*vraja-devīṣu*). The attitude of the Kubjā is described as *kāma-prāyā* (and not *kāma-rūpā*) *rati*, for (as explained later in the *Ujjvala-nīlamaṇi*) the enjoyment here is as much for oneself as for the pleasure of Kṛṣṇa.

(ii) Sambandha-rūpā, consisting of a sense of relationship (as father, mother, friend etc.) to Kṛṣṇa. It is found, for instance, in Nanda, Yaśodā, the Gopas etc.

Following these two aspects, the Rāgānugā Bhakti may be either

(i) Kāmānugā, which may again be either desire for enjoyment inspired by a sense of Kṛṣṇa's sport (*keli-tātparyavatī*

Gaṇas of Kṛṣṇa as Gaṇas of Caitanya is elaborated in the work quoted. This conception of the prominent Vaiṣṇavas as the incarnations chiefly of the Gopīs of Vṛndāvana, is based probably on the doctrine which regards Kṛṣṇa as the sole male and maintains that worshippers can fully realise passionate devotion only when they conceive themselves as females. This is indeed a curious development of the theory of Rāgānugā Bhakti; but of this there is no trace in the works of the six Gosvāmins themselves.

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sambhogecchāmayī), or a desire to realise those particular Bhāvas (*tat-tad-bhāvecchātmikā*) of particular Gopīs, especially the erotic emotion (*bhāva-mādhurya-kāmitā*). The *Padma-purāṇa*, one of the authoritative works of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism, is cited to support the view that even men can follow this way of the love of the Gopīs, for in the Mathurā-māhātmya of the Purāṇa it is said that the Munis of Daṇḍaka, out of their curiosity to enjoy the sport of Kṛṣṇa, became incarnated as Gopīs of Vṛndāvana.

(ii) Sambandhānugā, in which the devotee seeks to realise the feelings of personal relationship (e.g. as father, brother, friend etc.) to Kṛṣṇa.

The Rāgānugā Bhakti is sometimes called the Way of Fulfilment (Puṣṭi-mārga), because it seeks the grace of Kṛṣṇa and his dear ones.

The third Laharī takes up the second type of Uttamā Bhakti, viz., Bhāva-bhakti, which is really a further maturing of the Sādhana-bhakti (*sādhana-paripākena*, as Viśvanātha Cakravartin puts it), but may also develop independently through the grace of Kṛṣṇa or his Bhaktas (*kṛṣṇa-kṛpayā tad-bhakta-kṛpayā vā*). It may, therefore, either be (i) *Sādhanābhiniveśaja*, the Sādhana way of worship being again either the Vaidhī or the Rāgānugā, as described above, (ii) *Kṛṣṇa-prasādaja*, due to the personal favour or grace of Kṛṣṇa, either through his word (*vācika*), his bestowal of light (*āloka-dāna*), or his cordiality (*hārda*), or (iii) *Kṛṣṇa-bhakta-prasādaja*, due to the grace of the followers of Kṛṣṇa. The cases (ii) and (iii) require no special effort, but they are rarely to be met with.

This Bhāva-bhakti is devotion based on inward emotion (*bhāva*), which has not yet reached the stage of the sentiment (*rasa*) of Love or Preman. It may be born of Sādhana-bhakti, but it is not the direct result of extraneous ways and means, and arises spontaneously as a personal feeling, although this feeling has not yet ripened into Prema-bhakti. It is defined as consisting of a particular pure feeling (*śuddha-sattva-viśeṣa*), which partakes of the nature of the first dawn of love (*prema-sūryāṃśu-sāmya-bhāk*)[13] and brings a smoothness of the mind

13 Explained in the commentary as *premṇaḥ prathama-rchavi-rūpaḥ*.

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(*citta-māsṛṇya-kṛt*), arising from relish (ruci). This relish, as the commentary explains, may take the form of a desire for the deity (*bhagavat-prāptyabhilāṣa*), for his favour (*tad-ānukūlyābhilāṣa*) or for his friendship (*tat-sauhārdābhilāṣa*). The following attendant efforts (*anubhāvas*) occur as signs whenever there is a sprouting of this form of Bhakti, viz., placidity of mind (*kṣānti*), an effort to apply one's time in the successful realisation of this feeling (*avyartha-kālatā*), distaste for the objects of senses (*virakti*) lack of pride (*māna-śūnyatā*), bond of hope (*āśā-bandha*), eagerness (*samutkaṇṭhā*), taste for singing the name of the deity (*nāma-gāne ruciḥ*), desire for the recital of the attributes of the deity (*tad-guṇa-vyākhyāne āsaktiḥ*), and pleasure in the place where the Lord lived, e.g. Mathurā, Vraja etc. (*tad-vasati-sthale prītiḥ*).

The semblance (and not the reality) of this feeling of attachment (*ratyābhāsa*) is then described as taking the form either of (i) Reflection or Pratibimba, attainable without much difficulty, where one or two characteristic signs (like tears etc.) appear, but where the thirst for worldly enjoyment (*bhoga*) and liberation (*mokṣa*) still remains, or (ii) Shadow or Chāyā, consisting of a little short-lived curiosity, and bearing some resemblance to the real *rati*. But this Ābhāsa or Apparent Feeling, we are told (p. 208), may all of a sudden be converted into the real feeling. It is also interesting to note that the form of worship which believes in an essential identity of the worshipper and the worshipped (Bhajanīyéśa-bhāvatā or Ahaṃgrāha-upāsanā) and which is affected, for instance, by the Advaita-vādins, is considered to be an Ābhāsa only.

The fourth or last Laharī of the Pūrva-vibhāga gives a general exposition of the third and highest type of Uttamā Bhakti, viz. Prema-bhakti, which is really a further direct ripening of the Bhāva-bhakti itself (*bhāva-bhakti-paripāka eva*, Viśvanātha). It occurs when the *bhāva* or emotion has developed into (*sāndrātmā*) a sentiment of love (*preman*); it makes the soul entirely smooth (*samyaṅ-masṛṇa-svānta*) and is marked by an exclusive and loving attachment (*ananya-mamatā*). It may develop from either the Vaidha Bhāva or the Rāgānuga Bhāva, but it may also originate from the grace (*prasāda*) of the deity. The grace may be either pure, i.e. not dependent on any other circumstance (*kevala*), or the result of the knowledge of his greatness (*māhātmya-jñāna*), the former being Rāgānuga and the latter following the Vaidha

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Mārga. The sequence by which this devotional love or Prema-bhakti develops is given thus: Faith (*śraddhā*)>companionship of saintly persons (*sādhu-saṅga*)>acts of worship (*bhajana-kriyā*)>withdrawal from unworthy objects (*anartha-nivṛtti*)>devotedness (*niṣṭhā*)>relish (*ruci*)>attachment (*āsakti*)>emotion (*bhāva*)>love (*preman*).

Having thus given a preliminary analysis and exposition of the different types of Bhakti, the rest of the work proceeds to consider and analyse Bhakti as a Rasa. The Dakṣiṇa Vibhāga deals with its *sthāyi-bhāva* and describes its development by means of its appropriate *vibhāvas*, *anubhāvas*, *sāttvikas* and *vyabhicārins*, which are described in some detail; the Paścima treats of what are called the five Mukhya or Primary Bhakti Rasas; and the last or Uttara Vibhāga is devoted to the study of the seven Gauṇa or Secondary Bhakti Rasa, of the opposition of the Rasas, and of Apparent Rasas or Rasābhāsas.

The five Laharīs of the Dakṣiṇa Vibhāga deal respectively with the Excitants (*vibhāvas*), the Ensuants (*anubhāvas*), the involuntarily expressed feelings (*sāttvika bhāvas*, which in later Poetics are kinds of *anubhāvas*), and the Auxiliary Feelings (*vyabhicāri-bhāvas*), as well as the dominant or permanent feeling (*sthāyi-bhāva*) in relation to Bhakti conceived as a Rasa. Although orthodox Poetics itself would not, strictly speaking, regard Bhakti as a Rasa, the nomenclature and treatment are borrowed from orthodox Poetics and applied, *mutatis mutandis*, to the Vaiṣṇava conception of Bhakti as a Rasa. The technicalities are the same, but of course the analysis in detail is entirely novel and ingenious.[14]

Of this Bhakti Rasa the dominant underlying emotion (*sthāyi-bhāva*) is supposed to be the feeling of Kṛṣṇa himself and his dear ones

14 Jīva Gosvāmin in his *Prīti-sandarbha* introduces further refinement into the accepted theory regarding the origin and development of Rasa. He maintains, for instance, that the *alaukikatva* of Vibhāvas etc. and of the Sthāyin is possible only in Kṛṣṇa-rati, and not in the *laukika* Kāvyas which deal with the love of ordinary heroes and heroines. If the Vibhāvas etc. appear as *alaukika* in an ordinary Kāvya, it is not natural, but is due only to the cleverness of the poet's composition (p. 574). He also maintains that in Kṛṣṇa-rati, the *locus* of the Rasa is not only in the audience (Sāmājika, here the Bhakta) but also in the *anukārya* (the deity represented, viz., Kṛṣṇa) and in the *anukartṛ*, who may sometimes be the Bhakta himself (pp. 594f.).

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(*kṛṣṇa-rati*), which by means of the Excitants (*vibhāvas*) etc. is raised to a state of relish (*svādyatām*) in the Bhakta or the devotee, who stands for the literary Sāmājika or Sahṛdaya. As in the theory of the Rasa-dvani school of orthodox Poetics, the latent germ of this feeling (*vāsanā* of *sad-bhakti*) is presumed in the heart of the Bhakta, either as acquired from previous births (*prāktanī*) or as due to present experience (*adhunikī*); and the process of the awakening of Rasa runs along the familiar grooves of Alaṃkāra expression. Against the nine conventional Rasas of Sanskrit Poetics, Rūpa Gosvāmin mentions twelve, but seven of these are regarded as secondary. Of the five primary Rasas, he practically gives prominence to one, viz., the Erotic (Śṛṅgāra). In this attitude he resembles Bhoja. Unlike Bhoja, however, our author evaluates it in terms of Vaiṣṇava devotion.

Hence, the definitions of Excitants (*vibhāvas*) etc. are *mutatis mutandis*, the same. Without going into the detailed technicalities, a general outline of the scheme of Excitants (*vibhāvas*) etc. may be given here in a tabular form. There are inevitable departures in the detailed working out (especially in the analysis and classification of the Sthāyi-bhāva and the Rasa), and these, wherever important, will also be noted.

1. The *Vibhāvas* (Excitants) which make the dominant emotion (*sthāyi-bhāva*) Kṛṣṇa-rati, capable of being relished (*ratyāsvāda-hetavaḥ*).

Two kinds: the Substantial (Ālambana) and the Enhancing (Uddīpana).

1. The Substantial Excitant or Ālambana Vibhāva of Kṛṣṇa-rati, which consists of such material ground and object of the emotion as the hero, his dear ones, his adjuncts etc., may be represented as follows:

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Mārga. The sequence by which this devotional love or Prema-bhakti develops is given thus: Faith (*śraddhā*)>companionship of saintly persons (*sādhu-saṅga*)>acts of worship (*bhajana-kriyā*)>withdrawal from unworthy objects (*anartha-nivṛtti*)>devotedness (*niṣṭhā*)>relish (*ruci*)>attachment (*āsakti*)>emotion (*bhāva*)>love (*preman*).

Having thus given a preliminary analysis and exposition of the different types of Bhakti, the rest of the work proceeds to consider and analyse Bhakti as a Rasa. The Dakṣiṇa Vibhāga deals with its *sthāyi-bhāva* and describes its development by means of its appropriate *vibhāvas, anubhāvas, sāttvikas* and *vyabhicārins*, which are described in some detail; the Paścima treats of what are called the five Mukhya or Primary Bhakti Rasas; and the last or Uttara Vibhāga is devoted to the study of the seven Gauṇa or Secondary Bhakti Rasa, of the opposition of the Rasas, and of Apparent Rasas or Rasābhāsas.

The five Laharīs of the Dakṣiṇa Vibhāga deal respectively with the Excitants (*vibhāvas*), the Ensuants (*anubhāvas*), the involuntarily expressed feelings (*sāttvika bhāvas*, which in later Poetics are kinds of *anubhāvas*), and the Auxiliary Feelings (*vyabhicāri-bhāvas*), as well as the dominant or permanent feeling (*sthāyi-bhāva*) in relation to Bhakti conceived as a Rasa. Although orthodox Poetics itself would not, strictly speaking, regard Bhakti as a Rasa, the nomenclature and treatment are borrowed from orthodox Poetics and applied, *mutatis mutandis*, to the Vaiṣṇava conception of Bhakti as a Rasa. The technicalities are the same, but of course the analysis in detail is entirely novel and ingenious.[14]

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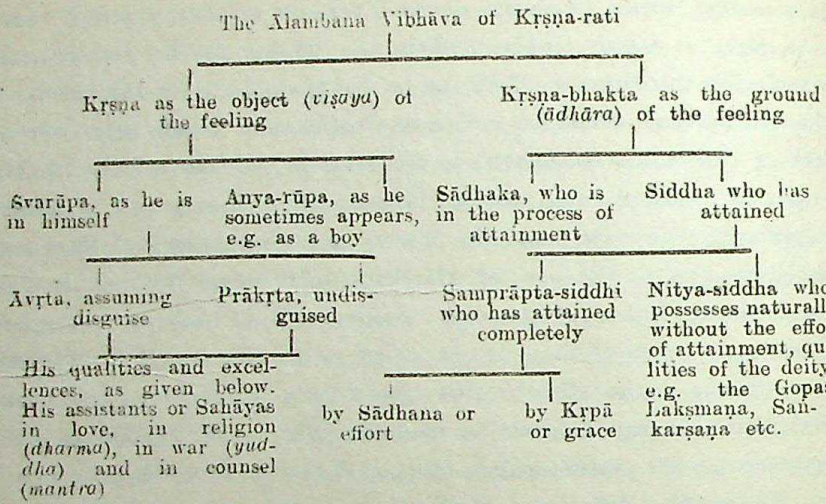

Kṛṣṇa is again conceived as the most complete (*pūrṇatama*) in Vraja, more complete (*pūrṇatara*) in Mathurā, and complete (*pūrṇa*) in Dvārakā. Viewed as an ideal hero he is, following orthodox Poetics, (i) brave and high-spirited (*dhīrodātta*), (ii) brave and haughty (*dhīroddhata*), (iii) brave and sportive (*dhīra-lalita*) and (iv) brave and serene (*dhīra-praśānta*).

His sixty-four (50+5+5+4) qualities, physical, mental and spiritual, are elaborately defined and illustrated (pp. 229-332). His fifty qualities are: Susamyāṅga (possessing fine symmetrical limbs), sarva-sallakṣaṇānvita (possessed of all the excellent lakṣaṇas or characteristics), rucira (good-looking), tejasvin (powerful and shining), baliyas (strong), vayo'nvita (youthful), vividhādbhuta-bhāṣāvit (acquainted with many and strange languages), satya-vāc (truthful), priyaṃvada (capable of pleasant speech), vāvadūka (expert in conversation), supāṇḍitya (learned and wise), buddhimat (intelligent), pratibhānvita (possessed of genius), vidagdha (well-versed in the arts), catura (ingenious), dakṣa (dextereous and quick), kṛtajña (grateful), sudṛḍha-vrata (resolute), deśa-kāla-supātrajña (possessing a knowledge of fit time, place and object), śāstra-cakṣus (acting according to the śāstra), sthira (steadfast), śuci (pure and purifying), vaśin (continent), dānta (capable of suffering), kṣamā-śīla (forgiving), gambhīra (profound), dhṛtimat (contented and placid), sama (equable), vadānya (liberal in gift), dhārmika (dutiful), śūra (brave), karuṇa (compassionate), mānya-māna-kṛt (respectful), vinayin (humble), dakṣiṇa (amiable and well-behaved), hrīmat (modest), śaraṇāgata-pālaka (protector), sukhin (happy), bhakta-suhṛt (friend of the devotee), prema-vaśya (controllable by love), sarva-śubhaṅkara (beneficent to all), pratāpin (subjugator of enemies), kīrtimat (famous), rakta-loka (popular), sādhu-samāśraya (partial to the good)), nārī-gaṇa-manohārin (charmer of women), sarvārādhya (pre-eminently adorable), samṛddhimat (prosperous), varīyas

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(the pre-eminent) and īśvara (independent and supreme). The five additional qualities are: sadā-svarūpa-samprāpta (unconditioned), sarvajña (omniscient), nitya-nūtana (ever new), sac-cidānanda-sāndrāṅga (having a self-existent, self-conscious, blissful form), sarva-siddhi-niṣevita (possessed of all powers and perfection). These qualities he shares also with Śiva and Brahmā; but as Nārāyaṇa his five exclusive theological qualities are: avicintya-mahā-śakti (possessed of infinite and indescribable powers), koṭi-brahmāṇḍa-vigraha (container of infinite worlds), avatārāvalī-bīja (the seed of incarnations), hatāri-gati-dāyaka (giver of salvation to enemies killed), and ātmārāma-janākarṣin (attractor of the wise). His four special qualities are: līlā (divine sport), prema-priyādhikya (abundance of beloved persons obtained by love), veṇu-mādhurya (sweetness of his flute) and rūpa-mādhurya (sweetness of his beauty). To these is added a set of eight inherent excellences (sattva-bheda) on the model of the eight Sāttvika excellences of the literary hero (see *Sanskrit Poetics*, ii, 341), only substituting māṅgalya for gāmbhīrya. Even if some of these qualities are apparently inconsistent with each other, they can reside without conflict in Kṛṣṇa as a deity (p. 332). He is also free from eighteen great blemishes which are also enumerated, defined and illustrated (pp. 33ff.). Among his qualities (physical), his adolescence (*kaiśora*) is extolled as the proper and principal (*dharmin*) age for contemplation.

Jīva Gosvāmin in his *Prīti-sandarbha* enumerates 85 Guṇas, which he includes under the Uddīpana-vibhāvas. Some of these relate to Kṛṣṇa, while some are also shared by his Avatāras and Bhaktas. The classifications of the hero in orthodox Poetics into Dhīrodātta, Dhīra-lalita, Dhīroddhata and Dhīra-praśānta, and, as a lover, into Anukūla, Dakṣiṇa, Dhṛṣṭa and Śaṭha are also applied to Kṛṣṇa. Our author also accepts this latter classification and speaks of twenty-five excellences of Kṛṣṇa as a lover in his *Ujjvala-nīlamaṇi* (see below).

2. The Enhancing Excitant or Uddīpana Vibhāva of Kṛṣṇa-rati, which includes such conditions of time, place and circumstances as serve to foster the emotion, may be represented thus:

15 Jīva Gosvāmin declares (*Prīti-sandarbha*, p. 724) that of the Uddīpanas, those which relate to Vṛndāvana are the best (*eṣu ca śrī-vṛndāvana-sambandhinas tu prakṛṣṭāḥ*). He classifies the Uddīpana-vibhāvas on the basis of Jāti (characteristics of a class), Guṇa (quality), Kriyā (action) and Dravya (substance) in reference to Kṛṣṇa.

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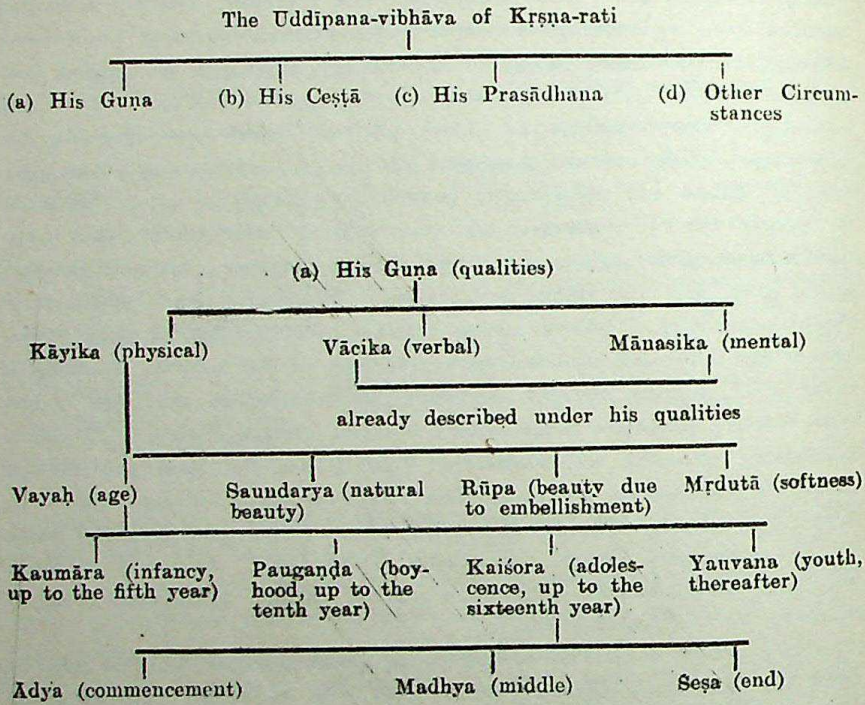

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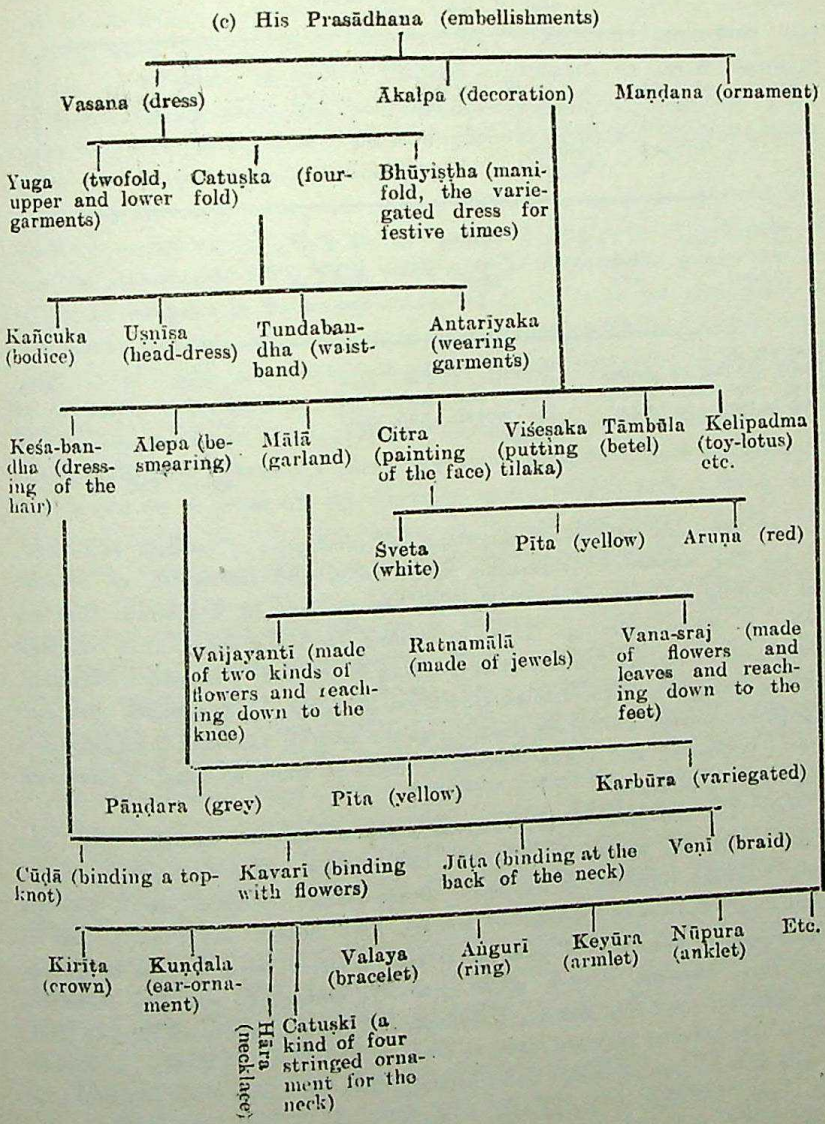

(c) His Prasādhana (embellishments)

- Vasana (dress)
  - Yuga (twofold, upper and lower garments)
  - Catuṣka (four-fold)
    - Kañcuka (bodice)
    - Uṣṇīṣa (head-dress)
    - Tundabandha (waist-band)
    - Antarīyaka (wearing garments)
  - Bhūyiṣṭha (manifold, the variegated dress for festive times)
- Ākalpa (decoration)
  - Keśa-bandha (dressing of the hair)
  - Ālepa (besmearing)
  - Mālā (garland)
    - Vaijayantī (made of two kinds of flowers and reaching down to the knee)
    - Ratnamālā (made of jewels)
    - Vana-sraj (made of flowers and leaves and reaching down to the feet)
  - Citra (painting of the face)
    - Śveta (white)
    - Pīta (yellow)
    - Aruṇa (red)
  - Viśeṣaka (putting tilaka)
  - Tāmbūla (betel)
  - Kelipadma (toy-lotus) etc.
- Maṇḍana (ornament)
  - Cūḍā (binding a top-knot)
  - Kavarī (binding with flowers)
  - Jūṭa (binding at the back of the neck)
  - Veṇī (braid)
  - Pāṇḍara (grey)
  - Pīta (yellow)
  - Karbūra (variegated)
  - Kirīṭa (crown)
  - Kuṇḍala (ear-ornament)
  - Hāra (necklace)
  - Catuṣkī (a kind of four stringed ornament for the neck)
  - Valaya (bracelet)
  - Aṅgurī (ring)
  - Keyūra (armlet)
  - Nūpura (anklet)
  - Etc.

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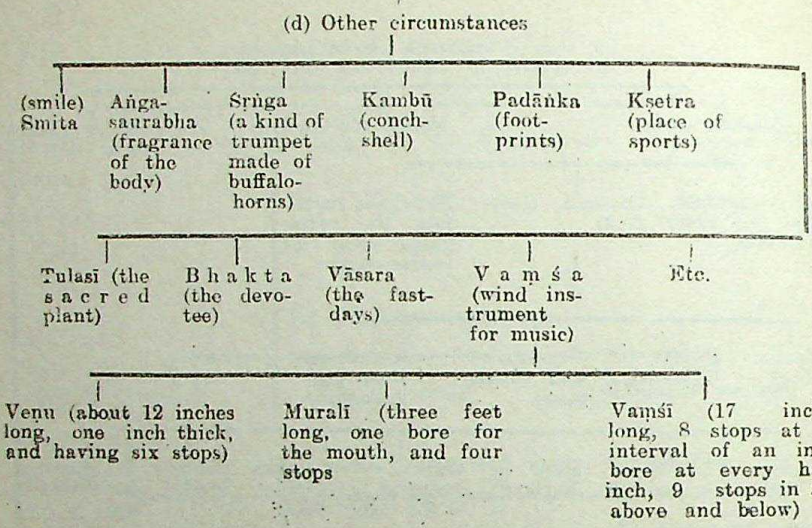

(All these are individually described and illustrated by poetical quotations).

II. The *Anubhāvas* (Ensuants) which follow and strengthen an emotion and comprise its outward manifestations. In the case of Kṛṣṇa-rati, they are given as: Nṛtya (dancing), Viluṭhita (rolling on the ground), Gīta (singing), Krośana (loud crying), Tanu-moṭana (twisting of the body), Huṃkāra (shouting), Jṛmbhā (yawning), Śvāsa-bhūman (profusion of sighs), Lokānapekṣitā (disregard of popular opinion), Lālā-srava (foaming at the mouth), Aṭṭa-hāsa (loud laughter), Ghūrṇā (giddiness) and Hikkā (hiccough). Each of these, as usual, is illustrated by poetical quotations.

III. The *Sāttvika-bhāvas* (external signs of internal feeling). The eight orthodox Sāttvika Bhāvas are accepted, viz., Stambha (stupor), Sveda (perspiration), Romāñca (thrilling of the body), Svara-bhaṅga (break of voice), Vepathu (trembling), Vaivarṇya (change of colour), Aśru (tears), and Pralaya (loss of consciousness); but each of these is further analysed, according as it springs from fear, pleasure, wonder, anger, jealousy, enthusiasm etc. The Sāttvikas are, however, not really Bhāvas or feelings, but external manifestations of them, and in later Poetics they are taken as kinds of Anubhāvas. Of these, as Pralaya or loss of consciousness would mean inaction, Jīva Gosvāmin (*Prīti-sandarbha*, p. 730) points out that in Kṛṣṇa-rati, Pralaya causes cessation of outward action indeed but not inward feeling for Kṛṣṇa.

The most notable departure occurs in the classification of these Sāttvikas, which is entirely original. They are generally classified into (i) Snigdha (soft), which may be either directly (*mukhya*) or indirectly (*gauṇa*) connected with Kṛṣṇa, (ii) Digdha (saturated), and (iii) Rukṣa (harsh), occurring in people who have no feeling for Kṛṣṇa. They are again differentiated, with reference to

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the degree of excitement produced by the presence of one or more Sāttvikas, into (a) Dhūmāyita (smouldering), when there is only one Sāttvika, (b) Jvalita (flaming), when there are two or three Sāttvikas, (c) Dīpta (burning), when there are four or five Sāttvikas, and (d) Uddīpta (brightly burning), when six or all the Sāttvikas are present. The excitement, again, may last a long time (*bhūri-kāla-vyāpi*), may pervade many limbs (*bahvaṅga-vyāpi*), or may attain its climax by its own nature (*svarūpeṇa utkarṣaḥ*).

In this connexion mention is made of Ābhāsas or semblances of Sāttvikas, which are an innovation. They are (i) those which arise from the semblance of Rati (*ratyābhāsa-bhāva*), (ii) those which arise in feeble-hearted people who are by nature incapable of them (*sattvābhāsa-bhāva*) e.g. a grammarian or an old Mīmāṃsaka, (iii) those which arise from habit in people whose heart is soft externally but hard internally (*niḥsattva*), and (iv) those which arise in people who are hostile to Kṛṣṇa (*pratīpa*) e.g. Kaṃsa.

IV. The *Vyabhicāri-bhāvas* (auxiliary feelings). These, also called Sañcāri-bhāvas, are subsidiary feelings of a more or less transitory nature, which are accessory and accompany or interrupt the dominant feeling (*sthāyi-bhāva*) without, however, supplanting it. They are likened, in the orthodox manner, to the waves of the sea, whereby the dominant feeling is understood to be the sea.

The thirty-three orthodox Vyabhicāri-bhāvas are categorically accepted, defined and illustrated with reference to Kṛṣṇa-rati. They are: Nirveda (self-disparagement), Viṣāda (despondency), Dainya (depression), Glāni (debility), Śrama (weariness), Mada (intoxication), Garva (arrogance), Śaṅkā (apprehension), Trāsa (alarm), Āvega (flurry), Unmāda (madness), Apasmāra (demented-ness), Vyādhi (sickness), Moha (distraction), Mṛti (death), Ālasya (indolence), Jāḍya (stupefaction), Vrīḍā (shame), Avahittha (dissembling), Smṛti (recollection) Vitarka (doubt), Cintā (reflection), Mati (resolve), Dhṛti (equanimity), Harṣa (joy), Autsukya (longing), Ugratā (sternness), Amarṣa (impatience of opposition), Asūyā (envy), Cāpalya (unsteadiness), Nidrā (drowsiness), Supti (dreaming), and Bodha (awakening).

Thirteen more Vyabhicāri-bhāvas are also mentioned (p. 524), but they are included in one or other of the above thirty-three. Under individual Rasas in Book IV some other Vyabhicārins are mentioned, but they are special and peculiar to the Rasas dealt with.

The classification of these Accessory Feelings is peculiar. They are said to be (i) independent (*svatantra*) where they are developed independently of the dominant feeling (*sthāyi-bhāva*), or (ii) dependent on the dominant feeling (*para-tantra*). The dependence may be directly (*sākṣāt*) or indirectly (*vyavahita*) connected, or may be subordinated to two different Rasas (*avara*). The independent may be either *rati-śūnya* (devoid of any touch of the Sthāyin) or *rati-gandhin* (giving a hint of the Sthāyin and incidentally touching it).

After briefly touching upon the question of Contrariety (*prātikūlya*) and

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Impropriety (*anaucitya*) of Bhāvas, the section concludes with the treatment of Bhāvotpatti (mere excitement of Bhāva), Bhāva-sandhi (conflict of two opposing Bhāvas), Bhāva-śabalatā (allaying of each preceding Bhāva by the succeeding) and Bhāva-śānti (toning down of a highly developed Bhāva).

V. The *Sthāyi-bhāvas* (the dominant feelings). All the elements mentioned above contribute towards developing the dominant or pre-eminent feeling, the Sthāyi-bhāva, into its corresponding state of relish, called Rasa. This Sthāyi-bhāva or the root-feeling is classified into eight categories in orthodox Poetics: viz. Rati (love), Hāsa (mirth), Soka (sorrow), Krodha (anger), Utsāha (energy), Bhaya (fear), Jugupsā (disgust), Vismaya (astonishment), to which some would add a ninth, viz., Nirveda (self-disparagement). To these correspond respectively the eight or nine orthodox Rasas, viz., Śṛṅgāra (the Erotic), Hāsya (the Comic), Karuṇa (the Pathetic), Raudra (the Furious), Vīra (the Heroic), Bhayānaka (the Terrible), Bībhatsa (the Disgustful), Adbhuta (the Marvellous), and the ninth Sānta (the Quietistic). Rūpa Gosvāmin accepts all these, but his classification and treatment are different.

The Sthāyi-bhāva or the root-feeling of the Vaiṣṇava Bhakti-rasa is taken to be the feeling which concerns Kṛṣṇa himself (*śrīkṛṣṇa-viṣayā rati*), and the nine orthodox Sthāyi-bhāvas are evaluated in terms of this. The Kṛṣṇa-rati, as the Sthāyin, may be Mukhya (Primary) or Gauṇa (Secondary), according as it is directly or indirectly related. Thus, Sakhya (friendship) or Vātsala (parental affection) is Mukhya or Primary, while Hāsa-rati (=Hāsottarā Rati or Kṛṣṇa-rati involving Mirth) is Gauṇa or Secondary; in the former the Kṛṣṇa-viṣayā Rati is direct, while in the latter it subordinates itself to Hāsa. Under the latter, the septet of orthodox Sthāyins (excluding the erotic Rati and Nirveda) is included, while the former includes the two excluded Sthāyins, (Rati, erotic love, and Nirveda, self-disparagement), as well as Prīti (grace), Sakhya (friendship) and Vātsalya (parental affection), which are innovations. The classification of Mukhya and Gauṇa Sthāyins is therefore as follows:

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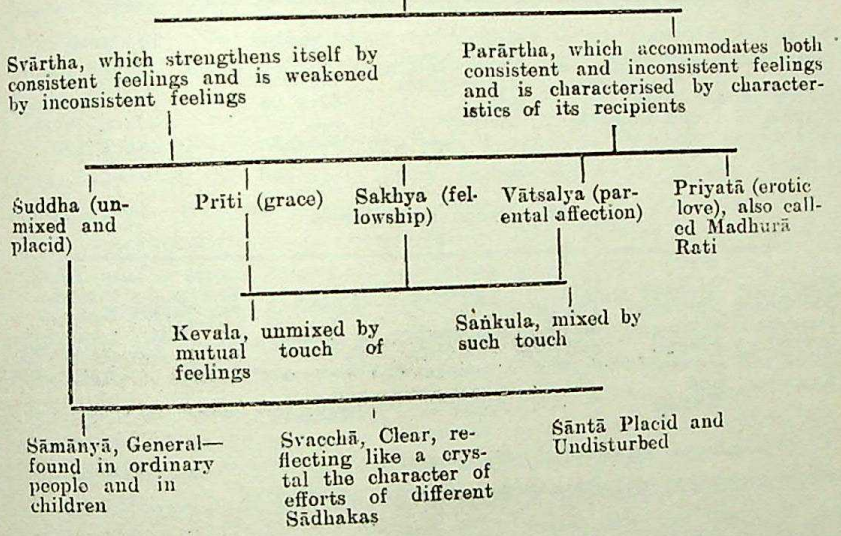
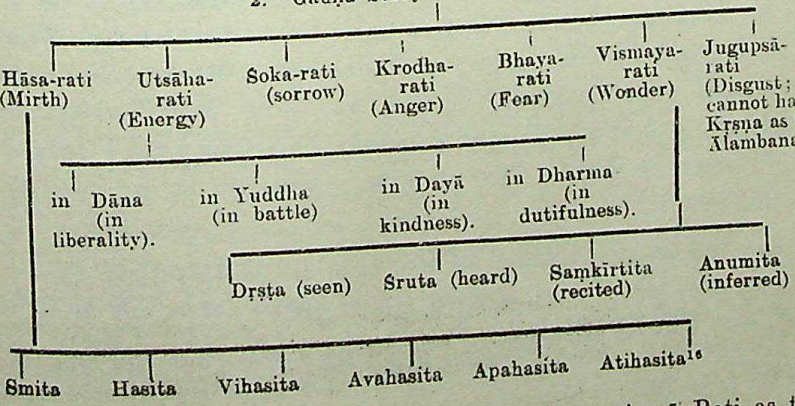
1. Mukhya Sthāyin of Kṛṣṇa-rati



2. Gauṇa Sthāyin of Kṛṣṇa-rati



According to the above classification of Kṛṣṇa-visayā Rati as the Sthāyin, the resulting types of Bhakti-Rasa (with their respective coloured figuration and their presiding deities) would be:

16 The *Rasārṇava-sudhākara* has also this sixfold classification of Hāsa; but the classification is as old as Bharata (*Nāṭya-śāstra*, ed. Kāvyamālā, vi. 52f.).

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1. Mukhya Bhakti-Rasa

Śānta (Quietism), Śveta (white) and Kapila	Prīta (Faithfulness), Citra (variegated) and Mādhava	Preyas (Friendship), Aruṇa (red) and Upendra	Vātsalya (Parent-sentiment), Śona (crimson) and Nṛsiṃha	Madhura or Ujjvala (Erotic Sentiment) Śyāma (dark) and Kṛṣṇa

2. Gauṇa Bhakti-Rasa

Hāsya The Comic, Paṇḍara (greyish white) and Balarāma	Adbhuta The Marvelous, Piṅgala (brown) and Kūrma	Vīra The Heroic, Gaura (fair) and Kalkin	Karuṇa The Pathetic, Dhūrma (smoke-coloured) and Rāghava	Raudra The Furious, Rakta (crimson) and Bhārgava	Bhayānaka The Terrible, Kāla (black) and Varāha	Bībhatsa The Abhorrent, Nīla (blue) and Matsya

(The coloured figuration of each Rasa and the attribution of a presiding deity are in accordance with the orthodox rhetorical tradition).

This concludes the Dakṣiṇa-vibhāga of the work. The Paścima-vibhāga continues the topic, and devotes its five Laharīs respectively to the consideration of the five Mukhya Bhakti Rasas, which are by far the most important in Vaiṣṇava Rasa-śāstra. Each of these Rasas is thrown into the five conventional categories of Rhetoric mentioned above; and their respective Vibhāvas, Anubhāvas, Sāttvikas, Vyabhicāri-bhāvas and Sthāyi-bhāvas are named, characterised and illustrated to the minutest detail. They may be summarised in the following tabular form:

Śanta (Quietistic Devotion). It may be of two kinds, Parokṣa (where a direct beatific vision is not attained) and Sākṣātkāra (where such vision is attained); accordingly

Its Sthāyi-bhāva, which is Suddha Kṛṣṇa-viṣayā Rati, may be sama (equable) or sāndra (compact).

Its Vibhāvas: (a) Alambana—Caturbhuja Nārāyaṇa and the two kinds of Śāntas, viz., Ātmārāmas (Ṛṣis like Sanaka, Sanandana etc.) and Tāpasas (ordinary ascetics), (b) Uddīpana—listening to the Upaniṣads, residing in a lonely place, company of the wise devotee etc.

Its Anubhāvas: all acts of a mendicant (Avadhūta), fixing one's eyes on one's nose in concentrated meditation, Aṅguṣṭha-mudrā (different kinds of disposition of the fingers in the Pūjā) etc.

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Its Sāttvikas: thrilling of the body, sweating, trembling, fainting etc.

Its Vyabhicāri-bhāvas: self-disparagement, equanimity, joy, resolve, recollection, longing, flurry, doubt etc.

The author notes that although Śama is not admitted in the Drama by Rhetoricians, it can be accepted as a Bhakti-rasa inasmuch as it involves Śānta-rati.

II. Prīta (Devotion as Faithfulness). It may be of two kinds: Sambhrama-Prīta, involving the feeling of being brought up as a younger relative (Lālanīyatva). They are separately treated:

1. *Sambhrama-Prīta.* Its Sthāyi-bhāva: Prīti, affection, due to honour (*sambhrama*) or esteem (*ādara*) towards Kṛṣṇa as a Master or Lord.

Its Vibhāvas: (a) Ālambana—Kṛṣṇa, and his servants (Dāsas). The latter are either Adhikṛta (Controlled, e.g. Śiva, Brahmā, Indra etc.), Āśrita (Protected), Pāriṣada (Courtiers or Assistants, e.g. Uddhava, Dāruka etc.), and Anuga (Servitors in Vraja or Dvārakā). (b) Uddīpana—receiving Kṛṣṇa's favour (anugraha), taking the dust of his feet, eating the remnants of his meal etc.

Its Anubhāvas: entire application of self, freedom from jealousy etc.

Its Sāttvikas: all the Sāttvikas, beginning with stupefaction (stambha).

Its Vyabhicāri-bhāvas: all excepting the following nine, viz., Mada, Śrama, Trāsa, Apasmāra, Ālasya, Ugratā, Krodha, Asūyā and Nidrā, which have hardly any scope.

2. *Gaurava-Prīta.* Its Sthāyi-bhāva: Prīti, affection, due to the sense of (inferior) personal relationship to Kṛṣṇa.

Its Vibhāvas: (a) Ālambana—Kṛṣṇa and the persons related to him as Lālanīyas, either as Kaniṣṭha (younger brother, e.g. Śaraṇa, Gada etc.), or Putra (son, e.g. Pradyumna etc.). (b) Uddīpana—Kṛṣṇa's fondness, his smile etc.

Its Anubhāvas: sitting under Kṛṣṇa, following his footsteps, obeying his orders, obeisance (*praṇāma*), humility etc.

Its Sāttvikas: sweating etc. as above.

Its Vyabhicāri-bhāvas: those mentioned under Sambhrama-Prīta. Both these types of Prīta can become Preman (love), Sneha (affection) and Rāga (attachment), according to the degree of development and the circumstances.

Jīva Gosvāmin adopts a slightly more elaborate classification of Prīta Rasa into Āśraya-bhakti, Dāsya-bhakti and Praśraya-bhakti.

III. Preyas (Devotion as Friendship). Its Sthāyi-bhāva: Sakhya-rati or the feeling of friendship and confidence (*viśrambhātmā*).

Its Vibhāvas: (a) Ālambana—Kṛṣṇa and his friends of the same age (*vayasya*), either in Vraja (Śrīdāman etc.) or elsewhere (Arjuna etc.). The friend, according to the difference of age and circumstances, may be Suhṛt (a little older in age), Sakhā (a little younger in age), Priya-sakhā (same age), Priya-karma-sakhā (assistant in love-affairs). A long list of their names, duties and

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characteristics is given, (b) Uddīpana—age, appearance, flute (veṇu), pleasantry, sport etc.

Its Anubhāvas: various sports and pastimes, pleasantry, close companionship, in sleep and waking etc.

Its Sāttvikas: Stambha, Sveda etc. as are suitable.

Its Vyabhicāri-bhāvas: all excepting Ugratā, Trāsa and Ālasya, some appearing during union and some in separation. It may develop into Praṇaya, Preman, Sneha and Rāga.

IV. Vatsalya (Devotion as Parent-sentiment). Its Sthāyi-bhāva: Vatsalarati or parental affection of kindness and pity (anukampā).

Its Vibhāvas: (a) Ālambana—Kṛṣṇa, and his Elders (Gurus), such as Nanda, Yaśodā, Vasudeva etc. (b) Uddīpana—his age, appearance, childishness, smile etc.

Its Anubhāvas: touching the head and the body, blessing, ordering etc.

Its Sāttvikas: all the eight usual Sāttvikas and the flowing of the breasts (*stana-srava*) in persons standing in motherly relation.

Its Vyabhicāri-bhāvas: all mentioned in Prīta, along with Apasmāra.

It may appear *like* Preman (*premavat*), Sneha (*snehavat*), and Rāga (*rāgavat*).

The author notes (p. 815) that some writers on Dramaturgy admit this Rasa, and quotes in support Viśvanātha (*Sāhitya-darpaṇa*, iii, 251); but Viśvanātha is perhaps singular in this respect, and it is possible that his views were themselves influenced by Vaiṣṇava ideas. See my *Sanskrit Poetics*, ii, p. 348. It may be noted in this connexion that Rudraṭa mentions Preyas (Friendship), which Rasa is accepted by Bhoja. Even some writers, like Bhānudatta, would add Śraddhā, along with Bhakti. These indicate the very reluctant admission of these Vaiṣṇava conceptions into the conventional eight or nine categories of Rasa of orthodox Poetics.

V. Madhura Rasa (Devotion as the Erotic Sentiment). As this topic is reserved for more detailed treatment in Rūpa Gosvāmin's next work, *Ujjvala-nīlamaṇi*, it is only briefly dealt with here. Its classification into Sambhoga (love in union) and Vipralamba (love in separation) and their further subdivisions are only just referred to. This is, however, the most important Rasa and is styled in the latter work as *bhakti-rasa-rāj*.

Its Sthāyi-bhāva: Priyatā, love, or Madhura Rati, the sweet feeling, which inspires the mutual (*mithaḥ*) enjoyment (*sambhoga*) of Kṛṣṇa and his Gopīs.

Its Vibhāvas: (a) Ālambana—Kṛṣṇa and his Beloved Gopīs, of whom Rādhā is the chief. (b) Uddīpana—the sound of his flute etc.

Its Anubhāvas: sidelong glances, smile etc.

Its Sāttvikas: the usual eight.

Its Vyabhicāri-bhāvas: all except Ugratā and Ālasya.

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The version of the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* with regard to the Mauryan Bhakti-rasas, the Uttara or last Vibhāga of the work proceeds, in its nine Laharīs, to consider the seven Secondary or Gauṇa Bhakti-rasas, their mutual relation and opposition as subsidiary or contrary sentiments, and lastly the semblance (Ābhāsa) of these Rasas. Although Rūpa Gosvāmin admits a total of twelve Bhakti-rasas, he tells us that in the authoritative Purāṇas and other scriptures one finds in fact only the first five Mukhya or Primary Bhakti-rasas (*vastutas tu purāṇādau pañcadhaiva vilokyate*, p. 601), that these five are considered to be the real Bhakti-rasas, and that the seven Secondary Rasa of Hāsa etc. are generally ancilliary to them (*amī pañcaiva śāntādyā harer bhakti-rasā matāḥ| eṣu hāsādayaḥ prāyo bibhrati vyabhicāritām||*). The septet of Secondary or Gauṇa Rasas includes, however, seven out of the nine conventional Rasas, the remaining two alone being admitted into the Primary or Mukhya. The exposition, therefore, of the seven Gauṇa Rasas follows in the main the treatment of orthodox Poetics, and need not be summarised here in detail, especially as they are not regarded as Rasas of primary importance in Vaiṣṇava Rasa-śāstra. They are secondary, because they are not always present (*kādācitkodbhavatvena*, Jīva) and because they can become Rasas only when they involve Kṛṣṇa-rati, which raises them to such a status (*aniyatādhāratvāt*, Jīva). Thus, Heroism is not essential to Kṛṣṇa-rati, but Heroism which involves Kṛṣṇa-rati becomes a Rasa for that very reason. It is also maintained that these seven Gauṇas can be easily included (*antaḥ-pāta*) in the scope of the five Mukhyas. Thus the Adbhuta (Marvellous) is included in all the five; the Hāsya (Comic) in the Sakhya; the Karuṇa (Pathetic) in the Vāṭsalya; the Vīra (Heroic), in its different aspects, in the Sakhya and the Vātsalya; the Bhayānaka (Terrible) in the Vāṭsalya and the Prīta (Dāsya); the Bībhatsa (Abhorrent) in the Śānta; and the Raudra (Furious) partly in the Vātsalya and partly in the Madhura. The conflict and comity of the Rasa, which constitute the next topic dealt with, can be easily inferred from this relationship to one another. Of the five Mukhya Rasas, the Śānta and the Prīta are mutually agreeable; the Vātsalya is agreeable to none; the Sakhya and the Vāṭsalya are neither agreeable nor disagreeable to each other; the Madhura and the Prīta

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are antagonistic. Hence, it is possible that more than one of these Rasas can reside in the same person. Thus, the Sakhya, Prīta (Dāsya) and Vātsalya are found in Balarāma; the Vātsalya and Sakhya in Yudhiṣṭhira and Bhīma; the Sakhya and Prīta (Dāsya) in Arjuna, Uddhava, Nakula and Sahadeva; and so forth.[17] The five Mukhya and seven Gauṇa Rasas are supposed to react on the mind in five different ways. Thus the Śānta fills the mind completely (*pūrti*); the Prīta, Preyas, Vātsalya, Madhura and Hāsya develop (*vikāsa*); the Vīra and the Adbhuta expand (*vistāra*); the Karuṇa and the Raudra distract (*vikṣepa*); and the Bhayānaka and the Bībhatsa repel (*kṣobha*). This is a further working out of the attributes of Vistāra (expansion), Vikāsa (pervasion) and Druti (melting) of orthodox Poetics.

The topic of the Apparent Sentiment (Rasābhāsa) is next taken up; but the treatment is original. The Rasābhāsa occurs where the ingredients of the Rasa are either insufficient (*aṅgahānatva*) or improperly developed (*aṅga-vairūpya*). Three cases are distinguished: (i) Upa-rasa, where the Vibhāvas, Anubhāvas and the Sthāyi-bhāva are improper (*virūpatā-prāpta*), e.g. the Rasa developed in inanimate beings etc. (ii) Anu-rasa, where the Vibhāvas etc. have no reference to Kṛṣṇa (*kṛṣṇa-sambandha-varjita*), and (iii) Apa-rasa, where the Rasa is developed in persons hostile to Kṛṣṇa (*tat-pratipakṣa*).

The learning displayed in the work is indeed varied, extensive and well digested; but it is of a limited and miscellaneous kind. The sources are chiefly the Purāṇas and other authoritative Vaiṣṇava scriptures. There is indeed much analytical acuteness, and the scholasticism, which created the Navya-nyāya at about the same period of time, is very much in evidence in its zest for formal definitions, nice and hair-splitting distinctions, elaborate classifications and industrious collection of suitable poetical illustrations. But even if analytical, the attitude is hardly critical; and in spite of its anxiety to do justice to facts of actual experience, its extreme formalism cannot be doubted. Even if there is psychologising, there is too much of dissection and

17 *Prīti-sandarbha*, pp. 441f. The Rasābhāsa is defined more comprehensively by Jīva Gosvāmin as the conflict of the dominant Rasa with an improper Rasa, as well as with improper Vibhāva, Anubhāva etc.

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elusive chasing of protean complexes; and the essentials are sometimes apt to be smothered by the overwhelming mass of wearisome details. The concern is no doubt with the peculiar psychology of Vaiṣṇava emotions, but not a single philosophical work is cited; and as Jñāna in the orthodox sense is rigidly excluded, philosophical discussions are naturally out of court. The *Bhagavadgītā* is cited only twice; and there is hardly any reference to other schools of Vaiṣṇava thought. Of the Pañcarātra, only late and apocryphal works like the *Nārada-pañcarātra* is quoted, but not very frequently. The *Rāmāyaṇa* is cited only once, the *Mahābhārata* four times and the *Harivaṃśa* only five times. Of the classical Sanskrit poets, Māgha is quoted twice; Bhartṛhari's *Vairāgya-Śataka* once; and our author's taste for poetical literature is curiously circumscribed to such works as the *Śrī-kṛṣṇa-karṇāmṛta* of Bilvamaṅgala (Līlāśuka) and the *Gīta-govinda* of Jayadeva. His own religious dramas and poems furnish many illustrative quotations. Rūpa Gosvāmin shows an undoubted mastery of the principles and technicalities of Sanskrit Poetics, but his chief sources appear to be Bharata (quoted twice), the *Daśarūpaka* (quoted once), the *Rasa-sudhākara* (quoted once = *Rasārṇava-sudhākara* of Śiṅga-bhūpāla) and probably Viśvanātha's *Sāhitya-darpaṇa*, which is anonymously quoted with approval[18] in one place. With the Purāṇas and Upa-purāṇas he displays an extensive acquaintance, but here again the largest number of quotations comes from the *Śrīmadbhāgavata* (especially the Daśama), the *Padma* and the *Skanda*, the first two of which are canonically accepted in Bengal Vaiṣṇavism. There are nearly four hundred poetical quotations in the work, which by themselves constitute an almost encyclopædic anthology of Vaiṣṇava Bhakti-rasa. We give here a classified index of the works and authors cited in the *Bhakti-*

18 In his *Nāṭaka-candrikā* (ed. Rāsavihārī Sāṃkhya-tīrtha, Kashimbazar, 1907), however, Rūpa Gosvāmin does not speak favourably of Viśvanātha's work. At the outset of this work, he states that in composing it he consulted the Bharata-śāstra and the *Rasa-sudhākara*, and generally rejected the treatment of the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* as being opposed to Bharata's views. It must, however, be noted that Rūpa has, both in his *Bhakti-rasāmṛta* and *Ujjvala-nīlamaṇi*, departed sometimes from Bharata, and sometimes quotes Bharata merely to criticise him.

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rasāmṛta-sindhu, which will give an idea of the author's erudition and his literary taste and interests:

(The references are by page, as the numbering of the verses in the printed edition is not regular).

(1) *The Epics etc.* Mahābhārata 88, 124, 258, 592; Rāmāyaṇa 605; Harivaṃśa 260, 421, 436, 441, 854; Bhagavadgītā 39, 70.

(2) *The Purāṇas and Upa-purāṇas.* Śrīmadbhāgavata (especially the Daśama or the Tenth Skandha) 12, 14, 17, 18, 26, 28, 29, 32, 34, 35, 37, 45, 46-48, 49-56, 59, 60, 68, 69, 70, 71, 78, 83, 94, 96, 101, 102, 103, 104,114, 115, 124, 126, 129, 132, 135, 138, 140, 142, 147 (praise of the work), 152, 154, 160, 163, 168, 190, 191, 195, 197, 199, 214, 216, 232, 240, 257, 265, 271, 286, 287, 291, 293, 295, 298, 300, 301, 303, 310, 312, 318, 319, 321, 322, 323, 341, 346, 348, 349, 352, 359, 384, 387, 390, 395, 406, 407, 412, 415, 422, 423, 442, 444, 446, 447, 448, 453, 457, 465, 467, 473, 478, 480, 484, 485, 486, 490, 491, 499, 502, 505, 506, 511, 513, 514, 534, 581, 618, 651, 656, 657, 659, 662, 669, 675, 676, 687, 688, 690, 691, 715, 732, 755, 765, 766, 770, 773, 787, 788, 790, 792, 801, 808, 829, 864, 867, 874, 933.

Padma 16, 19, 20, 34, 56, 66, 82, 87, 88, 93, 95, 96, 106, 109, 110, 117, 118, 134, 136, 137, 143, 144, 177, 188, 192, 200, 215, 351, 354, 501.

Skanda 79, 82, 85, 95, 96, 100, 106, 107, 109, 112, 122, 130, 131, 132, 135, 159, 194, 196, 660, 764.

Nāradīya 81, 84, 98, 102, 123, 193; Narasiṃha 109, 117, 130, 211, 669; Brahmāṇḍa 98, 133, 167; Viṣṇu 116, 505; Āgneya 113, 225; Varāha 89, 112; Ādivarāha 133; Mahā-varāha 333; Kaurma 332; Bṛhad-vāmana 317; Ādipurāṇa 135, 143; Brahma 83; Brahma-vaivarta 85; Bhaviṣyottara 98, 113, 137; Liṅga 103; Garuḍa 114; Mahā-kaurma 180; Purāṇāntara 99, 118.

(3) *Other Religious Texts and Commentaries.* Viṣṇudharma 104, 285; Viṣṇudharmottara 111, 118, 628, 922; Viṣṇu-rahasya 86, 103; Viṣṇu-yāmala 334; Brahma-yāmala 79; Vaiṣṇava-Tantra 333; Nārada-pañcarātra 11, 23, 59, 107; Śrī-nārāyaṇa-pañcarātra 218; Pañcarātra 36, 129, 213, 216, 217; Śuka-saṃhitā 195; Agastya-saṃhitā 71, 111, 125; Brahma-saṃhitā 305; Kātyāyana-saṃhitā 86; Tantra 21, 24, 111, 170, 187; Bhāvārtha-dīpikā 27; Śrīdhara-svāmin (author of above) 630; Hari-bhakti-sudhodaya 23, 27, 99, 100, 141, 198, 639, 677, 866; Hari-bhakti-vilāsa 72, 129; (Bhagavan-) Nāma-kaumudī 630; (Hari-) Bhakti-viveka 127.

(4) *Stotras.* Haya-śirṣīya-Nārāyaṇa-vyūha-stava 57, 58, 182; Aparādha-bhañjana 638; Bilvamaṅgala-stava 626; Stavāvalī 374, 507; Yāmunācārya-stotra 127, 267, 307.

(5) *Poetical Works.* Bhartṛhari, Vairāgya-śataka 503; Śiśupāla-vadha 267, 279; (Śrīkṛṣṇa-) Karṇāmṛta 202, 203, 379, 670, 671, 674; Bilvamaṅgala (author of above) 296, 386, 456, 472; Gīta-govinda 314, 881, 821, 829; Govinda-vilāsa 571; Mukunda-mālā 567.

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Rūpa Gosvāmin's own works (poetical and dramatic):

Uddhava-sandeśa 885; Haṃsa-dūta 479, 689, 876; Lalita-mādhava 281, 290, 303, 322, 372, 453, 470, 471, 632, 789, 808, 822, 939, 946; Vidagdha-mādhava 320, 496, 510, 654, 791, 808, 880, 889, 930, 934; Dāna-keli-kaumudī 441, 555, 749, 824; Padyāvalī 203, 254, 395, 460, 487, 512, 639, 821, 823, 825, 828, 830, 831.

(6) *Rhetorical works and Authors.* Bharata 592, 593; Daśarūpaka 865; Sāhitya-darpaṇa (anonymously) 815 (=*SD*, iii, 251); Rasa-sudhākara 451 (=*Rasārṇava-sudhākara* of Siṅgabhūpāla, on ii, 13); Nāṭyācāryāḥ 922.

(7) *Authors quoted by name only, excluding those already indexed.* Hanūmat 58; Sudeva 630; Śrīmat-Prabhu (=Sanātana Gosvāmin) 200.

(8) *Anonymous References.* Purāṇāntara, see above; Granthāntara 160; Prācām 454; Nāṭyācāryāḥ, see above; Tantra and Vaiṣṇava-tantra, see above.

The Ujjvala-nīlamaṇi

Against this background of a complicated scheme is to be studied the next work, the *Ujjvala-nīlamaṇi*,[19] in which the Ujjvala or Madhura or Śṛṅgāra Bhakti-rasa, the Erotic Love of Kṛṣṇa, among the five primary Rasas, has been baptised into transcendence. The very importance of this Rasa is borne out by the fact that it required a separate and specialised enquiry in a supplementary work which, if it did not exceed in volume the original treatise, did far outshine it in the complication of details and profusion of illustrations. As before, the entire theme is planned and modelled upon that of the Śṛṅgāra Rasa of Sanskrit Poetics, and the general terminology and main concepts belong to its current stock-in-trade. The fundamentals of the whole doctrine of the Erotic Rasa and its rhetorical psychology are worked out from the point of view of Kṛṣṇa as an ideal hero (*nāyaka-cūḍāmaṇi*); and as the hero and the heroine in their various moods, aspects and situations form the ground of this erotic sentiment, the work is really an exhaustive dissertation not only upon the sentiment itself, but also upon the *minutiae* of the hero and heroine, their adjuncts and associates, as well as an analysis of their various attributes and expressions of love.

19 Our references are to the Kāvyamālā edition (Bombay 1913) of the work, with the commentaries of Jīva Gosvāmin (*Locana-rocanī*) and Viśvanātha Cakravartin (*Ānanda-candrikā*). Viśvanātha Cakravartin also wrote a summary of this work, entitled *Ujjvala-nīlamaṇi-kiraṇa* (ed. Prāṇa Gopāla Gosvāmin, Navadvīpa 1927), to which occasional references are also made by us.

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The basic feeling (*sthāyi-bhāva*) of the Ujjvala or Madhura Rasa is, as we have already noted, the Priyatā or Madhurā Rati, the dearness or sweet feeling which inspires the mutual (*mithaḥ*) erotic enjoyment (*sambhoga*) of Kṛṣṇa and his Gopīs.[20] This feeling of Kṛṣṇa, being brought to a state of relish in the heart of the Bhaktas (*svādyatāṃ hṛdi bhaktānām ānītā*) by means of its appropriate Vibhāvas, Anubhāvas etc., becomes the erotic Madhura Rasa, which is styled "the chief among the Bhakti-rasas (*bhakti-rasa-rāj*)". The work, therefore, proceeds at once to the detailed analysis of the Vibhāvas etc. of this Rasa.

The Ālambana Vibhāva, or the material ground and object of this feeling, is supposed to be Kṛṣṇa himself and his beloved Gopīs (*vallabhāḥ*). As the Nāyaka or hero of this feeling, Kṛṣṇa is endowed with a long list of twenty-five attributes of a lover, although most of these are already included in the previous list of his sixty-four general excellences which we have mentioned above. The orthodox classification of the hero, appearing as the Beloved (*kāntatvena sphuran*, Jīva), into Dhīrodātta etc. is accepted,[21] but Kṛṣṇa may figure either as Pati (husband) or Upa-pati (lover), and it is on the latter aspect that the excellence of his love is supposed to rest (*atraiva paramotkarṣaḥ śṛṅgārasya pratiṣṭhitaḥ*). As an amour with a married woman is hardly permitted by orthodox theory[22] to form the dominant theme of a play or poem, Rūpa Gosvāmin cites Bharata in support, and states that if some authorities have spoken lightly of the Upa-pati, such remarks should be understood to have an application to the ordinary hero (*prākṛta nāyaka*), and not to Kṛṣṇa, who incarnated himself for tasting the essence of the Rasa (*rasa-niryāsa-svādārtham avatāriṇi*). The Parakīyā (=belonging to another) heroine who is the object of the

20 *mitho harer mṛyākṣyāś ca sambhogasyādi-kāraṇam/ madhurāpara-paryāyā priyātākhyoditā ratiḥ//* Of the two aspects of the Līlā (or Divine sport) of Kṛṣṇa, viz., Aiśvarya (power) and Mādhurya (sweetness), Jīva Gosvāmin, in his *Prīti-sandarbha* (pp. 704-715) declares the superiority of Mādhurya. Hence the supreme excellence of Madhurā Rati follows as a corollary.

21 See my *Sanskrit Poetics*, ii, p. 339.

22 Rudraṭa, xiv, 12-13; Rudrabhaṭṭa, ii, 40. But Siṅgabhūpāla (*Rasārṇava-sudhākara*, i, 79) classifies the Nāyaka into Pati, Upa-pati and Vaiśika.

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Upa-pati's love, may however be a maiden (*kanyakā*) or a married woman (*paroḍhā*). Even if orthodox Poetics deprecates love to a married woman,[23] she is, according to Vaiṣṇava ideas, the highest type of the heroine, and forms the central theme of the later Parakīyā doctrine of the school, in which the love of the mistress for her lover becomes the universally accepted symbol of the soul's devotion to God. Kṛṣṇa as a Nāyaka is, again, conceived to be the most complete (pūrṇatama) in Vraja, more complete (pūrṇatara) in Mathūrā, and complete (pūrṇa) in Dvārakā. In their character as a lover, both the Pati and the Upa-pati may be (following orthodox classification) the faithful (*anukūla*), the gallant whose attention is equally divided among many (*dakṣiṇa*), the sly (*śaṭha*) and the saucy (*dhṛṣṭa*). Thus, ninety-six different aspects of Kṛṣṇa as the hero are obtained by this elaborate classification.

The ordinary classification of the Nāyikā of classical Poetics is accepted, but some complication is introduced by conceiving the heroine as the Beloved of Kṛṣṇa (Hari-vallabhā) from the devotional point of view. The Nāyikā may be Svīyā (one's own) or Parakīyā (another's), according as the hero is husband (Pati) or lover (Upa-pati). Mention is made of Kṛṣṇa's sixteen thousand wives in Vraja and one hundred and eight in Dvārakā, although we are assured that the actual number is infinite. We are told (pp. 41 f.) that the Gopīs in Vraja were in fact married according to Gāndharva rites (self-choice), and as such they should be taken as Svīyā heroines; but they are generally considered (*prāyeṇa viśrutāḥ*) in Kṛṣṇa's Prakaṭa-līlā (Manifest Sport) as Parakīyā because of the secrecy of their love (*pracchanna-kāmatā*) and the uncertain character of the marriage (*avyaktatvād vivāhasya*).[24] There was

23 Rūpa Gosvāmin explains that this is because the concern in orthodox Poetics is with the ordinary hero (*tat tu syāt prākṛta-kṣudra-nāyakādyanusārataḥ*). Rūpa Gosvāmin says similarly in his *Nāṭaka-candrikā* (śl. 11): *neṣṭā yad aṅgini rase kabibhiḥ paroḍhā/tad gokulāmbujadṛśāṃ kulam antareṇa/āśaṃsayā rasavidher avatāritānām/kaṃsāriṇā rasika-maṇḍala-śekhareṇa//*

24 Viśvanātha Cakravartin adds (*Kiraṇa*, p. 34): *kiyantyaḥ gokule svīyā api pitrādi-śaṅkayā parakīyā eva.* Jīva Gosvāmin deals in some detail with this question of the relation of the Gopīs to Kṛṣṇa in his *Prīti-sandarbha* (pp. 676-686,

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however no jealousy on the part of the Gopas towards Kṛṣṇa for sporting with their wives, because through the Māyā of Kṛṣṇa each had an apparent wife with him (cf. *Śrīmadbhāgavata*, x, 33, 37); and the immaculateness of the Vrajadevīs is declared by the assumption that they never had any real union with their husbands (*na jātu vrajadevīnāṃ patibhiḥ saha saṅgamaḥ*). Each of these two kinds[25] of the heroine, the Svīyā and the Parakīyā, is classified again, in accordance with classical Poetics, into the adolescent and artless (Mugdhā), the youthful (Madhyā), and the mature and audacious (Pragalbhā). Of these, the Madhyā and the Pragalbhā, according to their capacity for Māna, may be Dhīrā (self-possessed), Adhīrā (not self-possessed) and Dhīrādhīrā (the partially self-possessed). They are further arranged according to the eightfold diversity of their condition or situation in relation to the hero, into (i) the Abhisārikā, who goes out and meets the hero in assignation, (ii) the Vāsaka-sajjā, who adorns herself in expectation of the hero, (iii) the Utkaṇṭhitā, who is disappointed by his non-arrival through misadventure or involuntary absence, (iv) the Vipralabdhā, who is deceived of her expectation by unfaithfulness, (v) the Khaṇḍitā, who is outraged by the discovery of marks of unfaithfulness in the hero, (vi) the Kalahāntaritā, who is separated by quarrel, (vii) the Proṣita-bhartṛkā, who pines for the absence of the hero gone

936). It is differentiated from ordinary sexual relation (*prākṛta kāma*) and characterised as pure love (*śuddha-preman*) and the distinction of Svīya and Parakīyā is said to be possible only in Prakaṭa Līlā (*vastutaḥ parama-svīyā api prakaṭa-līlāyāṃ parakīyamānāḥ śri-vrajadevyaḥ*, p. 936). In his *Śrikṛṣṇa-sandarbha* (ed. Prāṇa Gopāla Gosvāmin, Nadīyā 1925, pp. 547f.), Jīva offers the mystical-philosophical explanation that the Gopīs as well as Śrīkṛṣṇa's wives in Mathurā and Dvārakā are really his Svarūpa-śaktis.

25 The third kind, the Sādhāraṇī Sāmānyā or Veśyā (Courtesan), is omitted. The Kubjā, who is extolled (p. 85) for her feeling towards Kṛṣṇa, is apparently regarded as Parakīyā (*bhāva-yogāt tu sairandhrī parakīyaiva sammatā*). But Jīva Gosvāmin (*Prīti-sandarbha*, p. 933) would frankly regard her as Sāmānyā, whose Dāsya (annointing His body) was raised into Madhura Rasa. As her desire was for Kṛṣṇa, it was directed towards a worthy object, and is therefore praised; but being selfish and frankly sensual, it is deprecated in comparison with the love of the Gopīs, which was free from these traits.

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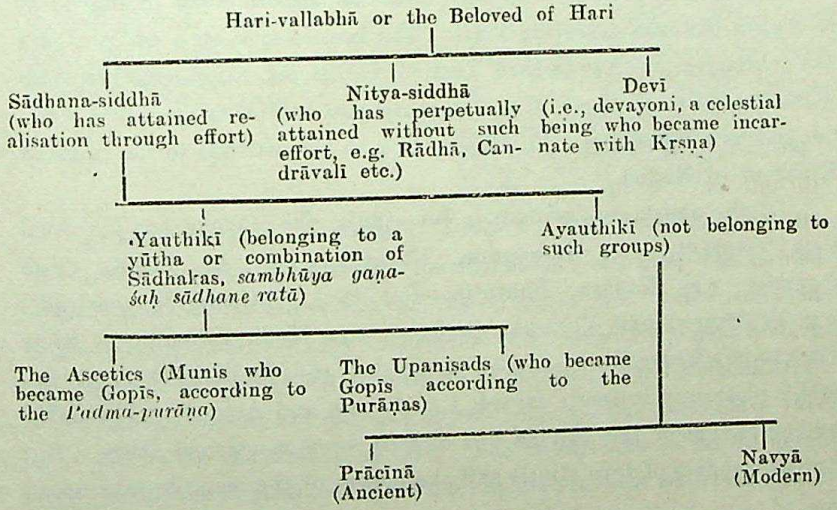
abroad, and (viii) the Svādhīna-bhartṛkā, who has the hero under absolute control. They may again, according to the rank each holds in the affection of the hero, be Uttamā (best), Madhyamā (middling) and Kaniṣṭhā (lowest).

All this follows pretty closely the older rhetorical convention; but a further classification from a different theological point of view is also attempted. This classification of the Beloved of Kṛṣṇa may be represented thus in a tabular form:



Of these Rādhā, as the Vṛndāvaneśvarī and eternal consort of Kṛṣṇa, is the foremost Beloved. A whole section is devoted to her, in which she is identified with the Hlādinī Mahāśakti of the Tantra (*tantre pratiṣṭhitā*), and a big list is given of her attributes and excellences, with the final remark that her characteristics, like those of Kṛṣṇa, are incapable of enumeration (*saṅkhyātīta*). Although the name of Rādhā is not found in general literature before *Hāla-saptaśatī*, an attempt is made to prove her antiquity by a reference (p. 60) to such late neo-vaiṣṇava Upaniṣads as the *Gopāla-tāpanī* and to the apocryphal *Ṛk-pariśiṣṭa* and the canonical *Padma-purāṇa*. Her five kinds of companions, viz., Sakhī, Nitya-sakhī, Prāṇa-sakhī, Priya-sakhī and Parama-

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preṣṭha-sakhī, are then mentioned, and their individual names are recorded (p. 79).[26]

According to their luck in love (*saubhāgya*), each of the heroine may be again Adhikā (excessive), Samā (even) and Laghvī (light). According to her Svabhāva (temperament), she may be again Prakharā (sharp), Madhyā (equable) and Mṛdvī (mild). According to her attitude to her rivals, she may be Sva-pakṣa (interested in herself), Suhṛt-pakṣa (partial to her friend), Taṭastha (indifferent) and Vipakṣa (hostile). Of these, the second and the third are not conducive to Rasa, but are incidentally mentioned; they may be either Iṣṭa-sādhaka (doing good) or Aniṣṭa-bādhaka (averting evil). The hostile type may be Iṣṭa-hara (an obstacle) or Aniṣṭa-kara (active maker of mischief). But this classification on the basis of partisanship also applies to the Sakhī (companion) as a messenger (Dūtī), according to her attitude to the cause of Kṛṣṇa or of Rādhā.

Of the assistants (*sahāya*) in love-affair, the Nāyaka has his usual Ceṭa (servant, e.g. Bhaṅgura, Bhṛṅgāra etc. in Vraja), Viṭa (courtier, e.g. Kaḍāra, Bhāratībandhu etc.), Pīṭhamarda (comrade, e.g. Śrīdāman) and Vidūṣaka (buffoon, e.g. Madhumaṅgala in Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Vidagdha-mādhava*), to which is added a fifth, Priya-narma-sakhā (dear and intimate friend, e.g. Subala and Arjuna). The Sakhī or companion of the Nāyikā has already been mentioned above. But her messengers of love (Dūtī) and the nature of the message take up an

26 The *raison d'etre* of this classification is not mentioned in the text, but Viśvanātha Cakravartin (*Kiraṇa*, p. 39-40) explains it thus: One who is more partial to Kṛṣṇa is Sakhī, but the Nitya-sakhī is more partial in her affection to Radhā. Among Nitya-sakhīs, those who are the chief are called Prāṇa-sakhīs. The Priya-sakhī is not defined, but among Priya-sakhīs the chief are Parama-preṣṭha-sakhīs. In his *Rādhā-kṛṣṇa-gaṇoddeśa-dīpikā* (ed. Rādhāraman Press, Berhampore-Murshidabad, 1323 B.S.=1916 A.D.), Rūpa Gosvāmin enlarges upon this topic of the *anciallae* of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa.

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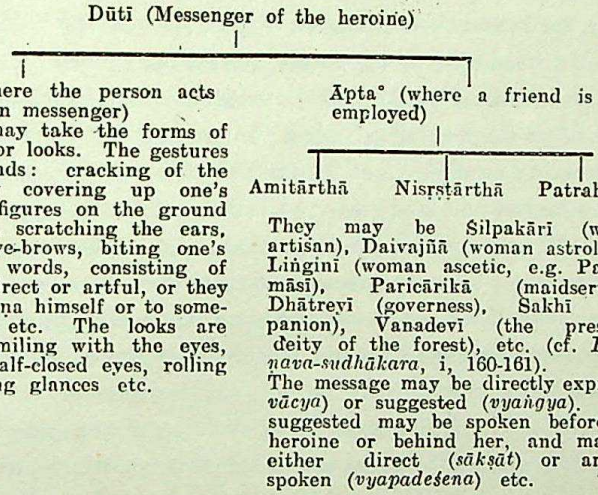
entire long section of the work. The classification of the Dūtī may be tabulated as follows:



So much about the Ālambana Vibhāvas. The Uddīpana Vibhāvas, which serve to foster the feeling by condition of time, place and circumstance, constitute a much less extensive topic, but involve an equal elaboration of detail. Under this section come mainly the definition and classification of the various excellences of Kṛṣṇa and his Beloved Gopīs, as well as such external (*taṭastha*) objects (e.g. spring, cloud, moon etc.) as would excite the feeling of love. The excellences of Kṛṣṇa having been already catalogued and illustrated in the previous work, the present work confines itself to an elaborate definition and illustration of the excellences of Kṛṣṇa's Beloved, which may be either physical (*kāyika*), mental (*mānasika*) and verbal (*vācika*). The mental and verbal characteristics are dismissed in a few words; but of physical excellences, such as beauty (*rūpa*), complexion (*lāvaṇya*), softness (*mārdava*) etc., prominence is given to the description of the three stages of youth (*yauvana*), viz., *navya* (fresh), *vyakta* (manifest) and *pūrṇa* (complete), along with *vayaḥ-sandhi* (adolescence).[27] Other excellences refer to the peculiarities of Name (*nāma*), Exploit (*carita*), Sport (*līlā*), e.g. playing on the flute, milking the cows, lifting of the Govardhana hill etc., Maṇḍana (embellishments), and other relevant (*sambandin*) and related

27 The *Rasārṇava-sudhākara* (i. 164 f.) speaks of four stages of Yauvana.

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(*sannihita*) characteristics, including a description of Vṛndāvana, its rivers, groves, trees, flowers, birds and beasts. The Taṭastha Uddīpanas include the conventional external objects (such as the cloud, full moon, southern breeze etc.) which excite the feeling of love.

The three kinds of Anubhāvas, which consist of such outward manifestations of the feeling as follow and strengthen it, are distinguished, viz., twenty-two Alaṃkāras, seven Udbhāsvaras, and twelve Vācikas. Of the twenty-two Alaṃkāras or embellishments, the three physical ones (Bhāva, Hāva and Helā) refer to the degree of awakening and manifestation of love in a nature previously exempt; then there are seven inherent (*sattvaja*) qualities, such as brilliance of youth, beauty, sweetness, courage etc; and eleven natural (*svabhāvaja*) graces, such as *līlā* (playful imitation of the beloved), *vilāsa* (playful gestures), *vicchitti* (decoration), *moṭṭāyita* (clear expression of desire) etc. conclude the list. All this is conventional,[28] but the seven Udbhāsvaras, which are new, include such gestures or physical expressions of love as unconscious untying of the knot of the lower garment (*nīvi-visraṃsana*), dropping of the upper garment (*uttarīya-skhalana*), yawning (*jṛmbhā*), loosening of the hair (*keśa-saṃsrana*), etc. These are really aspects of *vilāsa* and *moṭṭāyita* mentioned above, but they are separately treated beacuse they have a charm of their own. The twelve Vācikas or conversational attributes are Ālāpa (agreeable and flattering talk), Vilāpa (lamentation), Saṃlāpa (dialogue), Pralāpa (vain or meaningless words), Anulāpa (repetition), Apalāpa (contrary application of a spoken word), Sandeśa (message), Atideśa (taking another's words as one's own), Apadeśa (hinting), Upadeśa (instruction), Nirdeśa (pointed reference) and Vyapadeśa (artful expression of one's desire).[29]

There is nothing novel in the treatment of the Sātvikas which are really kinds of Anubhāvas. The eight orthodox Sāttvikas are accepted and are illustrated chiefly with respect to the heroine. But each is considered as a result of different subsidiary feelings, e.g. Stupefaction (Stambha) is illustrated as caused respectively by fear, wonder, sorrow, impatience etc. As in the previous work, the Sāttvikas are classified as

28 See my *Sanskrit Poetics*, pp. 341-342.

29 This classification of *Vācika* follows *Rasārṇava-sudhākara* (ed. Trivandrum, i, 220f.).

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Smouldering (Dhūmāyita), Burning (Jvalita), Brightly Burning (Dīpta) and Flaming (Uddīpta).

The section on the Vyabhicāri-bhāva or Accessory Feeling is a fairly long one, but the conventional thirty-three of these are accepted and illustrated, with the exception of Ugratā (sternness) and Ālasya (indolence), which, in the opinion of our author, are inapplicable to Śṛṅgāra. As in the case of the Sāttvikas, each of these is described as caused by different feeling, e.g. by fear, wonder, anger, shame, contempt, sorrow etc.[30] After this, a brief reference is made to the Commencement (Utpatti), Commixture (Sandhi), Conjunction (Śabalatā) and Allaying (Śānti) of different Bhāvas.

The work then proceeds to the detailed consideration of the Sthāyi-bhāva, the root-feeling, of the Madhura Rasa, and the treatment is entirely original.

The natural or worldly (*laukika*) circumstances which give rise to this Madhurā Rati are, according to the degree of excellence:

(i) Abhiyoga, manifestation of the feeling, either directly or through a messenger.

(ii) Viṣaya, objects of the senses, e.g. sound (*śabda*), touch (*sparśa*), smell (*gandha*) etc.

(iii) Sambandha, sense of glory in beauty, lineage etc.

(iv) Abhimāna, sense of desirability of a particular pleasing object.

(v) Upamā, resemblance, however slight.

(vi) Svabhāva, nature or temperament, which does not depend upon outward cause. This may again be Nisarga (instinctive and deep-rooted habit), or Svarūpa (causeless self-accomplished essential). This Svarūpa may centre either on Kṛṣṇa (*kṛṣṇa-niṣṭha*) or on the Gopīs (*tatanā-niṣṭha*).

The Madhurā Rati, according as the heroine is Sādhāraṇī (courtesan), Svīyā (wife) or Parakīyā (a maiden or a married woman) respectively, may be:

(a) Sādhāraṇī, general, e.g. in the case of the Kubjā, where the enjoyment is entirely for oneself (*ātma-tarpaṇaika-tātparya*, Jīva). It extends up to the Preman (see below) stage of love.

(b) Samañjasā, well-proportioned, as in the case of the conjugal love of Rukminī etc., where the enjoyment is as much for Kṛṣṇa as for oneself. It extends up to the Anurāga stage.

30 This procedure follows that of the *Rasārṇava-sudhākara*.

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(c) Samarthā, capable, in the case of the Gopīs where the effort is entirely for the pleasure of Kṛṣṇa. It extends up to the final Bhāva or Mahābhāva stage.

The Madhurā Rati, in its different aspects or conditions, may again be, successively, according to its stages of growth or intensity of manifestation:[31]

I Preman, defined as the bond of feeling (*bhāva-bandhana*) which is the indestructible seed (*bīja*) of love and which according to its degree may be *praudha* (mature), *madhya* (middling) and *manda* (slight).

II Sneha, which is affection sublimated from Preman and causing melting of the heart (*hṛdaya-drāvana*) in sight, hearing or recollection. It may also be the best (*śreṣṭha*), middling (*madhyama*) and the lowest (*kaniṣṭha*), according to its intensity. This Sneha is of two kinds: (a) Ghṛta-sneha, constant fondness, solidifying like Ghee, but impotent in itself in producing the taste, or (b) Madhu-sneha, constant fondness, like honey, strong in itself and potent in producing its sweetness.

III Māna, affected repulse of endearment due to excess of emotion and causing a variety of amatory feelings. This may be Udātta, the high-spirited impulse of Ghṛta-sneha, or Lalita, the sportive and tortuous impulse of the Madhu-sneha.

IV Praṇaya, friendly confidence (*viśrambha*), which may be Maitra, friendship characterised by humility, or Sakhya, fellowship free from apprehension. By a contact with the Udātta and the Lalita Māna respectively, these two kinds of Praṇaya may again be Su-maitra and Su-sakhya. The interrelation or evolution of one from the other is thus indicated: Sneha>Praṇya>Māna, or Sneha>Māna >Praṇaya, the two Praṇaya and Māna acting as mutual cause and effect.

V Rāga, erotic transmutation of sorrow into joy, which, in coloured figuration, may be either Nīlima (dark-blue) or Raktima (crimson). The Nīlima-rāga may again be Nīli-rāga, indigo-coloured, unchangeable and not outwardly manifesting itself, or it may be Śyāma-rāga, dark-coloured, accomplished slowly and manifesting itself

31 This classification follows that of the *Rasārṇava-sudhākara* (ii, 109.) which, however, speaks (in order) of Preman, Māna, Sneha, Rāga and Anurāga, omitting Bhāva or Mahābhāva, which is peculiarly a Vaiṣṇava idea.

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a little. The Raktima Rāga, on the other hand, may be Kusumbha-rāga, saffron-coloured, quickly diffusing itself and reflecting other Rāgas, or it may be Mañjiṣṭhā-rāga, coloured like madder, durable and independent.[32]

VI Anurāga, love as constant freshness. Its aspects are: (a) Paravaśībhāva, self-surrender, (b) Prema-vaicittya, loving apprehension of separation, (c) Aprāṇi-janma, desire for birth as inanimate matter connected with the beloved, and (d) Vipralambha-visphūrti, vision of the beloved in separation.

VII Bhāva or Mahābhāva, supreme realisation of love such as can be realised only by the Gopīs of Vraja. It may be:

(1) Rūḍha, where the Sāttvikas have reached the highest form of excitement (*Uddīpta*). Its characteristics both in union and separation are (a) incapacity for bearing separation even for a moment (*Nimeṣāsahatā*), (b) exciting the hearts of all present (*Āsanna-panatā-hṛd-viloḍana*), (c) appearance of a whole age as a moment, and of a moment as a whole age (*Kalpa-kṣaṇatva, Kṣaṇa-kalpatva*), (d) languishment through apprehension of malady even in the presence of happiness (*Tat-saukhye'pyārti-śaṅkayā khinnatvam*), (e) forgetfulness of self and everything even in the absence of actual fainting (*Mohādyabhāve' pyātmādi-sarva-vismaraṇam*).

(2) Adhirūḍha, involving a special sublimation of the characteristics of Rūḍha mentioned above. It is again twofold: (i) Modana, involving a special heightened charm of the Sāttvikas (*uddīpta-sauṣṭhava*), and is found only in the Rādhā-group. It deepens into Mohana in separation, which causes a deeper heightening (*sūddīpta*) of the Sāttvikas. Its characteristics are: the hero's fainting even in the embrace of the heroine (*kāntāśliṣṭe'pi mūrchanā*), desire for happiness even by undergoing unbearable suffering (*asahya-duḥkha-svīkārād api tat-sukha-kāmitā*), causing sorrow to the whole world (*brahmāṇḍa-kṣobha-kāritva*), weeping of the animal world (*tiraścām api rodanam*), craving for death for elemental union with Kṛṣṇa (*mṛtyu-svīkārāt sva-bhūtair api tat-saṅga-tṛṣṇā*), and lastly, divine frenzy (*divyonmāda*). This divine frenzy may take the form of various helpless acts and movements (*udghūrṇā*) and of deeply anxious and resentful words on meeting a friend of the hero (*citra-jalpa*). The Citra-jalpa may take ten forms: Prajalpa (spitting out of the hero's incompetence in contempt prompted by impatience, jealousy or pride), Parijalpa (display of skill in chiding the hero's cruelty), Vijalpa (jealous irony instinct with resentment), Ujjalpa (proud and jealous declaration of the hero's deception), Saṃjalpa (regretful and

32 *Rasārṇava-sudhākara* (ii, 117f.), following Bhoja, speaks only of Kusumbha, Nīli and Mañjiṣṭhā Rāga. See also *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* iii, 195-97.

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ironical declaration of the hero's ingratitude), Avajalpa (jealous declaration of the unworthiness of the hero's love on account of his hard-heartedness, lust and deception), Abhijalpa (hinting the propriety of giving up the heroes, which brings sorrow even to birds), Ajalpa (disparaging declaration of the hero's crookedness, which causes sorrow to self and joy to those who experience his association), Pratijalpa (honouring the messenger and humbly declaring inseparability from the hero) and Sujalpa (enquiry, inspired by simplicity, gravity and humility, after the hero). (ii) Mādana, which is pleasant with the sprout of all the feelings (*bhāvas*) and which is always found in Rādhā only. Its characteristics are excess of jealousy even when there is no cause for jealousy, and reminiscent contemplation of everything related to the hero even in a state of enjoyment.

This Sthāyi-bhāva of Madhurā Rati becomes the Madhura or Śṛṅgāra Rasa, the highest type of Erotic Love. It is twofold according as it is Love-in-union (*Sambhoga*) and Love-in-separation (*Vipralambha*). The Vipralambha may take various forms:[33]

(i) Pūrva-rāga, Incipient Love i.e. love before actual union, consequent upon first sight, hearing, dream, or looking at the picture of the beloved etc. Its various attendant feelings and conditions, succeeding each other in order of intensity and leading even up to death, are minutely described and illustrated. It may be either Praudha (developed), Samañjasa (well-proportioned) or Sādhāraṇa (general). The sending of love-letters (*kāma-lekha*) is also incidentally discussed. The ten stages of Praudha Pūrva-rāga are: Lālasā (ardent desire), Udvega (anxiety), Jāgara (sleeplessness), Tānava (thinness of the limbs), Jaḍimā (stupidity), Vaiyagra (impulsiveness), Vyādhi (illness), Unmāda (dementedness), Moha (unconsciousness) and Mṛtyu (death). Of the Samañjasa the ten stages are: Abhilāṣa (desire), Cintā (reflection), Smṛti (recollection), Guṇa-kīrtana (recital of the qualities of the beloved), Udvega (anxiety), Vilāpa (lamentation), Unmāda (dementedness), Vyādhi (illness), Jaḍatā (stupor) and Mṛtyu (death). Of the Sādhāraṇa Pūrva-rāga, the stages consist of the first six of

33 The *Rasārṇava-sudhākara*, following Bhoja, speaks also of four kinds of Vipralambha, viz. Pūrvānurāga, Māna, Pravāsa and Karuṇa; but its Karuṇa is not the same as the Prema-vaicittya of our author.

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the Samañjasa mentioned above, beginning with Abhilāṣa and ending with Vilāpa.

(ii) Māna,[34] Resentment as a bar to the realisation of love. It may be (a) Sa-hetu (having a cause), the cause or ground of resentment being something seen (*dṛṣṭa*), heard (*śruta*) or inferred (anumita), or (b) Nirhetu (without a cause), or with Kāraṇābhāsa (with the semblance of a cause). The causeless resentment is easily allayed, but the caused resentment may be allayed by sweet words (*sāma*), offering of presents (*dāna*), glorification of oneself (*bheda*) and neglect (*upekṣā*), or by the sudden accession of other feelings (e.g. sudden fear).

(iii) Prema-vaicitya, Apprehension of separation, through excessive love, even in the presence of the beloved.

(iv) Pravāsa, the psychological effect of separation due to the absence of the hero gone abroad. The separation may be either deliberate (which may again be present, past or future)[35] or forced; and the exodus may be to a place which is very distant or not very distant. The ten stages of this condition are: Cintā (reflection), Jāgara (sleeplessness), Udvega (anxiety), Tānava (thinness), Malināṅgatā (paleness of the limbs), Pralāpa (lamentation), Vyādhi (illness), Unmāda (dementedness), Moha (unconsciousness) and Mṛtyu (death). With regard to Pravāsa, the author adds that in Kṛṣṇa's Eternal Sport (*Nitya-līlā*), there is no real separation of Kṛṣṇa and the Vrajadevīs, for their union is perpetual; but the condition of Pravāsa is described according to the Manifest Sport (*Prakaṭa-līlā*) of Kṛṣṇa, in which he *appears* to go to Mathurā. In other words, there is an apparent

34 The Māna which looms so large in Vaiṣṇava Padāvalī has, like the word 'Rasa,' hardly any equivalent in modern amatory vocabulary. A curious mixture of joy and sorrow, fear and hope, pride and anger, love and repulsion, it involves also an element of *Chalanā*, an indefinable playfulness, which is wayward and yet alluring. It is not pride, anger, mere displeasure or resentment: it is neither the French "amour propre" nor the Teutonic "Empfindelei." A psychological composite like this is untranslatable.

35 So in *Rasārṇava-sudhākara* (ii, 216).

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sojourn to Mathurā, but the association with Vṛndāvana is real and permanent.

The Sambhoga or Love-in-union is either directly (*mukhya*) or indirectly (*gauṇa*, as in a dream) fulfilled. Of each of these, again, four stages[36] are marked in order of intensity: Saṃkṣipta (brief, e.g. occurring after Pūrva-rāga), Saṃkīrṇa (mixed with contrary feelings, e.g. occurring after Māna), Sampanna (developed, e.g. occurring after return from near Pravāsa), and Samṛddhimat (complete and excessive, e.g. occurring after return from distant Pravāsa). Its various elements are sight, touch, words, barring the way, Rāsa, sport in the river, stealing of garments, stealing of the flute, kissing, embracing etc., leading up to sexual union.

The number of works cited for poetical quotations in the *Ujjvala-nīlamaṇi* is much fewer, and the number of such quotations hardly exceeds two hundred and fifty, as against nearly four hundred of the previous work.[37] As the erotic sentiment is its theme, there is more scope here for citations from general literary works and less from the Śāstras. The quotations from the Purāṇas and other Vaiṣṇava scriptures are indeed not may, but the author strictly confines himself to such general poetical works as possess a decided Vaiṣṇava leaning or concern themselves with the theme of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. Thus, works like the *Gīta-govinda* of Jayadeva or *Śrīkṛṣṇa-karṇāmṛta* of Līlāśuka Bilvamaṅgala are freely drawn upon for illustration of the different phases of the Rasa, but the largest number of quotations is supplied by the poetical and dramatic works of Rūpa Gosvāmin himself which appear thus to have been composed with the special object of illustrating the different phases of Kṛṣṇa-līlā. The works and authorities cited are:

(The references are by page, as the numbering of the verses in the printed edition does not facilitate such reference).

36 The *Rasārṇava-sudhākara* speaks of Saṃkṣipta, Saṃkīrṇa, Sampanna and Samṛddhimat Sambhoga. Jīva Gosvāmin (p. 1071) speaks of four kinds of Sambhoga occurring after Pūrva-rāga, viz., Sandarśana (sight), Saṃsparśa (touch), Saṃjalpa (conversation) and Samprayoga (intercourse).

37 Rūpa Gosvāmin himself compiled an anthology of Vaiṣṇava poems, the *Padyāvalī*, which appears to have been one of his earliest works. It contains about four hundred lyrical pieces culled from different sources.

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(1) *The Epics and the Purāṇas.* Harivaṃśa 40, 253, 432; Śrīmadbhāgavata 40, 44, 45, 46, 47, 50, 254, 264, 265, 272, 283, 285, 290, 296, 297, 307, 308, 311, 312, 336, 342, 357, 381, 384, 385, 411, 470; Padma-Purāṇa 52, 60, 460; Viṣṇupurāṇa 252, 271, 289, 361; Bṛhad-vāmana 52.

(2) *Other Religious Texts and Commentaries.* Brahma-saṃhitā 57; Kramadīpikā 349; Gopālottara-tāpanī 60; Viṣṇugupta-saṃhitā 57; Tantra 61; Ṛk-pariśiṣṭa 60.

(3) *Rhetorical Works and Authors.* Muni (Bharata) 11, 32; Rasa-sudhākara 91, 231, 232, 242, 295 (=Rasārṇava-sudhākara of Siṅgabhūpāla); Prācīna 87; Daśa-rūpaka 30; Prāñcaḥ 86; Rudra 43.

(4) *Poetical and Dramatic Works.* Saptaśati (of Hāla) 468; Gīta-govinda 113, 162, 175, 183, 243, 273, 276, 284, 287, 301, 310, 314, 496; (Śrīkṛṣṇa-) Karṇāmṛta 493; Bilvamaṅgala (author of above) 277, 285, 435, as Prāñcaḥ 24; Vopadeva and his Muktāphala 450; Jagannātha-vallabha (of Rāmānanda-Rāya) 302, 430; Govinda-vilāsa 320; Rukminī-svayaṃvara (Iśvarapurī-kṛta) 272, 274; Muktā-caritra (of Raghunātha-Dāsa) 261; Chandomañjarī (of Gaṅgādāsa, on Prosody) 252, 268. Rūpa Gosvāmin's own works: Padyāvalī 10, 101, 162, 181, 228, 241, 265, 277, 287, 300, 305, 306, 364, 392, 395, 396, 417, 453, 454, 490, 491; Vidagdha-mādhava 34, 64, 68, 69, 95, 108, 160, 182, 184, 187, 222, 235, 236, 250, 251, 254, 262, 265, 279, 282, 283, 289, 292, 296, 299, 303, 304, 305, 310, 311, 319, 322, 323, 371, 417, 420, 421, 423, 424, 426, 435, 443, 450, 489, 492; Lalita-mādhava 37, 77, 83, 182, 209, 228, 233, 234, 235, 237, 239, 240, 241, 251, 278, 284, 291, 293, 294, 299, 302, 304, 309, 318, 333, 388, 395, 451, 453, 474, 485, 487, 493; Dāna-keli-kaumudī 161, 222, 231, 234, 256, 270, 321, 358, 360, 373, 375, 410, 484, 488, 492; Uddhava-sandeśa 93, 102, 147, 161, 238, 240, 282, 296, 298, 302, 347, 439, 451, 452, 469, 492; Haṃsa-dūta 189, 286, 304, 309, 316, 324, 454, 456, 470, 484.

The erotic mysticism, which seeks to express religious longings in the language of earthly passion and which is a characteristic feature of later Vaiṣṇavism, is thus seen in its full bloom in these treatises and indeed forms the basic inspiration of some aspects of Caitanyaism. In the older works, Bhakti is an ethical and mystical passion of an intensely personal character, rather than an impersonal intellectual conviction adduced by mere knowledge. It is often typified by the love of a wife for her husband, and the term is interchangeable with Prīti, Bhāva, Rāga or Sneha as expressions of ardent love and yearning. Knowledge or belief is indeed acknowledged as a preliminary, and selfless action is not excluded but they are not identical with it. The mediæval expressions of the passion, however, dispense with Jñāna and Karma in the orthodox sense, and take their stand exclusively upon mystical

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emotional realisation (Rasa). But it also borders definitely upon sense-devotion, and leans perceptibly and dangerously towards the erotic passion. In Bengal Vaiṣṇavism it goes a step further, and seeks to realise, in its theory and practice, the actual passion of the deity, figured as a friend, son, father or master, but chiefly and essentially as a lover. The too ardent tendency of the attitude lapses into sensuousness of a refined type, but the mystical sensibility is chiefly vicarious. This fervent quasi-amorous attitude, in spite of its elusive juggling with psychological complexes, inspires not only its Śāstras and professedly devotional works, but also enlivens its mass of resplendent lyrics in Sanskrit as well as in the vernacular with a mighty and mystical sex-impulse. Whatever may be the devotional value of this attitude, the literary gain was immense. This last reach of Vaiṣṇava Bhakti, transmuted in Bengal Vaiṣṇavism into Preman or love, became an unfailing and rich source of liferary inspiration, as well as of religious emotion; for it was personal in ardour, concrete in expression and original in appeal. Along with its metaphysics and theology was also produced a psychological rhetoric of the endless diversity of the passionate condition, which reproduced, no doubt, the classical phraseology and ideas of Sanskrit rhetoric of Rasa, but whose erotico-religious application and subtilising of emotional details were novel and inspiring. These æsthetic and emotional conventions were implicity accepted in the literary productions. In spite of its psychological formalism, its rhetoric of ornament and conceits and its pedantry of metaphysical sentimentalism, there can be no doubt that the inspiration supplied by such works as those of Rūpa Gosvāmin (with their hundreds of poetical illustrations) to later Vaiṣṇava literature, especially in Bengali, must have been of a deep and far-reaching character. Even the abstruse dogmas, formulas and shibboleths have had their effect on literary conception and phrasing, but there is much in them which possess an enduring emotional and poetical value. The devotional ecstasy, the romantic idealism and the mystical erotic sensibility lifted the lyric literature they produced to a very high level of artistic and passionate expression, which has as much human as transcendental value.

S. K. De

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Catustava[1]

III

ACINTYASTAVA

I

SANSKRIT TEXT

Restored from the Tibetan Version

अचिन्त्यस्तवः

प्रतीत्योत्पन्नभावानां येनोक्ता निःस्वभावता ।
नमस्तस्मा अचिन्त्यायातुल्यायासमबुद्धये ॥ १ ॥
प्रेक्षितं धर्मनैरात्म्यं महायाने यथा त्वया ।
मतिमद्भ्यस्तथैवैतद् देशितं करुणावशात् ॥ २ ॥
प्रत्ययेभ्यः समुत्पन्नं नोत्पन्नं ते सुभाषितम् ।
नोत्पन्नं तत्स्वभावेन तस्माच्छून्यं प्रदर्शितम् ॥ ३ ॥
यथा शब्दं प्रतीत्येह समुद्भूतः प्रतिध्वनिः ।
मायामरीचिसङ्काशः समुद्भूतस्तथा भवः ॥ ४ ॥
मायामरीचिगन्धर्वनगरस्वप्नविम्बके ।
अजाते दर्शनादीनां दृष्टान्तो नैव विद्यते ॥ ५ ॥
हेतुप्रत्ययसम्भूता यथैते कृतका मताः ।
तथा प्रतीत्यजं सर्वमेवमुक्तं त्वया प्रभो ॥ ६ ॥
यत्किञ्चिदुच्यते बालैः कृतकमिति तद्भवेत् ।
उच्छेद-शून्यसङ्काशं यथार्थं न प्रदर्शितम् ॥ ७ ॥ (?)
अजाते कृतके भावे प्रत्युत्पन्नः कुतो गतः ।
अनागतोऽपि च कथं [तस्मिन्] भवेदपेक्षितः ॥ ८ ॥
* न सन्नुत्पद्यते भावो नाप्यसन्सदसन्न च ॥

Continued from Vol. VIII, p. 331.

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न स्वतो नापि परतो न द्वाभ्यां जायते कथम् ॥ ९ ॥[2]
नाजातस्य स्वभावोऽस्ति सम्भवस्तत्कुतो भवेत् ।
भावोऽसिद्धः स्वभावेन परतोऽपि न सम्भवेत् ॥ १० ॥
स्वभावे परभावः स्वभावः स्यात्परभावतः ।
तयोरापेक्षिकी सिद्धिः पारापारसमोच्यते ॥ ११ ॥
नापेक्षा कस्यचित्स्याच्चेत्कुत्र किं नु भवेत्तदा ।
नापेक्षा यदि दीर्घस्य ह्रस्वादि स्यात्तदा कुतः ॥ १२ ॥[3]
एकत्वादि यथा नास्ति अतीतानागतादि च ।
क्लेशाश्चापि तथा सम्यग्निवृत्तौ किं स्वतो भवेत् ॥ १३ ॥
भावो यदि स्वतो नास्ति सर्वं किं विद्यते तदा ।
अभावे स्वस्वभावस्य परो नाम न विद्यते ॥ १४ ॥
स्वभावो नैव भावानां परभावो यदा न हि ।
... ... किमस्त्यर्थसमर्थकम् ॥ १५ ॥
आदित एव हि समाः प्रकृत्यैव च निर्वृताः ।
अनुत्पन्ना हि तत्त्वेन तस्माद्धर्मास्त्वयोदिताः ॥ १६ ॥[4]
रूपादेर्निःस्वभावत्वं देशितं मतिमंस्त्वया ।
फेनबुद्बुदमायादिमरीचिकदलीसमम् ॥ १७ ॥
* इन्द्रियैरुपलब्धं यत्तत्तत्त्वेन भवेद्यदि ।
जातास्तत्त्वविदो बालास्तत्त्वज्ञानेन किं तदा ॥ १८ ॥[5]
इन्द्रियाणां निरीहत्वमप्रामाण्यं तथैव च ।
अव्याकृतत्वं मिथ्यात्वं त्वया विज्ञेन वर्णितम् ॥ १९ ॥
यस्मान्न ज्ञायते किञ्चिद्यथाभूतावबोधनात् ।
अज्ञानेनावृतो लोकस्तस्मादिति त्वयोच्यते ॥ २० ॥

2 *BCP.*, p. 589 ; Cf. *MV.*, p. 12 ; *Māṇḍukyakārikā* of Gauḍapāda, IV, 22.

3 Cf. *BCP.*, p. 555 ; *MV.*, p. 10, *MA.*, p. 227.

4 Cf. *MV.*, 225 ; SS., p. 7 ; *MA.*, p. 222 ; *Māṇḍukyakārikā* of Gauḍapāda, IV, 93.

5 *BCP.*, p. 375 ; Cf. *Yuktiṣaṣṭikā*, 7.

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अस्तीति शाश्वतग्राहोनास्तीत्युच्छेददर्शनम्।[6]
अन्तद्वयविहीनस्तद्धर्मोऽयं देशितस्त्वया ॥ २१ ॥
चतुष्कोटिविनिर्मुक्ता धर्मास्तत्कथितस्त्वया।
... ... विज्ञेयं विद्यते न वा ॥ २२ ॥
स्वप्नेन्द्रजालसम्भूतद्विचन्द्रादीक्षणोपमः।[7]
जगत उद्भवो भावस्त्वया जातस्तु दृश्यते ॥ २३ ॥
यथा हि हेतुतः स्वप्नउद्भवो दृश्यते तथा।
उद्भवश्च विनाशश्च सर्वभावस्य मन्यते ॥ २४ ॥
तथायुरादि दुःखं च संसारो व्यसनं तथा।
संक्लेशो निवहो मोक्षस्त्वयोक्तं स्वप्नसन्निभम् ॥ २५ ॥
तथोत्पत्तिरनुत्पत्तिर्गतिरागतिरेव च।
बन्धमोक्षावबोधेच्छा तथा सम्यङ् न गम्यते ॥ २६ ॥
* उत्पत्तिर्यस्य नैवास्ति तस्य का निर्वृतिर्भवेत्।
मायागजप्रकाशत्वादादिशान्तं तु तत्त्वतः ॥ २७ ॥[8]
उत्पन्नोऽपि ह्यनुत्पन्नो यथा मायागजो मतः।
तथा जातं भवेत्सर्वं सम्यगजातमेव वा ॥ २८ ॥
अप्रमेयैर्जगन्नाथैः सत्त्वस्याप्रमितैः पृथक्।
निर्वाणं क्रियते तस्मात् क एतैं न हि मोच्यते ॥ २९ ॥
येन सत्त्वा अनुत्पन्नाः स्वतस्तेन महामुने।
न मुक्तः केनचित्कश्चिदिति स्पष्टं त्वयोदितम् ॥ ३० ॥
मायाविना कृता भावा यथा शून्यास्तथाखिलाः।
शून्या हि कृतका भावा स्त्वयोक्ता कारकोऽपि च ॥ ३१ ॥
कारकोऽपि कृतोऽन्येन कृतकः खलु जायते।
अथवा तत्क्रिया ... ... कारके हि प्रसज्यते (?) ॥ ३२ ॥

6 Cf. *MV.*, p. 272.

7 Cf. *MV.*, 445, line 1.

8 *BCP.*, p. 528. Mc. Tib. lit. *arthataḥ* (*don du*); *BCP.*, Skt. *yatnataḥ* but the Tib. of the latter *ayatnataḥ* (*'bad. med. par*).

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नाममात्रमिदं सर्वं स्तुत्वा त्वदुक्तिरुच्यते ।
नाभिधानात्पृथग्भूतमभिधेयं प्रकल्प्यते ॥ ३३ ॥[9]
* कल्पनामात्रमित्यस्मात्सर्वे धर्माः प्रकाशिताः ।
कल्पनाप्यसती प्रोक्ता यया शून्यं विकल्प्यते ॥ ३४ ॥[10]
भावाभावावतिक्रान्तं नातिक्रान्तमपि क्वचित् ।
न ज्ञानं नापि च ज्ञेयं न सन्नासन्यदस्ति च ॥ ३५ ॥
यन्नैकं नाप्यनेकं च नानुभयं न चभयम् ।
अनाश्रयं तथाऽव्यक्तमचिन्त्यमनिदर्शनम् ॥ ३६ ॥[11]
अनिरोधमनुत्पादमनुच्छेदमशाश्वतम् ।
तदाकाशप्रतीकाशं वर्णबुद्ध्योरगोचरम् ॥ ३७ ॥
* यः प्रतीत्यसमुत्पादः शून्यता सैव ते मता ।
तथाविधश्चसद्धर्मस्तत्समश्च तथागतः ॥ ३८ ॥[12]
* तत्तत्त्वं परमार्थोऽपि तथताद्रव्यमिष्यते ।
भूतं तदविसंवादि तद्बोधाद्बुद्ध उच्यते ॥ ३९ ॥[13]
* बुद्धानां सत्त्वधातोश्च येनाऽभिन्नत्वमर्थतः ।
आत्मनश्च परेषां च समता तेन ते मता ॥ ४० ॥[14]
भावेभ्यः शून्यता नान्या न च भावोऽस्ति तां विना ।
तस्मात्प्रतीत्यजो भावः शून्यः प्रदर्शितस्त्वया ॥ ४१ ॥[15]
अस्ति हेतुप्रत्ययजं संवृतिः परतन्त्रतः ।
परतन्त्रमिति प्रोक्तं परमार्थो ह्यकृत्रिमः ॥ ४२ ॥
स्वरूपं च स्वभावश्च भूतद्रव्यत्वमस्ति च ।
नैवास्ति कल्पितो भावः परतन्त्रो न विद्यते ॥ ४३ ॥

9 Cf. *AS.*, p. 46, line 19 ; *Abhisamayālaṃkārāloka*, GOS., LXII, pp. 50, 415 ; *Bhavasaṃkrāntisūtra*, *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras, 1932, p. 252.

10 *BCP.*, p. 573.

11 Cf. *AS.*, p. 54, line 4.

12 Cf. *MA.*, p. 228, line 17.

13 *BCP.*, p. 528.

14 *Ibid.*, p. 598.

15 Cf. *AS.*, p. 24 ; *BD.*, p. 53 ; *BCP.*, p. 416, line 12.

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भावः कल्पितकोऽस्तीति समारोपस्त्वयोच्यते ।
कृतकोच्छेदतो नास्तीत्युच्छेदोऽस्ति त्वयोच्यते ॥ ४४ ॥
सम्यग्ज्ञानेन नोच्छेदः शाश्वतत्वं न चोच्यते ।
जगद्भावेन शून्यं तन्मरीचिकासमं मतम् ॥ ४५ ॥
मृगतृष्णाजलं यद्वदनुच्छेदमशाश्वतम् ।
जगत्सर्वं तथा प्रोक्तमनुच्छेदमशाश्वतम् ॥ ४६ ॥
यस्य भावोद्भवस्तस्योच्छेदादितो भवेद्भयम् ।
लोकस्यान्तो भवेत्तस्यान्ताभावोऽप्यथवा भवेत् ॥ ४७ ॥
ज्ञातुः सद्भावतो ज्ञेयं तज्ज्ञाता ज्ञेयसत्त्वतः ।
यदोभयमनुत्पन्नं ज्ञानं किं नु भवेत्तदा ॥ ४८ ॥
एवं मायादिकं व्यक्तमाख्यायोत्तमचिन्तया ।
दर्शितः परमो धर्मः सर्वग्रन्थिनिषेधकः ॥ ४९ ॥
आख्यातं निःस्वरूपत्वं तदेतत्सम्यगुत्तमम् ।
भावग्राहगृहीतानां चिकित्सितमनुत्तरम् ॥ ५० ॥
अनेन हेतुना धर्मयज्ञस्यार्चनदानयोः ।
नित्यं क्रमेण सन्तत्या त्रिलोक्यां होमकारिणाम् ॥ ५१ ॥
भावग्राहभयोच्छेदस्तीर्थ्यपशुभयङ्करः ।
नैरात्म्यसिंहनादोऽसावद्भुतो भवता कृतः ॥ ५२ ॥
गम्भीरशून्यताधर्ममहादुन्दुभिराहतः ।
निःस्वभावमहाशब्दो धर्मशङ्खश्च पूरितः ॥ ५३ ॥
बुद्धशासनपीयूषंधर्मंद्रव्यं प्रकाशितम् ।
स्वरूपमपि धर्माणां नीतार्थेनेति भाषितम् ॥ ५४ ॥
यद्धोत्पादनिरोधादि सत्त्वप्राणादि देशितम् ।
संवृतौ स तु नेयार्थस्त्वया नाथेन देशितः ॥ ५५ ॥
प्रज्ञापारमिताम्भोधिं पारं गच्छन्ति ये त्वयाम् ।
ते पुण्यगुणरत्नश्रीनाथ त्वद्गुणपारगाः ॥ ५६ ॥
एवं निरुपमाचिन्त्यजगन्नाथस्तवान् मया ।
लब्धं यत्सुकृतं तेन जगदस्तु त्वया समम् ॥ ५७ ॥

॥ महाचार्यनागार्जुनपादेन प्रणीतोऽचिन्त्यस्तवः समाप्तः ॥

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2

TIBETAN TEXT[1]

bsam. gyis. mi. khyab. par. bstod. pa. ।

[**84**^{b}, **6**] gaṅ. źig. dṅos. po. rten. 'byuṅ. rnams ।
ño. bo. med. pa. ñid. du. gsuṅs, ।
[**7**] ye śes. mñam. med. bsam. mi. khyab. ।
dpe. med. de. la. phyag. 'tshal. lo ॥ 1 ॥
ji. ltar. khyod. las. theg. chen. la ।
ñid. kyis. chos. la. bdag. med. rtogs ।
de. bźin. blo. daṅ. ldan. rnams. la ।
thugs. rje'i. dbaṅ. gis. bstan. pa. mdzod ॥ 2 ॥
kryen. rnams las. ni. 'brel. [**85**^{a}, **1**], byuṅ. ba ।
ma. skyes. legs. par. khyod. kyis. gsuṅs ।
ño. bo. ñid. kyis. de. ma. skyes ।
de. phyir. stoṅ. par. rab. tu. bstan ॥ 3 ॥
ji. ltar. 'di. na. sgra. brten. nas. ।
brag. ca. kun. tu. 'byuṅ. ba. ltar. ।
sgyu. ma. smig. rgyu. bźin. du. yaṅ ।
de. bźin. srid. pa. [**2**] kun. tu. 'byuṅ ॥ 4 ॥
sgyu. ma. daṅ. ni. smig. rgyu daṅ ।
dri. za'i. groṅ. khyer. gzugs. brñen. daṅ ।
rmi. lam. gal. te. ma. skyes. na ।
mthoṅ. ba. la. sogs. dpe. med. 'gyur ॥ 5 ॥
ji. ltar. rgyu. rkyen. las. 'byuṅ. ba ।
de. dag. byas. pa. can. du. bźed ।
de. bźin. rten.[2] las. byuṅ. ba. kun ।
mgon. [**3**] po. khyod. kyis. de. ltar. gsuṅs ॥ 6 ॥
byis. pa. gaṅ. dag. ci. brjod. pa ।
bgyis pa. źes. bya. de. mchis. te ।
chad. pa. stoṅ. pa. 'dra. ba. lags ।
don bźin. na. lags. rab. tu. bstan ॥ 7 ॥

1 Tanjur, Bstod Tshogs, ka, fol. 84 *b*, 6—87*a*, 4 of the Narthang edition in the Visvabharati Library. See Cordier, II, p. 6, no. 19.

2 X *rkyen*.

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gaṅ. tshe. byas. pa'i. dṅos. ma. skyes |
de. tshe. da. ltar. byuṅ. ba. yi |
gaṅ. źig. pas. na. 'das. [4] par. 'gyur |
ma. 'oṅs. pa. yaṅ. ji. ltar. blots || 8 ||
raṅ. las. dṅos. po. skye. ba. med |
gźan. daṅ. gñis. ka. las. ma. yin |
yod. min. med. min. yod. med. min |
de. tshe. gaṅ. las. gźan. źig. 'byuṅ || 9 ||[3]
ma. skyes. pa. la. raṅ. bźin. med |
de. phyir. gaṅ. las. [5] kun. tu. 'byuṅ |
raṅ. bźin. dṅos. po. med. grub. pas. |
gźan. las. kyaṅ. ni. 'byuṅ. ba. med || 10 ||
raṅ. ñid. yod. na. gźan. yod. 'gyur |
gźan. ñid. yod. na. raṅ. ñid. yod |
de. dag. bltos. pa. can. du. grub |
pha. rol. tshu. rol. bźin. du. gsuṅs || 11 ||
[6] gaṅ. tshe. ci. la'ṅ. mi. bltos. pa |
de. tshe. gaṅ. la. gaṅ. ig. 'byuṅ |
gaṅ. tshe. riṅ. la. mi. bltos. ba
de. tshe. thuṅ. sogs. ga. la. n. is || 12 ||
ji. ltar. gcig. sogs. ma. mchis. pa |
'das. daṅ. ma. 'oṅs. la. sogs. pa |
ñon. rmoṅs. rnams. kyaṅ. de. bźiṅ [7] te |
yaṅ. dag. log. pa'aṅ. raṅ. las. ci || 13 ||
dṅos. gaṅ. raṅ. las. ma. mchis. na |
de. tshe. thams. cad. ci. źig. mchis |
gźan. źes. brjod. pa. gaṅ. lags. te |
raṅ. gi. raṅ. bźin. med. na. min || 14 ||
gaṅ. tshe. gźan. gyi. dṅos. med. pa |
de. tshe. dṅos. rnams. [85$^{b.1}$] raṅ. bźin med |
de. gźan. dṅos. dṅos. 'dzin. pa |
don. gyi. theg pa. ci. źig. mchis || 15 ||

3 *BCP.*, Tib. T. Mdo, La. fol. 317^{b}. 6 :
dṅos. po. yod. pa. mi. skye. źiṅ |
med. pa. ma. yin. yod. med. min |
raṅ. las. min. pa. gźan. las. min |
gñig. las. min. ji. ltar. skye. źes ||
In *b* X adds *yod* after *med. pa.*

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gdod. pa. ñid. nas. mñam. gyur. pa ।
raṅ. bźin. gyis. kyaṅ. mya. ṅan. 'das ।
yaṅ. dag. par. na. ma. skyes. lags ।
de. slad. chos rnams khyod. kyis. gsuṅs ॥ 16 ॥
blo. ldan. [2] khyod. kyis. gzugs. la. sogs ।
ño. bo. ñid. med. par. bstan. pa ।
dbu. ba. chu. bur. sgyu. la. sogs ।
smig. rgyu. chu. śiṅ. 'dra. ba. lags ॥ 17 ॥
dbaṅ. po. rnams. kyis. gaṅ. dmigs. te ।
gal. te. yaṅ. dag. mchis. gyur. na ।
byis. pas. yaṅ. dag. rig. par. 'gyur ।
[3] de. tshe. yaṅ. dag. śes. pas. ci ॥ 18 ॥[4]
dbaṅ. po. rnams. ni. bems. po. daṅ ।
tshad. ma. ñid. kyaṅ. ma. yin. daṅ ।
luṅ. ma. bstan. pa. ñid. daṅ. ni ।
log. par. yoṅs. śes. khyod. kyis. gsuṅs ॥ 19 ॥
gaṅ. gi [s] ci. źig. ma. rtogs. pa ।
yaṅ. dag. ji. bźin. thugs. chud. nas ।
[4] des. na. 'jig. rten. mi. śes. pas ।
bsgribs. pa. źes. kyaṅ. khyod. kyis. gsuṅs ॥ 20 ॥
yod. ces. pa. ni. rtag. par, lta. ।
med. ces. pa. ni. ched. par. lta ।
des. na. mtha'. gñis. bral. ba. yi ।
chos. de. khyod. kyis. bstan. pa. mdzad ॥ 21 ॥
des. na. chos. rnams. ma. bźi daṅ ।
[5] bral. bar. khyod, kyis. bka'. stsal. lags ।
rnam. śes. bya. ba'am. ma. lags la ॥ 22 ॥
rmi. lam. mig. 'phrul. las. byuṅ. daṅ ।
zla. ba. gñis. la. sogs. mthoṅ. bźin ।
'gro. ba. 'byuṅ. ba. de. dṅos. su ।
ma. byuṅ. de. bźin. khyod. kyis. gzigs ॥ 23 ॥

4 Cf *BCP.*, Tib. T. Mdo. La. fol. 220 *a*, 1 :
gaṅ. źig. dbaṅ. pos. gaṅ. źig. dmigs ।
gal. te. de. ñid. yin. gyur. na ।
byis. la. de. ñid. rtogs. skye. bas ।
de. tshe. de. ñid. śes. ci. dgos ॥
Cf. also *Yuktiṣaṣṭikākārikā*, 7

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ji. ltar. rgyu. las. rmi [**6**] lam. na |
'byuṅ. ba. mthoṅ ba. de. bźin, du |
dṅos. po. thams. cad. 'byuṅ. ba. bźin |
'jig. par, de. bźin. bźed. pa lags || 24 ||
de. bźin. tshe. sogs. sdug. bsñal. daṅ |
'khor. ba. sdug, bsñal, kun. ñon. rmoṅs. |
tshogs. rjogs. pa. thar. ba. yaṅ|
[**7**] rmi lam. 'dra. bar. khyod kyis. gsuṅs || 25 ||
de. bźin. skyes daṅ. ma. skyes. daṅ |
'oṅs. pa. daṅ. ni. soṅ. ba. yaṅ |
de. bźin. bciṅs. grol. ye. śes. la |
gñis. 'dod. yaṅ. dag. rig. ma. lags || 26 ||
* gaṅ. las. skyes. pa. yod. ma lags |
de. la. mya. ṅan. 'das.gaṅ. [**86** *a*, 1] yod |
sgyu. ma'i. glaṅ. po. 'dra. bas. na |
don. du. bzod-nas. źi. ba. ñid || 27 ||[5]
skyes. pa. ñid. na'aṅ. ma. skyes. pa |
sgyu. ma'i. glaṅ. po. ji. bźin. bźed |
de. bźin. thams. cad. skyes. pa. yam |
yaṅ. dag. pa. ni. ma, skyes. lags || 28 ||
'jig. rten. mgon. [**2**] po. dpag med. kyis |
sems. can. dpag. tu. ma. mchis. pa |
so. sor. mya. ṅan. 'das. mdzad. kyaṅ |
de. dag. gis. kyaṅ. gaṅ. ma. bkrol || 29 ||
thub. chen. gaṅ phyir sems. can. rnams |
raṅ. las. ma. skyes. de. yi. phyir |
gaṅ. yaṅ. gaṅ. gis. ma. bkrol. źes |
[**3**] de skad. khyod. kyis. gsal. bar. gsuṅs || 30 ||
ji. ltar. sgyu. ma. mkhan. gyis. byas |
dṅos. po. stoṅ. ba. de. bźin. du |
byas. pa, thams. cad. dṅos stoṅ. bźin |
khyod gsuṅ. de. bźiṅ. byed. pa. po || 31 ||

5 Cf. *BCP.*, Tib, T. Mdo, La, fol. 290 *a*, 1 :
gaṅ. las. skye. ba. yod. min. ñid |
de. la. mya. ñan. 'das. gaṅ. yod |
'gro. ba. sgyu. ma. gsal. ba'i. phyir |
daṅ. po. nas. źi. 'bad. med. par ||
In *b* X adds *la* after *gaṅ*.

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byed. pa. po. yaṅ. gźan. gyis. bgyis ।
byas. pa. can. du. 'gyur. ba. lags ।
[4]yaṅ. na. de. yi. bya. ba. byed ।
byed. pa. po'r ni thal. bar. 'gyur ॥ 32 ॥
'di. dag. thams. cad. miṅ. tsam. źes ।
khyod. kyis. gsuṅ. ni. bstod. de. gsuṅs ।
brjod. pa. las. ni. gźan. gyur-pa ।
brjod. par. 'gyi. ba. yod. ma. mchis ॥ 33 ॥[6]
de. phyir. chos. rnams. thams. cad. ni ।
[5] rtog. pa. tsam. źes. khyod. kyis. gsuṅs ।
gaṅ. gis. stoṅ. bar. rnam. rtog. pa'i ।
rtog. pa. yaṅ. ni. med. ces. gsuṅs ॥ 34 ॥[7]
dṅos. daṅ. dṅos. med. gñis. 'das. pa.
la. lar. ma. 'das. pa. yaṅ. lags ।
śes. pa. med. ciṅ. śes. bya. 'aṅ. med ।
med. min. yod. min. gaṅ. [6] lags. daṅ ॥ 35 ॥
gaṅ. yaṅ. gcig. min. tu. ma'aṅ min ।
gñis. ka. ma. min[8] gñis[9] kyaṅ. med ।
gźi. med. pa. daṅ. ma. gsal. daṅ ।
bsam. mi. khyab. daṅ. dpe. med. daṅ ॥ 36 ॥
gaṅ. yaṅ. mi. skye. mi. 'gag. daṅ ।
chad. pa. med. ciṅ. rtag. med. pa ।
de. ni. nam. kha'. 'dra. ba. [7] lags ।
yi. ge. ye. śes. spyod. yul. min ॥ 37 ॥

6 *Abhisamayālaṃkārāloka*, Tib. T. Mdo, Cha, fol. 35 *a*, 4 :
'di. dag. thams, cad. miṅ. tsam. ste ।
'du. śes. tsam. la. rab. tu. gnas ।
rjod. par. byed. las. ma, gtogs. pa ।
brjod. par. bya. bar. brtag. mi. bya ॥
See note on Skt, text.

7 *БСР.*, Tib. T. Mdo, La, fol. 310.*b*, 6 :
de. phyir. gnas, pa. tsam. ñid. du ।
chos. rnams. thams. cad. bstan. pa. yin ।
gaṅ. gi. stoṅ. ñid. rnam. pa. brtags ।
rtog. pa'aṅ. med par, brjod. pa'i. źes ॥

8 X *yiṅ*. 9 X *gcig*.

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* de. ni. rten. ciṅ. 'brel. bar. 'byuṅ |
de. ni. stoṅ. bar. khyod. bźed. lags |
dam. pa'i. chos. kyaṅ. de. lta. bu |
de. bźin. gśegs. pa'aṅ. de daṅ. mtshuṅs || 38 ||[10]
* de. ni. de. ñid. don. daṅ ni |
de. bźin. ñid. daṅ. rdzas. su. bźed |
de. [86^{b}, 1] ni. yaṅ. dag. mi. bslu. ba
de. rtogs. pas. na. saṅs. rgyas. brjod || 39 ||[11]
* saṅs. rgyas. rnams. daṅ. chos dbyiṅs. daṅ |
du. na. don. du. tha. med. do |
bdag. ñid. daṅ. ni. gz'an. rnams. daṅ |
des. na. mñam. par. khyod. bz'ed. lags || 40 ||[12]
dṅos. po. rnams. las. stoṅ. gz'an. miṅ |
de. med. par. yaṅ. [2] dṅos. po. med |
de. phyir. rten. ciṅ. 'byuṅ. ba'i-dṅos |
stoṅ. ba. lags. par. khyod. kyis. bstan || 41 ||
rgyu. daṅ. rkyen. las. byuṅ. ba'aṅ. lags |
gz'an. gyis. dbaṅ. las. kun. rjob. ste |
gz'an. gyi. dbaṅ. źes. rab. tu. gsuṅs |
dam. pa'i. don. ni. bces. ma. yin || 42 ||
ño. ba. ñid. daṅ, raṅ. [3] bźin. daṅ |
yaṅ. dag. rdzas. dṅos. yod. pa'aṅ. lags |

10 Cf. *BCP.*, Tib, T. Mdo. La. fol. 290 *a*, 2 :
gaṅ. źig. rten. ciṅ. 'brel. bar. 'byuṅ |
de. ni. khyod. ni. stoṅ. ñid. bźed |
de. bźin. du. ni. dam. chos. te |
de. daṅ. mtshuṅs. pa. de. bźin. gśegs ||

11 Cf. *Ibid.*, *a*, 3 :
de. ni. de. ñid. kho. na. med. |
de. bz'in. ñid. kyi. rdzas. su. bz'ed |
yaṅ. dag. de. ni. mi. bslu. ba |
de. rtogs. pa. ni. saṅs. rgyas. brtod ||

12 Cf. *BCP.*, Tib. T. Mdo. La. fol. 319 *b*, 1 :
saṅs. rgyas. rnams. daṅ. sems. can. khams |
don. gyis. de. daṅ. tha. dad. med |
bdag. ñid. kyaṅ. ni. gz'an. rnams. kyaṅ |
de. daṅ. mñam. par. khyod. bz'ed. lags ||

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brtags. pa'i. dṅos. po. med. pa. ñid ।
gźan. gyi. dbaṅ. ni. yod. ma. lags ॥ 43 ॥
btags. pa'i. dṅos. po. yod. ces. pa ।
sgro. 'dogs. lags. par. khyod. kyis gsuṅs ।
byas. pa. chad. nas. med. ces. pa ।
chad. [4] pa. lags. par. khyod. kyis. gsuṅs ॥ 44 ॥
yaṅ. dag. śes. chad. pa. med ।
rtag. pa. ñid. kyaṅ. med. par. bśad ।
'gro. ba. dṅos. pos. stoṅ. pa. las ।
de. slad. smig. rgyu. 'dra. bar. bźed ॥ 45 ॥
ji. ltar. ri. dwags. skom. chu. ni ।
chad. med. rtag. pa. yod. ma. yin ।
de. dźin. [5] 'gro. ba. thams. cad. kyaṅ ।
chad. med. rtag. pa. med. par. gsuṅs ॥ 46 ॥
gaṅ. la. rdzas. dag. skye. 'gyur. ba.
de. la. chad. sogs. 'jigs. pa. 'byuṅ ।
de. la. 'jig. rten. mtha.' yod. daṅ ।
mtha'. med. par. yaṅ. 'gyur. ba. lags ॥ 47 ॥
śes. pa. yod. pas. śes. bya. [6] bźin ।
śes. bya. yod. pas. de. śes. bźin ।
gaṅ. tshe. gñis. ka. ma. skyes. par ।
rtogs. pa. de. tshe. ci. źig. yod ॥ 48 ॥
de. ltar. sgyu. ma. la. sogs. dag ।
snam. pa'i. mchog. gis. gsal. bstan. nas. ।
lva. ba. thams. cad. 'gog. byed. pa'i ।
dam. pa'i. chos. ni. bstan. pa. [7] lags ॥ 49 ॥
ño. ba. med. pa. ñid. bstan. pa ।
de. ni. yaṅ. dag. dam. pa. lags ।
dṅos. po'i. gnon. gyis. zin. rnams. kyi ।
gso. ba. de. ni. bla. na. med ॥ 50 ॥
des. na. chos. kyi. mchod. sbyin. pa ।
mchod. sbyin. rim. pas. rtag. rgyun. tu ।
'jig rten. gsum. po. sbyin sreg. [87ᵃ, 7] mdzad ।
dṅos. 'dzin. 'jigs. pa. gcod. bgyid. cīṅ ॥ 51 ॥
mu. stegs. ri. dwags. 'jigs. bgyid. pa ।
bdag. med. ṡeṅ. ge'i. ṅa. ro'i. sgra ।
rmad. byuṅ. de. ni. khyod. kyis. gsuṅs ॥ 52 ॥
stoṅ. pa. ñid. daṅ. ches. zab. pa'i
chos. kyi. rṅa. chen. brduṅ. ba. lags ।

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[2] ño. bo. ñid. med. sgra. bo. che'i ।
chos. kyi. duṅ. ni. bus. pa. lags ॥ 53 ॥
saṅs. rgyas. bstan. pa. bdud. rtsi. yis ।
chos. kyi. rdzes. ni. gsuṅs. pa. lags ।
chos. rnams. kyi. ni. ño. bo. ñid ।
ñes. pa'i. don. te. źes. kyaṅ. bstan ॥ 54 ॥
gaṅ. daṅ. skye. daṅ. 'gag. la. sogs ।
sems. [3] can. srog. la, sogs. bstan. pa ।
de. ni. bkri. don. kun. rdjob. tu ।
mgon. po. khyod. kyis. bstan. pa. lags ॥ 55 ॥
śes. rab. pha. rol. phyin. mtsho. yi. ।
pha. rol. gaṅ. gis. raṅ. phyin. te ।
bsod. nams. yon. tan. rin. chen. phyag ।
mgon. khyod. yon. tan. pha. rol. phyin ॥ 56 ॥
[4] de. ltar. dpe. med. bsam. mi. khyab ।
'gro. ba'i. mgon. po. bstod. pa. yis ।
bdag. gis. bsod. nams. gaṅ. thob. des ।
'gro. ba. khyod. daṅ. mtshuṅs. par. śog ॥ 57 ॥

bsam. gyis. mi. khyab. par. bstod. pa slob. dpon. chen.
po. klu. sgrub. kyi. źal. sña nas.
mdzad. pa. rjogs. so ॥

IV

STUTYATĪTASTAVA

I

SANSKRIT TEXT

Restored from the Tibetan Version

स्तुत्यतीतस्तवः

अनुत्तरमार्गगतं स्तुत्यतीतं तथागतम् ।
भक्त्योत्सुकेन चित्तेन स्तुत्यतीतं स्तवीम्यहम् ॥ १ ॥
स्वपरोभयतो भावान् विविक्तानपि पश्यतः ।
अद्भुतं तव सत्त्वेभ्यः करुणा न निवर्तते ॥ २ ॥

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अनुत्पन्नाः स्वभावेन वाक्पथातीतगोचराः ।
यत्त्वया देशिता धर्मास्तदेतदद्भुतं तव ॥ ३ ॥
स्कन्धायतनधातूनामुद्देशेऽपि कृते त्वया ।
तेषां परिग्रहः पश्चात्त्वयेह विनिवर्तितः ॥ ४ ॥
नास्ति तत्प्रत्ययाद्यत्स्याद् भावाः स्युः प्रत्ययात्कथम् ।
प्रपञ्चोच्छेद एवं ते प्राज्ञस्य वचनाद्भवेत् ॥ ५ ॥
उत्पादं ये तु पश्यन्ति सामग्र्याद्धेतुतोऽथवा ।
अन्तद्वयाश्रितास्ते हि त्वया समवलोकिताः ॥ ६ ॥
भावः प्रत्ययमाश्रित्य सिध्यतीत्यभिमन्यसे ।
एवं कृतकतादोषः शास्तरित्थं त्वमीक्षसे ॥ ७ ॥
कुतश्चिन्नैव भवति न कुत्रापि च विद्यते ।
सर्वे भावास्त्वया तस्मात्प्रतिविम्बसमा मताः ॥ ८ ॥
सर्वदृष्टिप्रहाणाय शून्यं नाथ त्वयोच्यते ।
एतदपि समारोप्य भावो नाथ न ते मतः ॥ ९ ॥
न शून्यं नापि चाशून्यं न चोभयं मतं तव ।
विवादस्तत्र न प्राप्त उक्तस्त्वया महानयः ॥ १० ॥
भावो न विद्यतेऽनन्यो नान्योऽन्तभय उच्यते ।
विहायैकत्वमन्यत्वं न कीदृगपि विद्यते ॥ ११ ॥
उत्पादादित्रये प्राप्ते प्राप्तं संस्कृतलक्षणम् ।
तेषामपि पुनर्भिन्नमुत्पादादित्रयं भवेत् ॥ १२ ॥[1]
उत्पादाद्यास्त्रयो व्यस्ता नालं संस्कृतकर्मणि ।
एकैकस्मिन् समस्तानामपि योगो न गम्यते ॥ १३ ॥[2]
लक्ष्यलक्षणयोरेवं सद्भावो नैव सिध्यति ।
असिद्धे संस्कृते सिध्येत् कासंस्कृतस्य दर्शनम् ॥ १४ ॥
वादिसिंह तवैवैवं वादसिंहेन [सर्वतः] ।
वादिविन्ध्यमहानागगर्वापनयनं कृतम् ॥ १५ ॥

1 See *MK.*, with *MV.*, VII, 1.
2 *Ibid.*, VII, 2.

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नैति मार्गागतो दृष्टिकुमार्गं विविधाशिवम् ।
त्वामाश्रित्य तथा भावोऽभावश्चापि निराश्रयः ॥ १६ ॥
ये तथैवावगच्छन्ति सन्धावाक्यानि ते ततः ।
ज्ञानं न खलु तैः सन्धावाक्येभ्यो बहिरिष्यते ॥ १७ ॥
निर्वाणसदृशा भावा इति येनावगम्यते ।
आत्मग्राहस्तदा तस्य कथं नु खलु सम्भवेत् ॥ १८ ॥
एवं सम्यग्विदां श्रेष्ठ तत्त्वविच्छ्रावकस्य मे ।
यत्पुण्यं तेन लोकोऽयं भूयात्तत्त्वविदुत्तमः ॥ १९ ॥

॥ महाचार्यार्यनागार्जुनपादेन प्रणीतः

स्तुत्यतीतस्तवः समाप्तः ॥

2

TIBETAN TEXT[1]

bstod. pa. las. 'das. par. bstod. pa ।

bla. med. lam. la,[2] gśegs. pa. yi ।
de. [87ᵃ, 6] bźin. gśegs. pa. bstod. 'das. kyaṅ ।
gus. śiṅ. spro. ba'i. sems. kyis. ni ।
bdag. gis. bstod. 'das. bstod. par. bgyi ॥ 1 ॥
bdag. daṅ. gźan. daṅ. gñis. ka. las ।
rnam. par. dben. pa'i. dṅos. gzigs. kyaṅ ।
khyod. kyi. thugs. rje. sems. can. las ।
[1] ma. log. pa. ni. ño. mtshar. lags ॥ 2 ॥
ño. bo. ñid. kyis. ma. skyes. śiṅ ।
tshig. las. das. pa'i. spyod. yul. gyi ।
chos. rnams. khyod. kyis. gaṅ. bstan. pa ।
de. ni. khyod. kyi. ño. mtshar. lags. ॥ 3 ॥

1 Tanjur, Bstod, Tshogs, Ka, fol. 87a, 5 – 88a, 3 of the Narthang edition in the Visvabharati Library. See Cordier, II, p. 6, no. 10.

2 X las.

3 X las,

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phuṅ. po, khams. daṅ. skye. mched. rnams ।
khyod. kyis. bsgrags [87^{b}, 1] par. mdzad. lags. kyaṅ ।
de. dag. yoṅs. su. 'dzin. pa. ni ।
slad. kyis. kyaṅ. nī. bzlog. par. mdzad ॥ 4 ॥
gaṅ. źig. rkyen. las. de. ma. mchis ।
dṅos. rnams. rkyen. las. zi. ltar. skye ।
de. skad. mkhas. pa. khyod. gsuṅs. pas ।
spros. pa. rnams. ni. bcad. pa. lags. ॥ 5 ॥
gañ. dag. tshogs. [2] las. rab, graṅ. na ।
tshogs. pa. rgyu. las. 'byuṅu. mthoṅ. ba ।
de. dag. mtha. gñis. brten. par. ni ।
khyod. kyis. śin. tu. gzigs. pa. lags ॥ 6 ॥
dṅos. po. rkyen. la. brten. grub. par ।
khyod. ni. śin. tu. bźed. pa. lags ।
de. ltar. byas. pa'i. skyon. lags. par ।
'di. ltar. [3] ston. pa. khyod. kyis gzigs ॥ 7 ॥
gaṅ. nas. kyaṅ. ni. mchi. ma. lags ।
gaṅ. du. yaṅ. ni. mchis. ma. lags ।
dṅos. po. thams. cad. gzugs. brñan. daṅ ।
mtshuṅs. par. khyod. ni. bz'ed, pa. lags ॥ 8 ॥
lta. ba. thams. cad. spaṅ. ba'i. phyir ।
mgon. po. kyod. kyis. stoṅ. pa, [4] gsuṅs ।
de yaṅ. yoṅs. su. btags. pa. ste ।
dṅos. su. mgon. po. khyod. mi. bźed ॥ 9 ॥
stoṅ daṅ. mi. stoṅ. bźed. ma. lags ।
gñis. kar. khyod. bgyis. ma. lags. te ।
de. la. brtsod. pa. ma. mchis. par ।
khyod. kyis. gsuṅ. chen. spyod. pa. lags ॥ 10 ॥
gźan. min. dṅos [5] po. yod. min. źiṅ ।
gźan. min. gñis. min. źes. kyaṅ gsuṅs ।
gcig. daṅ gźan. ñid. spaṅs. pas. na ।
ji. lta. bur. yaṅ. yod. ma. mchis ॥ 11 ॥
gal. te. skye. sogs. gsum. mchis. na ।
'dus. byas. mtshan. ñid. mchis. par. 'gyur ।
de. dag. gi. ya.ṅ skye. la. [6] sogs ।
gsum. pa. tha. dad. 'gyur. ba. lags ॥ 12 ॥

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skye. sogs. gsum. po. so. so. ni ।
'dus, byas. las. la. nus. ma. lags ।
gcig. la. gcig. tu. 'dus. pa. rnams ।
phraṅ. par. yaṅ. ni. mchis. ma. lags ॥ 13 ॥
de. ltar. mtshan. gźi. mtshan. ma. mchis ।
'di. [7] ltar, grub. pa. ma. lags. pas ।
'dus. byas. grub. pa. ma. lags. na ।
'dus. ma. byas. lta. ga. la. grub ॥ 14 ।
smra. ba'i. seṅ. ge. de. skad. du ।
khyod. ñid. gsuṅs. ni.[5] seṅ. ge. yis ।
'bigs. byed. glaṅ. chen. smra. rnams kyi ।
rgyags. pa. bsal. bar. gyur. bźin ॥ 15 ॥
[88ᵃ, 1] lam. źugs, gnod. pa. sna. tshogs. daṅ ।
lta. ba'i. lam. ṅan. mi. bsten. ltar ।
khyod. la. brten. nas. yod. pa. daṅ ।
med. pa. ñid. la'aṅ. brten. ma. lags ॥ 16 ॥
khyod. kyis. dgoṅs. nas. gsuṅs. pa. dag[6] ।
gaṅ. dag. gis. ni. de. ltar. [2] rtogs ।
de. dag. khyod. kyis. dgoṅs. gsuṅs. pa ।
phyir. źiṅ. rtogs. par. bgyi. mi. 'tshal ॥ 17 ॥
dṅos. kun. myaṅ. aṅ, 'das. mtshuṅs. par ।
de. ltar. ga. gis. rnam. śes. pa ।
de. tshe. da. la. ji. lta. bur ।
ñar. 'dzin. kun. tu. 'byuṅ. bar. 'gyur ॥ 18 ॥
de. ltar. [3] yaṅ. dag. rig. pa'i. mchog ।
de. ñid. rig. pa. khyod. bstod. pa'i ।
bdag. gi. bsod. nams. gaṅ. yin. des ।
'jig. rten. yaṅ. dag. rig. mchog. źog ॥ 19 ॥

bstod. pa. las. 'das. par. bstod. pa. slob. dpon chen.
po. 'phags. pa. klu. sgrub. kyi. źal. sña ।
nas. mdzad. pa. rjogs. so ॥

PRABHUBHAI PATEL

5 X., *na.* 6 X., *daṅ.*

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The Brahmajāla Sutta
(*in the light of Nāgārjuna's expositions*)

At and before the time of the appearance of Buddhism, there was in Northern India quite a large number of religious teachers who offered according to their lights the solutions of the ultimate problems relating to the soul, the world and the *summum bonum* of man's life, basing them not so much on reasoning as on intuition or inner experiences acquired through meditation. The use of logic was not much in evidence, and if there was any, it was due to the endeavour of the disciples to establish on a firm basis the theories already propounded by their respective teachers. Along with the various expositions of the highest Truth, the pre-Buddhistic religious and philosophical literatures contain a large body of cosmological and metaphysical speculations together with analyses of the elements composing living beings of this world as also of the various spheres of existences as conceived in the Buddhist Cosmology. The analyses also have as their basis the intuition or meditational experiences, or the traditional beliefs handed down from the hoary past. Though ostensibly Buddhism wanted to offer a rational solution of the ultimate problems, it did not quite succeed to keep itself free from the intuitional and traditional exposition of the metaphysical themes. It inherited a mass of beliefs relating, for instance, to the origin and form of the universe (*tridhātu*), classification of the worlds and beings (*viññāṇaṭṭhitis*) and so forth. The gradual evolution of the world (vide *Aggañña suttanta*), the existence of heavenly beings (see *Mahāsamayasuttanta*), the six mystical realisations (*abhiññā*), the *mahāpuruṣa-lakṣaṇas*, the eight causes of earthquake, the seven treasures (vide e.g. *Mahāparinibbānasuttanta*), the causes leading to the origin of castes are a few among the various beliefs that were inherited by the early Buddhists, if the *Dīgha Nikāya* be regarded as embodying really their doctrines and beliefs. The Buddhist texts, on the other hand, rendered a service to the cause of Indian philosophy by laying bare the irrationality of many of the religious and philosophical views current in Northern India before and

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after the rise of Buddhism. It has been shown in some of the texts that the views were nothing but inner experiences of persons who had made some progress on the path of spiritual advancement but were far beneath the stage at which the highest truth is realised. In the Pāli texts these views have been summarily dismissed away as untenable without going into a detailed logical examination of them.

Usefulness of the Brahmajāla Sutta

A notion has been made widely current by some of the modern scholars that the ostensible object of the *Brahmajālasutta* was to give a bird's-eye view of the non-Buddhistic opinions. This notion is wholly wrong, for the *Brahmajālasutta* has no presumption of that kind. The doctrines of the six *titthiyas*, the *Akiriyavādins*, not to speak of the *Upaniṣadic* thoughts, are beyond the purview of the *Sutta*. Its main object is to draw up a list of the possible theories about the world and the soul that might haunt the minds of the monks who, by meditating according to the Buddhist path of meditation, acquired certain powers but did not reach the highest state. The so-called sixty-two views are really a systematic exposition of the experiences of a Buddhist monk and have very little to do with the then existing non-Buddhistic opinions.[1] In this paper, attempt has been made here and there to suggest a few possible agreements between some of the sixty-two views and the well known philosophical tenets embodied in the *Upaniṣads* and other Brāhmaṇic philosophical works, but that does not go to establish that the *Brahmajālasutta* was composed with any reference to them, the cases of agreement being only accidental. The *Sutta*, however, has served two important purposes, viz., disabusing our minds of many deep-rooted current notions about the world, the soul and their ultimate condition, and cautioning us against interpreting the doctrine of Buddha in the light of our preconceived notions. By way of illustration, I may point out that the notion of *Ātman* as a permanent, immaculate entity existing within our body unaffected by *karma* (actions) is likely to distort the true import of the *Attā*

1 See in this connection the remarks of Dr. E. J. Thomas in his *Life of Buddha*, p. 19.

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or *Puggala* of the Buddhist texts, and in the same way the notion of Nihilism (*Ucchedavāda=Natthatta*) may influence the interpretation of *Anattā* or *Suññatā* doctrine of the Buddhists.[2] The best purpose that has been served by the *Sutta* is that it shows us the way to distinguish Buddha's doctrines from those that were not his. In the fifth century B.C. or a little later, it was almost impossible for any Teacher to give out any fresh line of thought without the chance of its being confused with one or other of the current opinions, and this confusion could best be avoided by pointing out the pitfalls, in which the later interpreters are likely to fall. This has been done in this *Sutta* to a certain extent. Then again, Buddha, like the other great Teachers, had at times recourse to enigmatical language, baffling the attempts of many an erudite commentator to find out the exact sense. The Buddhist texts abound in such enigmatic expressions. This *Sutta*, in marking out *what Buddhism is not*, serves, therefore, as an excellent guide for the comprehension of the sense of such expressions. Inspite of this *Sutta*, the terse sayings did give rise to so many Buddhist schools of thought within a century or two after Buddha's death, not to speak of the divergent explanations offered by the present day scholars of Buddha's conception of Soul and Nibbāna. Though the *Sutta* contains many statements of doubtful value an exposition of it as a whole may serve to remove many of our misconceptions.

The Avyākatas explained in the Brahmajāla Sutta

The main purpose of the *Brahmajāla Sutta* is to give an exposition of some of the problems said to have been left unanswered[3] (*avyākata*)

2 A typical instance is given in the *Majjhima Nikāya* (I, pp. 136-137): A Sassatavādin hears Buddha's teaching about the attainment of Nibbāna by the destruction of passion, desire, wrong views etc. and concludes therefrom that Buddha is an *Ucchedavādin*.

Childers writes in his article on *Nibbāna* (*Pali Dictionary* p. 267): "There is probably no doctrine more distinctive of Sākyamuni's original teaching than that of the *annihilation of being*"; (p. 274): Burnouf "is decidedly in favour of the opinion that the goal of Buddhism is *annihilation*."

3 The usual English synonym chosen for avyākata is 'indetermined.' It is equated to *avyākṛta*, which, literally, means 'not -explained' or 'not-determined.' Avyākṛta is a Buddhist-Sanskrit form derived from the word *Avyākata*. The

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by the Teacher, the reason assigned for doing so being either that they relate to topics or notions which have nothing to do with the highest Truth, or that they divert our attention from the real goal of our life. These problems are mentioned almost in the identical language throughout the Piṭaka[4] thus:

1. *Sassato loko* (the world is eternal);
2. *Asassato loko* (the world is not eternal);
3. *Antavā loko* (the world is finite);
4. *Anantavā loko* (the world is not finite);
5. *Taṃ jīvam taṃ sarīram* (the soul is identical with the body);
6. *Aññaṃ jīvam aññaṃ sarīram* (the soul is different from the body);
7. *Hoti Tathāgato param maraṇā* (Tathagata exists after death);
8. *Na hoti Tathāgato param maraṇā* (Tathāgata does not exist after death);
9. *Hoti ca na ca hoti Tathāgato param maraṇā* (Tathāgata both exists and not exists after death);
10. *N'eva hoti na na hoti Tathāgato param maraṇā* (Tathāgata does neither exist nor not exist after death).

Pāli word avyākata may well be taken as corresponding in sense to Sanskrit *avyakta*, meaning 'inexpressible' or 'unanswerable' because the question does not arise, and all answers are inadmissible. It, however, does not bear the philosophical sense of *avyākata* which is commonly in use in Vedānta and Sāṅkhya, but it is quite plausible to hold that Buddha meant by *avyākata*, inexplainable in worldly language, i.e., the nature of Nibbāna is as unfit for answer as is the question of the existence of the sky-flower. See Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, I, p. 228.

It is this *avyākata* attitude of Buddha to most of the ultimate problems has led present day scholars to dub Buddha as agnostic. Prof. Keith goes further and remarks (in his *Buddhist Philosophy*, p. 45) that Buddha's "agnosticism in these matters is not based on any reasoned conviction of the limits of knoweldge; it rests on the two-fold ground that the Buddha has not himself a clear conclusion of the truth on these issues, etc."

4 See, e.g., Aggi-Vacchagotta-sutta in the *Majjhima*, 1, pp. 157, 426, 483-489, Avyākata-saṃyutta in *Saṃyutta*, IV, pp. 376 ff., also III, pp. 214 ff.; Poṭṭhapāda-sutta in *Dīgha*, I, p. 191; see also *Mādhyamika Vṛtti*, p. 446 (mentioning 14 problems), 536; and ch. XXII; *Mahāvyutpatti*, 206.

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Of the problems mentioned in the list, the six have been exhaustively dealt with in the *Brahmajāla Sutta*. Though the treatment is not quite philosophical, it gives us a clear idea of what the early Buddhists had in their minds as to the implication of these problems. The heads of subjects as arranged in the *Brahmajāla Sutta* are as follows:—

1. Four kinds of Sassatavādā;
2. Four kinds of Ekaccasassatavādā;
3. Four kinds of Antānantikā;
4. Four kinds of Amarāvikkhepikā;
5. Two kinds of Adhiccasamuppannikā;
6. Sixteen kinds of Saññivādā;
7. Eight kinds of Asaññivādā;
8. Eight kinds of N'evasaññināsaññivādā;
9. Seven kinds of Ucchedavādā; and
10. Five kinds of Diṭṭhadhammanibbānavādā.

The correspondences between the two lists are as follows:

Indeterminable problems	*Problems in the Brahmajāla Sutta*
1. Sassato loko	1. Sassatavādā 2. Ekaccasassatavādā
2. Asassato loko	9. Ucchedavādā

[These two are sometimes put as: Sassato loko; Asassato loko; Sassatāsassato loko; N'eva sassato nāsassato loko]

3. Antavā loko 4. Anantavā loko	3. Antānantikā

[These two are written as: Antavā loko; Anantavā loko, Anatavānantavā loko; N'eva antavā nānantava loko]

5. Taṃ jīvaṃ taṃ sarīraṃ 6. Aññaṃ jīvaṃ aññaṃ sarīraṃ	6. Saññivādā 7. Asaññivādā 8. N'evasaññināsaññivādā

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7. Hoti Tathāgato parammaraṇā 8. Na hoti Tathāgato parammaraṇā 9. Hoti ca na hoti Tathāgato parammaraṇā 10. N'eva hoti na na hoti Tathāgato parammaraṇā	Nil
Nil	4. Amarāvikkhepikā 5. Adhiccasamuppannikā 10. Diṭṭhadhammanibbānavādā

The above comparative table reveals the fact that the problems, which are generally treated in the Pāli text as indeterminable and their exposition as not conducive to the spiritual welfare of persons, have been explained in as much detail as possible in the *Brahmajāla Sutta*, and therefore the charge of agnosticism usually laid against the founder of the religion by the present day writers is unwarranted. The explanations, however, have been given more or less in the light of the inner experiences of the Buddhist monks as stated above and are without any reference to the existing non-Buddhistic opinions, or any attempt to refute or reconcile them.

Nāgārjuna, in his *Madhyamaka-kārikās*, has shown as logically as possible what the indeterminable problems signify and how they are untenable. From the arguments put forward by him, it seems that he is true to the letter and spirit of the discourse as given in the Pāli texts, and that he penetrates right into the very innermost core of the problems and brings out what the Teacher had in his mind.

All of these views have been described in the Buddhist texts, whether Hīnayānic or Mahāyānic, as wrong (*micchādiṭṭhi*) and are attributed to people's natural inclination of adhering to the heresy of individuality (*sakkāyadiṭṭhi*), consisting in regarding the body or any particular element of it as soul.[5]

Speaking about the object of the introduction of this indeterminable problems into the Buddhist texts, Buddhaghosa[6] almost echoed

5 See *Saṃyutta*, IV, p. 286; also E. J. Thomas, *Life of Buddha*, p. 202. *M.Vr.*, pp. 340, 361: Satkāyadṛṣṭyupaśamāt sarvadṛṣṭyupaśamati; *Saṃyutta*, IV, p. 287: imā diṭṭhiyo sakkāyadiṭṭhiyā sati honti. See also *Paṭis.*, I, pp. 149-150.

6 *Sum. Vil.*, I, p. 102: Tasmā sabbaññuta-ñāṇassa mahantabhāvadassanatthaṃ desanāya ca suññatā-pakāsana-bhāvatthaṃ. . . . .

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what the Mahāyāna teachers had said, namely, that they were necessary for the exposition of *Suññatā*, by which Buddhaghosa, of course, meant only *Puggalaśuññatā* whereas the Mahāyānists meant both *Pudgalaśūnyatā* and *Dharmaśūnyatā*.

In this paper we shall follow the arrangement of the problems as given in the *Brahmajāla Sutta* adding, where available, the arguments of Nāgārjuna and Candrakīrti as detailed in the *Mādhyamikavṛtti*.

Sassatavāda

I. Four kinds of *Sassatavāda* (Eternalists), i.e. those who hold that the soul and the world exist eternally.[7]

The reason assigned by the *Brahmajāla Sutta* as the basis of this view is that some people on account of their spiritual advancement develop the power (*abhiññā*) of remembering their former births (*pubbenivāsānussati*) up to a certain number. They may be divided into three classes in accordance with the number of births that can be remembered by them. The fourth class refers to those persons who arrive at the conclusion that the world and the soul are eternal by means of logic and reasoning only. In short, the memories of the past and future exisfences, according to the Sutta, make a person a Sassatavādin, for he thinks that the world has been rolling on from eternity and will be rolling on for ever and that he will be born again and again.[8] Times out of number Buddha was confronted with the question whether he was a Sassatavādin or not, and every time he had to say that he was neither a Sassatavādin nor an Asassatavādin because the question of Sassata or Asassata does not arise in reference to the highest truth.[9] It should, however, be remembered that *Sassata* in the Pāli Nikāyas does not bear the metaphysical sense in which it is used in the Upaniṣads while speaking of the great Ātman. The Sassatavādins,

7 Cf. *Saṃyutta*, IV, p. 40: atthatta.

8 *Dīgha*, III, p. 109-110: Atītaṃ kho aham addhānaṃ jānāmi, saṃvaṭṭi pi loko, anāgataṃ ca kho aham addhānaṃ jānāmi saṃvaṭṭissati vā ti.

9 The Truth or Nibbāna, according to Buddha, is uncaused and unconditioned (*ahetu-appaccaya*) and hence is non-relative, absolute, and is only realisable within one's ownself (*paccattaṃ veditabbo viññūhi*). It cannot be described by any of the empirical terms, and hence the question of eternality or non-eternality does not arise.

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according to the Nikāyas,[10] are those who take *attā* or self as one of the five khandhas or something apart from them, and hold that it continues for ever and without any change. It is stated in the *Majjhima Nikāya*[11] that the self (*attā*), according to the Sassatavādins, is the speaker, feeler, and enjoyer of the fruits of good and evil actions (*kamma*), is permanent (*nicca*), fixed (*dhuva*), eternal (*sassata*), unchangeable (*aviparināmadhamma*), and is steadfast like the so-called eternal objects, viz., the Sun, Moon, Ocean, Earth and mountain. The Buddhists, because of their *kṣaṇikavāda* and the denial of a permanent entity, are not prepared to admit that the identical being feels the consequences of his action, which, as the *Nidāna-Saṃyutta* asserts, would make them Sassatavādins.

Sassatavāda compared to the Sāṃkhya system

The only Brāhmaṇic school of philosophy to which the Sassatavāda bears resemblance is, I think, the Sāṅkhya.[13] According to this school, there are two distinct eternals, the Puruṣa and the Prakṛti, the former corresponding to Attā and the latter to Loka, with this difference that, according to the Sassatavādins, the soul is an active agent while the Puruṣa (=eternal attā) of the Sāṅkhya is an inactive onlooker, the active agent being Ahaṅkāra, the principle of individuation, which, however, issues out of the Prakṛti or matter in its primeval form. The eternal Loka of the Sassatavādins is the evolved world with its variety.

Four kinds of Ekaccasassatavāda

II. *Ekaccasassatavāda* (Partial Eternalists), i.e., those who hold that one of the three classes of the higher gods exists eternally while the rest do not do so; or those who contend that the body or the organs of sense are impermanent while the mind or consciousness (*citta=mano=viññāṇa=attā*) is permanent.

10 *Majjhima*, I, pp. 135 ff., 300=III, pp. 17, 188, 227; *Saṃyutta*, III, pp. 98, 182, IV, p. 400.

11 *Majjhima*, I, p. 8; *Papañcasūdanī*, I, p. 71.

12 *Saṃyutta*, II, p. 20: So karoti so paṭisaṃvediyatīti kho Kassapa ādito sato sayaṃkataṃ dukkhan ti iti vadaṃ sassatam etaṃ pareti.

13 Cf. *M.Vr.*, p. 344, see *infra*. See also Franke, *Dīgha* (transl.), p. 23.

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The three classes of the higher gods referred to above are (A) Ābhassarā, (B) Khiḍḍā-padosikā, and (C) Mana-padosikā.[14]

(A) Ābhassarā. According to the cosmogonic speculations of the Buddhists, as also of some of the Upaniṣadic teachers,[15] there were in the beginning no beings and the first to appear were the Ābhassarā gods, capable of taking shape at will,[16] feeding only on joy (*pīti*), self-luminous (*sayampabhā*), moving about in the sky and getting all that they desired.[17] After existing for aeons, there appeared a palace of Brahmā (*Brahmā-vimāna*). One of the Ābhassarā gods came to be reborn in the Brahmavimāna or the Brahma-world at the exhaustion of his merits or the span of his life.[18] But he felt very lonely and wished for companions. Like him other Ābhassarā gods also made their appearances in the Brahma-world.[19] The first Ābhassarā god, however, regarded himself as Brahmā or Mahābrahmā thinking that as it was by means of his reflection that other beings appeared in the Brahma-world, he must be their creator. The other beings were also under the impression that the first Ābhassarā god, Mahā-brahmā, having been in existence before them, must have been their lord and originator (*issaro kattā nimmātā*).[20]

14 *Dīgha*, I, pp. 17 ff.; III, pp. 28 ff. Cf. *Majjh.* I, pp. 326 ff.

15 *Sum. Vil.*, I, p. 110: pakatiyā nibbatta-sattānaṃ natthitāya *suññaṃ*. *Taitt. Up.* (II. 7): asad vā idam agra āsit. Tato vai sad ajāyata. See *Bṛhad. Up.* I, 1-2. Cf. the Egg-legend in *Chā. Up.* 19, 1-3. See also ṚV, X, 129. To this conception, it seems the *Chā. Up.* (VI, 2, 1) refers in the following words: Taddhaika āhur asad evedam agra āsīd ekam evādvitīyam. Tasmād *asataḥ saj jāyata* iti.

16 *Sum.*: jhānamattena nibbattattā *manomayā*.

17 *Dīgha*, III, pp. 84-5.

18 *Dīgha*, I, p. 17, āyukkhayā va puññakkhayā. Cf. *Gītā*, ix, 21:

Te taṃ bhuktvā svargalokaṃ viśālaṃ/
kṣīṇe puṇye martyalokaṃ viśanti//

19 Brahmakāyikā bhūmi, see *Sum. Vil.*, I, p. 110.

20 Mahābrahmā is described in the Pali texts as: abhibhū anabhibhūto aññadatthu-daso vasavattī issaro kattā nimmātā seṭṭho sañjitā vasī pitā bhūta-bhavyānaṃ (the supreme, the unsurpased, the all-seeing, the mighty, the lord, the creator, the maker, the chief differentiator, the oldest and the father of all present and future beings).

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The text says further that in course of time, some of these beings happened to be reborn in the mortal world and through meditation and such other practices could visualize their former existences up to their birth in the Brahma world and gave out the view that Mahābrahmā, who had been existing when they were first born, is the creator of all beings and is eternal (*sassata*), whereas the beings who were born after Mahābrahmā were created by him and hence impermanent (*asassata*).

This doctrine naturally reminds us of the Upaniṣadic speculations about the creation of the world by Brahmā, the Primeval Being, who by reflection produced fire, which in its turn produced water, which again produced earth (food or matter). Through these three elements the Primeval Being produced the whole universe. According to the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* the created things and beings are mere appearances hence evanescent, while the real, i.e. the eternal things are the Primeval Being and the three above-mentioned elements.[21]

(B) Khiḍḍāpadosikā[22] This class of partial eternalists holds that the Nimmānarati, Paranimmita-vasavattī and such other gods,[23] who are not given to excessive pleasure and enjoyment (*khiḍḍā*), exist eternally. The reason assigned for such belief is similar to the previous one, viz., that some of these gods were reborn in the mortal world, where through meditation and other practices they remembered their former births up to the Khiḍḍāpadosika-deva stage and not further. This led them to hold the belief mentioned above.

(C) Manopadosikā.[24] This class of partial eternalists believe that the Cātummahārājikā gods,[25] who do not bear ill-will towards one another, exist eternally, while those, who are not so, fall from that state and are impermanent. The reason assigned is similar to the previous one with this difference that in this case they remembered up to their existence as Cātummahārājikā gods.

(D) The Takkī Ekaccasassatikas: These, constituting the fourth class, were the logicians who arrive at the conclu-

21 See Ranade, *Constructive Survey of Upaniṣadic Philosophy*, pp. 85-87.
22 *Dīgha*, I, p. 19; III, p. 31.
23 *Sum. Vil.*, I, p. 114.
24 *Dīgha*, I, p. 21; III, pp. 32-3.
25 *Sum. Vil.*, I, p. 114.

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sion that the soul (=*citta*=*mano*=*viññāṇa*) is permanent, unchangeable, steadfast, and so forth, while the body is not so. This naturally reminds us of the *Maitrī Upaniṣad* (II. 3-4) where the soul is described as pure (*śuddha*), tranquil (*śānta*), eternal (*śāśvata*), great by itself (*sve mahimni*), and making the body living (*anenedaṃ śarīraṃ cetanavat pratiṣṭhāpitaṃ*). A similar conception is found in the *Kauṣitakī* and other *Upaniṣads*.[26]

Six of the eight forms of the so-called *Sassatavādas* and *Ekaccasassatavādas*, if critically examined, will be found to be based on one of the six *abhiññās* (higher powers) attained by the Arhats, viz., the *Pubbenivāsañāṇa* (knowledge of former births). It is regarded as one of the various but not essential attainments of an Arhat. This power may be obtained by a person by practising concentration of mind but without fully developing insight into the truth, which is an essential condition of Arhathood. These meditators, who have not yet attained the Arhat stage, but have acquired the power of recalling some of their former births, think that they have known what is to be known and give an interpretation of the truth, i.e. of the ultimate beginning and end of existence, according to their own experiences.

The remaining two classes of speculators, i.e. the fourth and the eighth, the former holding the soul and the world to be eternal, and the latter holding the soul to be eternal but not the body, have been passed over in the *Brahmajāla Sutta* with the remark that these views are sometimes reached by the logicians who depend purely on reasoning and not on meditation.

Nāgārjuna assails the Sassatavādin

As no attempt has been made in the *Brahmajāla Sutta* to refute the above-mentioned views, it will be worth while to turn to Nāgārjuna's *Madhyamakārikās*, in the last chapter of which he takes up for refutation the various doctrines, two of which are the *Śāśvata-* and *Aśāśvata-vādas*.

Refuting Śāśvatavāda, Nāgārjuna says[27] that if a person of the past

26 See Oldenberg, *Die Lehre der Upaniṣads*, p. 295; Ranade, *Constructive Survey of Upaniṣadic Philosophy*, p. 134.

27 *M. Vr.*, pp. 574-5.

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could be shown to be the same as that of the present, then only Śāśvatavāda could stand, but this is not possible as it would give rise to the contingency of permanency (*nityatva*) of a being as also to the possibility of a being, having a particular form of existence, to assume different bodies (lit. different forms of existence).[28] A permanent being should not be said to transmigrate nor a human being who was formerly an animal but became a human being through good *karma* should say that he was an animal, for, Śāśvatavāda should insist that a man must remain a man, an animal an animal, and that is absurd.[29]

One may however question, "Well, how could Śākyamuni say, 'At that time I was the Cakravartī king Māndhatā', if Śākyamuni was not the same as Māndhatā." The object of such a statement, says Nāgārjuna, is (i) to negative the notion of complete separteness (*anyatvapratiṣedhakam*) and (ii) to establish the non-identity (*naikatva-pratipādakam*) of the two existences of a transmigrating being. Admitting that Śākyamuni was not totally different from Māndhatā, what harm is there in holding that he was identical with Māndhatā. Nāgārjuna's reply is that, besides the objection of *nityatva* (permanency), it would land us in the absurd position that upādāna is responsible for the distinction between the two existences and not ātmā. The absurdity is shown thus: Let us assume that ātmā and upādāna are indistinguishable, and that ātmā of the previous existence is the same as the one in the present, from this it would follow that upādāna (having *pañcaskandhalakṣaṇa*) of the previous ex-

28 Ibid., *Ekagatisthasyāpi nānāgatisaṃgṛhitatvaprasaṅgāt.* That is, it would lead to the absurdity of an animal, for instance, (if it is *nitya*) to become a man or a god without passing through death.

29 To comprehend the arguments of Nāgārjuna, it should be remembered that Nāgārjuna uses the undermentioned synonyms of the Real and the Unreal in an absolute sense:

The Real: Nitya = Śāśvata = Svabhāva = Ātmā, meaning that which is permanent, remains eternally the same without origin and destruction and never undergoes the slightest change, something like the so-called eternal Himālaya mountains, the Sun, the Moon.

The Unreal: Anitya = Aśāśvata = Niḥsvabhāva = Anātmā, meaning that which is impermanent and undergoes change is really non-existing like the two moons seen by a person with diseased eyes.

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istence is the same as that of the present. But this is absurd as no change in upādāna in two existences is admissible. Then again, if ātmā and upādāna be distinguished as the agent and its object, then also it is not proper to say that upādāna (object) has changed but not its agent (ātmā, i.e., holder, *upādātṛ*).[30]

Nāgārjuna then points out that ātmā is inseparable from ụpādānas, because it cannot exist apart from the upādānas. If it is upādāna which comes into existence and undergoes change on account of ignorance, karma, etc., and not ātmā, then one has to say that the existence of ātmā is without any cause (*ahetukatvaprasaṅgāt*) and that is impossible according to Nāgārjuna. Hence ātmā and upādāna are not separable.

Nāgārjuna then attacks the position of the Aśāśvatavādins.[31] He says that if 'men' and the 'men reborn as gods' be regarded as different, like the Neem and Mango trees, then only the Aśāśvatavādins can maintain that the soul of the man has been destroyed and a different soul has come into existence; but to maintain such a distinction in characteristics as between the Neem and Mango trees goes against the theory of the characteristic continuity (*saṃtānānuvṛtti*) of beings which is admitted to exist between 'men' and 'the men reborn as gods' and so the position of the Aśāśvatavādins becomes untenable.

Nāgārjuna, explaining the position of the Śāśvatāśāśvatavādins (Pāli. *Ekaccasassatikas*=Partial Eternalists), says that according to this class of thinkers, a man when reborn as a god should partially give up his human attributes and take the divine in their place; so by the destruction of one part of his being he is *Aśāśvata*, and by the retention of the other, he is *Śāśvata*. To hold that one part of a being is divine and the other human is not proper; hence the position of the Śāśvatāśāśvatavādins is untenable.[32]

30 For details see *infra*, pp. 737 f.

31 Though it should have been dealt with along with the doctrines of Ucchedavāda (see *infra*, pp. 729 f.) we cannot help treating it here in order to realise the force of Nāgārjuna's arguments.

32 Nāgārjuna, it seems, is evading the issue here. The contention of the Śāśvatāśāśvatavādins is that the soul is divine and immortal while the body is not so. Nāgārjuna here is not distinguishing the soul from the body. He is refut-

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After refuting the three positions mentioned above it becomes easy for Nāgārjuna to disprove the contention of the Naivaśāśvatanāśāśvatavādins. He says that one may use the expression *na śāśvata* or *na āśāśvata* only when he has shown that there was something śāśvata which later on became aśāśvata. But it has been already shown that the śāśvata and aśāśvata nature of beings cannot be established; hence there can be no such being as Naivaśāśvatanāśāśvata.[33]

He now rounds up this refutation by examining whether there is, in fact, any *padārtha* (thing) going about in this beginningless world, the existence of which (thing) we have supposed on the basis of the continuous succession of birth and death without any beginning. If it could be proved that the *saṃskāras*,[34] or, the self is leaving one *gati* (lit. state of exstence) to go to another, from this again, it is going elsewhere, then the *saṃsāra* (stream of existence) could be proved to be without a beginning. But this is not possible, because a thing which is permanent (*nitya*) or impermanent (*anitya*) cannot be said to be coming and going. That being so, is it right to say that the stream of existence (*saṃsāra*) is beginningless only because of the great length and non-perception of the beginning of the chain of births and death (*janmaparamparāyā atidīrghatvenādyanupalambhāt*)? Then again, when no entity can be shown as transmigrating (*saṃsartur abhāvāt*), how can the stream of existence (*saṃsāra*) be said to have a beginning or not? So it is quite wrong to hold that there is something (*kaścit padārthaḥ*) which has been going about in this beginningless world and which can be perceived. There is, in fact, nothing eternal (*śāśvata*) and so it is meaningless to think of anything as non-eternal (*āśāśvata*), or both, or neither of the two.[35]

Antānantikā

III. Four kinds of *Antānantikā* (limitists and unlimitists). The Antānantikā are those who hold that

ing those only who hold that the soul is one of the constituents of the body, or is at least not distinguishable from the body. This, however, is never accepted by the Brāhmaṇic Śāśvatavādins.

33 *M. Vṛ.*, p. 585. 34 *M. Vṛ.*, p. 586; cf. *Ibid.*, p. 529.

35 For Nāgārjuna's position see *M. Vṛ.*, pp. 537, 591.

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(a) the world is limited in extent and circular in shape;

(b) the world is unlimited in extent and is without any end;

(c) the world is limited upwards and downwards but unlimited breadthwise;

(d) the world is neither limited nor unlimited (in any direction whatsoever.)[36]

The reasons assigned for these conclusions are as follows: Some meditators who take the finite and circular world as their object of meditation and do not extend it to all the world-systems (*Cakkavāḷas*),[37] arrive at the first conclusion. Those who take all the Cakkavāḷas as their object of meditation, arrive at the second,[38] while those who take the Cakkavāḷas limited upwards and downwards but unlimited breadthwise as their object of meditation, arrive at the third.[39]

These three classes of speculators are, in fact, not concerned about the ultimate end of the world. They speak about the finiteness and infiniteness of the shape of the world or the universe. In popular Buddhism, the universe is believed to be composed of an infinite number of world-systems, of which one thousand or one million or one thousand millions form a chiliocosm. The first three conclusions are, according to the *Sutta*, nothing but the three kinds of experiences obtained gradually through meditation. The author of the *Sutta* wants to show that those who have one of these experiences but have not yet obtained the highest conception of *Suññatā*,[40] give out one's own individual experience as the true conception of the universe.

36 In the usual enumeration of *diṭṭhis*, only the first and second are mentioned. See e.g. *Paṭis.*, I, p. 153.

37 A Cakravāḷa has a Sun and a Moon as also a multitude of stars moving around Mahāmeru.

38 See also *Paṭis.*, I, p. 152-3.

39 As an approach to this view we may point to the theory of the origin of the world in the *Aitareyopaniṣad*, where the heaven and the earth are conceived as "encompassed on the upper and nether sides by regions of water." Ranade, *op. cit.*, p. 95. In the Buddhist cosmology a chiliocosm consisting of 1,000 or more worlds is encompassed by a gigantic wall. See McGovern, *Manual of Buddhist Philosophy*, p. 48; Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 89.

40 Cf. *Sum. Vil.*, p. 123: Imasmim pi Brahmajāle heṭṭhā diṭṭhivasena desanā uṭṭhitā, upari suññatāpakāsanam āgatam.

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As regards those who reach the fourth conclusion, the text says that they are logicians who depend on pure arguments. The Buddhist logicians are evidently responsible for the fourth theory. Their characteristic method of exposition of all metaphysical topics is by the fourfold process (*catuskoṭika*).[41] It is, as a rule, not applied to empirical things. By this fourfold process it is contended that the world is non-existent as the Śūnyatāvādins hold, or is only a creation of the mind as the Vijñānavādins assert, and hence the question of the attributes of *anta* and *ananta* with reference to the world does not arise.

Nāgārjuna's Comment

The exposition of the four Antānantādi views given above relates to cosmogony and appears to be a little laboured due, perhaps, to the expositor's desire to bring them into line with the previously mentioned *Sassatādi* views and to attribute three of the four views to ecstatic experiences. The exposition of these views elsewhere is of quite a different nature and sounds reasonable. Nāgārjuna has taken up these problems in his *Madhyamaka-kārikā* and has shown how these are untenable. He first states their four positions thus:

(a) Those, who cannot foresee the future appearance of the self or the world (*ātmano lokasya vā*), regard the world as limited (*antavān*);

(b) Those, who can foresee the future appearance of the self or the world, regard the world as unlimited (*na antavān*);

(c) Those, who can foresee the future appearance of the self or the world partially and not fully, regard the world as both limited and unlimited;

(d) Those, who cannot foresee the future appearance of the self or the world either partially or fully, regard the world as neither limited nor unlimited.

Refuting the above four propositions, Nāgārjuna says:

(a) The existence of *paraloka* (after-life or after-world) is admitted by the Buddhists, hence those who admit it should not say that the self or the world has an end because in that case there could not be an after-life or after-world.

41 Viz., *hoti; na hoti; hoti ca na hoti ca; n'eva hoti na na hoti.*

42 *M. Vṛ.*, pp. 536, 573, 587-591.

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(b) Similarly if the existence of *paraloka* is admitted, one should not say that the self or the world has no end (*ananta*) because in that case also there cannot be a *paraloka*.

(c) The third view that the world is both limited and unlimited is not tenable for the following reasons:

(i) As for instance, in the case of a *man* reborn as *god*, if it be held that the skandhas of the man had been destroyed at his death (i.e. *antavān*), then it cannot be said that they have given rise to a god. They would be like the extinguished lamp with oil but lacking a wick. As it is admitted that a being reappears after death, it should not be said that the self or the world is limited.

(ii) Applying similar reason, it can be shown that the self or the world cannot be said to be unlimited. In the case when a man is reborn as god, if it be said that the skandhas of the *man* had not been destroyed at his death, they could not have given rise to a *god*. The self or the world would be endless and indestructible (*ananto'vināśi*) on account of not giving up its own form. It is only when the previous skandhas cease to exist, then as a result of the same, another set of skandhas come into existence. hence it is not proper to say that the self or the world is unlimited (*ananta*) as the previous skandhas do not exist any further.

In Buddhism, the transmigration of a being is nothing but the continuous flow of skandhas (*skandhasaṃtāna*), the skandhas, however, having destruction every moment followed by a fresh existence like the flame of a lamp. In other words, the previous set of skandhas is destroyed every moment but at the same time it becomes a cause for the appearance of the next. It happens uninterruptedly and so it is said to be continuous, though it is not strictly so. The flame of a lamp appears to be continuous and even identical, but, in fact, it is not so because the drop of oil which once fed the flame is exhausted and another drop of oil takes its place to feed the flame, which therefore cannot be the previous one. On account of this apparent uninterruptedness, it is believed to be continuous and even identical. Hence to a Buddhist philosopher, the self or the world cannot be both limited and unlimited, it is ever flowing like a stream undergoing change every moment (until it reaches Nibbāna).

Nāgārjuna then takes up for refutation the third view of both

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limitedness and unlimitedness. He says that the adherents of this view may say that one part of the man (i.e. body) is destroyed, hence *antavān;* while the other part (i.e. soul) remains undestroyed, hence *anantavān.* Nāgārjuna in reply says that it is absurd to hold that one part of a being is destroyed and the other is not. He, however, as a Buddhist philosopher, is not prepared to admit the existence of soul and body as two separate things. He says that, according to his opponents then, one part of a being should have decay while the other part a different form of existence. that is, a man, if reborn as god, should be partly human and partly divine, but this is not possible, hence the opponents cannot uphold the view of the self or the world being both limited and unlimited.

He then proceeds to show that this partial identity and partial change cannot be attributed either to the soul (*upādātā*) or to the elements of the body (*upādāna*) because it has been established elsewhere[43] that the soul has no existence of its own apart from the skandhas, hence to speak of a non-existent thing as partially same and partially different is absurd on the face of it.

(d) When the third position is not tenable, i.e. when it cannot be said that the self or the world is both limited and unlimited, Nāgārjuna says that no argument need be adduced to refute the fourth view that the self or the world is neither limited nor unlimited.

Amarāvikkhepika

IV. Four kinds of *Amarāvikkhepikas* (evasive disputants).

There are some thinkers who do not want to draw a line of demarcation between good and evil actions, so when they are confronted with enquires about good and evil, they do not give a categorical answer for they believe that they may be wrong in their answer and be opposed by others and that will produce in their mind either conceit and pride, or ill-will and hatred,[44] both of which would be a hindrance to their spiritual progress. If the opinion of an Amarāvikkhepika be contradicted, he will bear ill-will or hatred and this fact establishes that

43 See *infra*, pp. 739f.; but see fn. 32.

44 See *Sum. Vil.*, I, p. 116. Chando=dubbalarāgo; rāgo=balava-rāgo; doso =dubbala kodho; paṭigho=balava-kodho.

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he was wrong and guilty of speaking a falsehood, and hence created a hindrance to his spiritual progress. Should he, however, obstinately adhere to his own view and not accept the view as corrected by his opponents, he would have upādāna (cause for rebirth) and that will also be a hindrance to his further spiritual progress.

The third and fourth classes of Amarāvikkhepikas are those who are afraid of facing a well-trained logician with any positive opinion about good and evil, lest they be vanquished in the dispute and thus be led to bear an ill-will towards their opponents. This ill-will would cause hindrance to their spiritual progress.[45]

These disputants have thus their own good reason for the line of action followed by them in view of the fact that good (*kuśala*) and evil (*akuśala*) are relative terms, and no hard and fast line can be drawn between them. To a Mahāyānist or a Vedāntist there is ultimately nothing as good or evil, and hence no positive statement can be made about them, the best course therefore would be either to remain silent or evade a positive answer, and the latter course has been preferred by the Amarāvikkhepikas. Whatever may have been the justification for the disputants becoming Amarāvikkhepikas, they were, in the eyes of the Buddhists, men of weak intellect and deluded, and supposed to have been generally incapable of being thorough brahmacārins. Hence they were not regarded as capable of attaining the highest truth.[46]

Sañjaya, one of the six heretical teachers, has been classed as an Amarāvikkhepika. The advocates of Navya Nyāya love to indulge in evasions of issues. It is not improbable that these Amarāvikkhepikas were the fore-runners of the Naiyāyikas who very often indulged in slippery arguments (*vitaṇḍā*).

Adhiccasamuppannika

V. Two classes of *Adhiccasamuppannikas* (Fortuitous Originists). There are some thinkers who hold that the soul and the world originate accidently without any cause (*adhiccasamupannika*).[47]

45 See B. M. Barua, *Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy*, p. 329.

46 *Majjhima*, I, p. 521.

47 In the *Saṃyutta*, II, p. 20 it is said that Kassapa once asked Buddha

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(a) The texts speak thus of one class of such thinkers: There are some meditators who take up *Vāyo-kasina*[48] for meditation and then reaching the fourth *Jhāna* discover that mind is the source of all troubles, and so they induce a state in which mind does not function. Should they die while thus meditating, they are reborn as 'Asaññasattā' gods. Some of these again fall from that state by developing *saññā* and are reborn in the mortal world where some of them practise meditation and develop the power of remembering former births. Their memory does not go beyond the Saññuppāda stage, i.e., the time of their fall from their position as 'Asaññā-sattā' gods, and so they declare that the soul and the world originate fortuitously.

(b) The second class of Adhiccasamuppanikas comprises those who arrive at the above-mentioned conclusion through reasoning. As a parallel to this doctrine, we may refer to the *Lokāyatikas* or *Bārhaspatyas* who hold that the happiness and misery of persons were brought about by the laws of nature, and that there is no other cause. It was by an accidental combination of elements that the living beings such as a peacock of variegated colours or a human being is born. The conceptions of heaven and hell, merit and demerit, and so forth, according to them, are creations of designing minds. The doctrine of Makkhali Gosāla is similar to what has been stated above. According to him, there is no preceding cause or condition for the affliction or purification of a person and hence there is no need for exertion. All beings are powerless and are led by Destiny (*niyati*) alone. Every being has to pass through a fixed number of existences in the different spheres before he can ultimately put an end to his misery. It is a mistake to think, he says, that one can change the course of his life by the observance of precepts or performance of rituals or asceticism.[49]

whether misery is uncaused and not due to one's own and others' actions (*asayaṃkāram aparaṃkāram adhiccasamuppannaṃ dukkhan ti*). See also *Dīgha*, III, p. 130.

48 See *Vis. M.*, and *Man. of Bu.*, 10.

49 *Dīgha*, I, pp. 53—54; *Saṃyutta*, III, p. 211.

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Uddhamāghātanika[50]

VI. Sixteen kinds of *Uddhamāghātanika-saññivādins* (those who believe in the existence of a *conscious* soul after death):[51]

(a) Soul is material (*rūpī*)[52] and remains healthy and conscious after death (*arogo paraṃ maraṇā saññī*). This view, says Buddhaghosa, is due to the meditator developing the notion that the soul is identical with the object of his meditation. He further says that such beliefs are held by the Ājīvikas. From the information collected by Dr. Barua, it is apparent that the Ājīvikas conceived of soul as an entity absolutely pure in its nature, but there is nothing to show that the soul, according to the Ājīvikas, is material unless we trace some such idea in Makkhali Gosāla's theory of re-animation (*Pariṇāmavāda*) which

50 In the *Dīgha Nikāya* (I, p. 30) the five classes of thinkers including the Antānantikās dealt with before are called Pubbantakappikas (i.e. those who speculate about the beginning of the universe). In the *Mādhyamika-vṛtti* (pp. 536, 572), however, the Śāśvatavādins are only called Pūrvāntikas, while the Antānantikās are called Aparāntikas (i.e. those who speculate about the future of the universe) (See also *Majjhima*, II, pp. 228 ff.; *Paṭis.*, I, p. 155). Buddhaghosa remarks in a general way that some of those who have developed the power of remembering former births (*pubbenivāsānussati*) become Pubbantakappikas, while some who have developed higher vision (*dibbacakkhu*) become Aparāntakappikas (*Sumaṅgala Vilāsinī*, I, p. 119).

The Aparāntakappikas, according to the *Dīgha Nikāya*, number forty-four from the Uddhamāghātanikas to the Diṭṭha-dhamma-nibbānavādins.

51 *Dīgha*, I, p. 31; *Majjhima*, II, p. 229.

52 Rūpī attā. 'Rūpa' is usually translated as 'form,' both on the basis of the connotation of 'rūpa' in nāmarūpa, I think it should be translated by the word 'matter.' In the Buddhist cosmological speculations, 'rūpadhātu' means not 'the world of forms,' but the 'material world.' Likewise 'Arūpadhātu' means not the 'world of the formless' but the 'non-material world.'

In the *M. Vṛ.*, it is clearly stated that 'nāma' is a collective *name* of the four *arūpinaḥ skandhā* (i.e. immaterial skandhas) while *rūpa* is that which takes form and offers obstruction (*rūpyata iti rūpaṃ bādhyata ityarthaḥ*). The Tib. rendering of *rūpyate is gshig tu. ruṅ. bus*=because it is susceptible of examination and that of *bādhyate is gnod. par. bya. bar. nuṅ*=it is susceptible of being struck. (See *M. Vṛ.*, p. 544 fn.) Cf. Another conception of soul similar to this in the Mahānidāna Sutta (*Dīgha*, II, p. 64): *Rūpī me paritto attā ti* and *Rūpī me ananto attā ti*.

It may be observed that if *Rūpī* means 'form,' it cannot be *ananta* (infinite), hence *rūpī* should mean 'material.'

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made the vital difference between the doctrines of Makhali Gosāla and Mahāvīra.

(b) Soul is non-material (*arūpī*) but remains healthy and conscious after death. Buddhaghosa thinks that this view is due to the meditator reaching the Arūpasamāpatti stage and confusing the *nimitta* (object of meditation) of Arūpasamāpatti with *attā* (soul). He attributes to Mahāvīra a doctrine similar to this. Buddhaghosa seems to be correct in his suggestion, for the Jainas also describe their soul (*Jīva*) as non-material (*arūpa*) and formless (*amūrta*).[53]

The next six views are more or less stereotyped combinations of *rūpī* and *arūpī*, *anta* and *ananta*. The soul after death is

(c) both *rūpī* and *arūpī*
(d) neither *rūpī* nor *arūpī*
(e) finite (*anta*)
(f) infinite (*ananta*)
(g) both *antavān* and *anantavān*
(h) neither *antavān* nor *anantavān*

The soul after death is conscious of
(i) only one object (*ekatta*)[54]
(j) many objects (*nānatta*)[55]

53 See *Pre. Buddhistic Indian Philosophy*, p. 309. See also Guerinot, *La Religoin Djaina* (Paris, 1826), Ch. VI: *L'âme le djîva*, est le principe de la vie, la force vitale. Elle possède une série de qualités: elle est immatérielle, *amourta*, sans forme, *aroupa*....."

The only point to which I want to draw attention is that the word '*aroupa*' (arūpa) should have been rendered into French by the word 'immaterielle' and 'amourta' (*amūrta*) by 'sans forme.' Mr. Jaini also in his *Outlines of Jainism* (Cambridge, 1916), p. 83, translates *amūrta* by the word 'immaterial.' In the *Dravyasaṃgraha* (edited by Sarat Chandra Ghosal, 1917, The Sacred Books of the Jainas Series), pp. 4, 5, 22, *amūrta* is translated by the word 'formless.'

Mons. Guerinot, however, does not mention the source from which he traced the word 'arūpa.' From the *Dravya-saṃgraha* (p. 22) it is apparent that soul, according to the Jainas, in its pure state, is invisible and it takes matter (pudgala) when it is attacked by passions.

54 Similar to the Brahmakāyikā and Subhakiṇṇā gods—2nd and 4th Viññāṇaṭṭhitis (*Dīgha*, II, p. 69).

55 Similar to Abhassarā gods—3rd Viññāṇaṭṭhiti (*Dīgha*, II, p. 69).

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(k) limited space or object (*paritta*)

(l) unlimited space or object (*appamāṇa*).

All the four views are attributed by Buddhaghosa to the various experiences brought about by ecstatic meditation. He says that the first (i) view is held by those who have attained the fourth samāpatti,[56] while the second (j) by those who have not attained any one of the samāpattis. The third (k) and fourth (l) are found according as the meditator has for its object of meditation an object or space or viññāṇa limited (*paritta*) or unlimited (*appamāṇa*).[57]

The soul after death has

(m) unmixed happiness (*ekanta-sukhī*), e.g., when a being is in the third or fourth *jhānabhūmi;*

(n) unmixed misery (*ekanta-dukkhī*), e.g., when a being is in hell;

(o) mixture of happiness and misery, e.g., when a human being is in the mortal world;

(p) neither happiness nor misery, e.g., when a being is in the Vehapphala heaven.

Buddhaghosa attributes these four views to those who form their conception of soul on the basis of the four different kinds of future existences as indicated above.

Uddhamāghātanika-asaññivāda

VII. Eight kinds of *Uddhamāghātanika-asaññivādins* (upholders of the existence of *unconscious* soul after death).

Among those who are of opinion that the soul remains *unconscious* but healthy after death, the following eight conceptions of the soul were current:

The soul is

(a) material (*rūpī*)

(b) non-material (*arūpī*)

56 Cf. *Majjhima*, I, p. 13: Sabbaso rūpasaññānaṃ samatikkamo, paṭighasaññānam atthaṅgamo, *nānattasaññānam* amanasikāro ananto ākāso ti ākāsānañcāyatanam upasampajja viharati ayaṃ catuttho vimokkho.

57 Cf. *Majjhima*, I, p. 229: Etaṃ va pan' ekesam upativattatam viññāṇakasinam eke abhivadanti appamānam aneñjam; for further elucidation see *Majjhima*, II, p. 13.

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(c-h) Both *rūpī* and *arūpī* and so forth as stated in connection with the conscious soul (c-h).[58]

Uddhamāghātanika-n'eva-saññināsaññivāda

VIII. Eight kinds of *Uddhamāghātanika-n'evasaññināsaññivādins* (supporters of the view that the soul after death is *neither conscious nor unconscious*).

Among those who adhere to the view that the soul after death remains healthy, but neither conscious nor unconscious, the following eight opinions exist:

The soul is (a) material (*rūpī*), (b-h) non-material (*arūpī*) and so forth, as shown under the previous head 'unconscious soul after death.'

The opinions placed under the headings 'Adhiccasamuppanikas' and 'Uddhamāghātanikas', are formed, says Buddhaghosa, according to the object (*kasina*) of meditation selected by a meditator. He says that the meditators sometimes become so much engrossed with the object of their meditation that they lose their power of judgment. They are carried away by their ecstatic experiences and give out their individual feelings as the Truth. In the exposition of the thirty-four views given above, he points out, as far as possible, how far a *kasina* is responsible for a particular view.[59] There were some views, however, based on the Buddhist notion of heavens and hells, e.g. *attā hoti ekantasukhī, ekantadukkhī, sukha-dukkhī*, and so forth.

Ucchedavāda

IX. Seven kinds of *Ucchedavāda* (*Natthattavādins*[60] = Annihilationists). The following are the seven different conceptions of soul held by the Annihilationists in a gradual ascending order but the soul, in any case, becomes extinct after death.

58 See above, p. 727.

59 An instance is given in the *Majjhima Nikāya* (I, p. 21) as to how a meditator is sometimes bewildered by the object of his meditation. See *Papañcasudani*, p. 121-2 commenting on the passage 'Eke samanabrāhmaṇā rattim eva samānaṃ divā ti sañjānāti, etc.'

60 *Saṃyutta*, IV, p. 401.

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(a) The soul has form (*rūpavā*) and is made of the four elements, and is like the body born of father and mother. In short, its composition is similar to that of the human being.

(b) The soul is heavenly[61] and has form. It remains in the Kāmāvacāra sphere and is nourished by material food.

(c) The soul is heavenly, has form and is of the same substance as mind (*manomayo*). It possesses all the parts of the physical body, major and minor, as also organs of sense (*indriyas*).[62]

(d) The soul is of the same substance as beings of the *ākāsānañcāyatana*[63] i.e. like these beings, it has neither *rūpasaññā* (perception of material objects) nor *paṭighasaññā* (perception of obstructing objects) and is indifferent to the distinctions made between one thing and another identifying itself with infinite space (*anantākāsa*).

(e) The soul is of the same nature as beings of the *Viññāṇanañcāyatana*.[64] Like these beings it can remain beyond the sphere of the Ākāsānañcāyatanupaga gods and identifies itself with 'infinite consciousness' (*anantaṃ viññāṇaṃ*).

(f) The soul is like the beings of the Ākiñcaññāyatana.[65] Like these beings, it can stay outside the sphere of the Viññāṇānañcāyatanupaga gods.

(g) The soul is similar to the beings of the Nevasaññānāsaññāyatana,[66] and hence superior to the Ākiñcaññāyatan-upaga gods. This state of the soul is considered the best (*paṇīta*) and the most tranquil (*santa*). It also becomes extinct after death.

The seven conceptions of the soul are apparently based on the Buddhistic classification of beings as shown below, namely, the Kāmāvacaras subdivided into two classes, the Rūpāvacaras and the

61 *Sum. Vil.*, I, p. 120: Dibbo ti devaloke sambhūto, 'by heavenly we mean that it is produced in one of the spheres of Kāmāvacara gods.

62 *Sum. Vil.*, I, p. 120: It is similar to the Rūpāvacara gods.

63 i.e. similar to the 4th class of Arūpāvacara gods.

64 i.e. similar to the 3rd class of Arūpāvacara gods.

65 i.e. similar to the 2nd class of Arūpāvacara gods.

66 i.e. similar to the 1st class of Arūpāvacara gods.

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Arūpāvacaras into four classes.[67] The underlying idea of these conceptions is that the soul is made of elements that constitute one or other of the above-mentioned categories of beings. In short, these theories amount almost to the identification of the soul with the body (*taṃ jīvaṃ taṃ sarīraṃ*), a theory not accepted by any of the Buddhist philosophers.[68]

If we critically examine the views under the head 'Ucchedavāda', we find nothing but the Buddhist conception of the seven classes of beings (*viññāṇaṭṭhitis*). First, the soul has been identified with the body, and then it has been shown that as the body of beings may be of seven different varieties, so also is the soul. The compiler of the *Sutta* may have also conceived of the soul as something separate from the body but of the same nature as the body, and this soul, he wants to identify with the brāhmaṇic conception of pure soul, viz., Bhūtātman or Liṅgapuruṣa or the Antarābhava, a subtle body that, according to the opinion of the Sarvāstivādins and the Sāṃmitīyas, remain in existence during the interval between death and rebirth.[69]

Diṭṭhadhammanibbānavāda

X. Five classes of *Diṭṭha-dhammanibbānavādins* (theorisers about the attainment of Nibbāna in this life)

67 The subdivisions of the Kāmāvacara beings, I think, are as follows:—

(a) Beings of Niraya, Tiracchānayoni, Petaloka, Asurabhavana and Manusaloka.

(b) The gods of Cātummahārājikadevaloka, Tāvatiṃsabhavana, Nimmānaratidevaloka and Paranimmitavasavattidevaloka.

Those of the Rūpāvacara gods are: Brahmapārisajjadevas, Brahmapurohitadevas etc. up to Akaniṭṭhadevas.

Those of the Arūpāvacara gods are: (a) Ākāsānañcāyatana, (b) Viññāṇañcāyatana, (c) Ākiñcaññāyatana and (d) Nevasaññānāsaññāyatana. For details see McGovern, *Manual of Buddhist Philosophy*, pp. 49-50, 60-70; *Abhidharmakośa*, Ch. III, cf. also 'Satta Viññāṇaṭṭhitiyo' in *Dīgha*, II, p. 68-69.

68 See *Dīgha*, I, p. 157.

69 See Belvalkar and Ranade, *History of Indian Philosophy*, vol. 2, Creative Period, pp. 313-5.

See *Asia Major*, II, pp. 31, 48, 59, 62; see also McGovern, *Manual of Buddhist Philosophy*, p. 76.

For Nāgārjuna's refutation of the Aśāśvatavāda (=Ucchedavāda), see *ante*, p. 718.

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The five classes are as follows:—

Those who believe that the soul attains Nibbāna (perfection)

(a) when it fully enjoys the pleasures of the five senses, viz., rūpa, rasa, śabda, gandha and sparśa;

(b) when it, free from desires (*kāma*) and evil thoughts and actions (*akusala-dhamma*), enters into the first *jhāna* in which state, there is reflection (*vitakka*) and judgment (*vicāra*) and a feeling of joy derived through dissociation from the world;

(c) when it is in the second *jhāna*, becomes free from reflection and judgment, internally serene, and remain with thoughts concentrated and in the enjoyment of happiness derived through meditation;

(d) when it is in the third *jhāna*, it becomes indifferent to happiness and unhappiness, conscious of all that is happening, and is pervaded by a sense of ease; and

(e) when it, after dismissing both happiness and unhappiness, pleasure and pain, is in the fourth *jhāna*, which is a pure state having only equanimity (*upekkhā*) and memory (*sati*).

These five views hardly need any comment. The first is that of the worldly man running after worldly pleasures and may well be compared to the materialistic school of philosophy like the Lokāyatikas or the Bārhaspatyas according to whom the *summum bonum* of human life lies in the full enjoyment of the worldly pleasures attainable through the wealth yielded by cattle-rearing, trade, agriculture etc.[70] The next four views refer to the four *jhānas*, which are regarded as the lowest rungs in the ladder of spiritual advancement.

Hence those who have reached one of them are far from Nibbāna, but the people, as the *Brahmajāla Sutta* wants to show, are led away by their own beliefs and aver that the happy state reached in those stages must be the highest and constitutes Nibbāna in the present life. These four views are also based like the previous ones, on ecstatic experiences, and are given out by those only whose highest attaintment has been one of the *jhānas*.

It is evident from the above exposition of the *Brahmajāla Sutta*,

70 See *Sarvasiddhāntasaṅgraha*, edited and translated by Prem Sundar Bose, 1929, p. 7.

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that its compiler has spoken more of the opinions of the imperfect Buddhist monks than those of the non-Buddhist thinkers existing at the time of the appearance of Buddhism. It enumerates the misconceptions and misinterpretations current among the Buddhist monks after Buddhism had been in existence for some time.

Whether the Tathāgata exists after death or not?

Of the ten indeterminable problems the six dealt with in the *Brahmajāla Sutta* have already been discussed in this paper. The remaining four relate to the question whether or not the Tathāgata exists after death. Throughout the Buddhist literature, whether Hīnayānic or Mahāyānic, the problems are thus presented:

(i) *Hoti Tathāgato param maraṇā ti?* (Does T. exist after death?)

(ii) *Na hoti T. param maraṇā ti?* (Does not T. exist after death?)

(iii) *Hoti ca na ca hoti T. param maraṇā ti?* (Does not T. exist and not exist after death?)

(iv) *Neva hoti na na hoti T. param maraṇā ti?* (Does T. neither exist nor not exist after death?).

Though in the Buddhist texts, the problems have been treated as *avyākata* (inexplainable) and not conducive to the spiritual welfare of the inquirers, we find that in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (iv. pp. 382ff.), the *Mādhyamikavṛtti* and a few other Mahāyāna texts, there are attempts to offer an explanation the problems. These have been, in fact, utilized in the Mahāyānic texts to establish their contention of *Śūnyatā* or *Vijñānamātra*.

From the available expositions of these problems, it is apparent that the underlying reason for negating all the four propositions is that the inquirers, who seek a solution of the problems, labour under the misconception that the Tathāgata is an individual, a composite of skandhas, and that the only difference between a man of the world and the Tathāgata is that the former is composed of impure (*sāsrava*) skandhas and the latter of the pure (*anāsrava*). In other words the inquirers want to ascertain whether Buddhism has any thing to say about the existence of the soul (*ātman*) and its state when an individual attains *mukti*. The four problems hinge on the question whether the

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Tathāgata is a person, and whether his personality, which becomes pure by constant spiritual culture through ages, continues to exist after death (which in this case is *Nirvāṇa*). As Buddhism denies the existence of personality, the only course open to it is therefore to answer all questions relating to soul in the negative, as such questions do not arise. It is like putting the question whether the flower in the sky is red or blue. Any answer, positive or negative, would be misleading; hence the four propositions stated above are treated in the Buddhist texts as *avyākata*. The real issue therefore is not the existence of Tathāgata after death, but whether there is *attā*, and if so, does the *attā* of Arhats or Buddhas remain eternally in *Nirvāṇa* in any form, or become extinct.

In the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (iv. pp. 383-384), just after the discourse that *attā* should not be identified with one or more or all of the skandhas, it is shown that the Tathāgata likewise should not be identified with one of the skandhas thus:

(a) whether rūpa or vedanā or saññā or saṅkhārā or viññāṇa is Tathāgata (henceforth abbreviated as T.)
(b) whether T. is in rūpa, vedanā etc.
(c) whether T. is something different from rūpa or vedanā etc.
(d) whether rūpa, vedanā etc. all taken together are T.
(e) whether T. is devoid of rūpa, vedanā etc. (arūpī, avedano, asaññī, asaṃkhāro, aviññāṇo).

The answer to each of these questions evidently could be nothing but *no h'etaṃ bhante.*

What the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* has laid down by a few simple statements has been elaborated into a whole chapter[71] in the *Mādhyamikavṛtti.* Nāgārjuna (henceforth abbreviated as N.) commences (the chapter) with the statement that, if the existence of transmigrating beings (*bhavasaṃtati*) in reality be proved then only the reality of the Tathāgata, the perfect Buddha, the saviour of the world, can be established, but as the former not proved, the existence of the Tathāgata cannot be established. If his real existence is to be established, it must be shown that the

71. Ch. XXII: *Tathāgatapariksā.*

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(a) Tathāgata is the same as the skandhas; or

(b) T. is different from the skandhas; or

(c) T. is in the skandhas; or

(d) the skandhas are in T.; or

(e) T. is possessed of skandhas (*skandhavān*), but none of these are true, and hence there is no T. in reality.

Is T. the same as skandhas?

N. first takes up the proposition that the T. is something pure and indescribable and is identical with the skandhas. There are two sets of skandhas, one being the usual five (viz., *rūpa, vedanā, saṃjñā, saṃskārā* and *vijñāna*) and the other, the five dharmas which make one a Buddha (viz., *śīla, samādhi, prajñā, vimukti* and *vimuktijñānadarśana*). As the latter set of skandhas is not found in all beings (*avyāpaka*), he takes up the question of identity of the first set of skandhas, rūpa, vedanā etc. with the T., and points out the absurdities, to which this identity would lead. He argues thus:

(i) If fire be taken as identical with firewood, or Buddha with upādāna (=skandhas, i.e. elements which make an individual) then the doer, and the thing done, become one.

(ii) If Buddha (i.e. the Ātman of pure being) be identical with skandhas, then Buddha (or pure Ātman) would be subject to origination and destruction.[72]

Is T. different from the skandhas?

N. then assumes that T. is different from the skandhas, and points out the absurdities, to which this assumption would lead. He says:

(i) If fire be different from firewood, fire could exist without the firewood. Again not being dependent on any other material, it does not require to be ignited. It would be self-existent, proving thereby the futility of exertion (*ārambha-vaiyartham*). Analogously it may be said that Buddha and upādāna being different, Buddha is devoid of *upādāna*, so he is causeless and is self-existent from this it follows that no exertion is needed to become a Buddha.

72 See *M. Vr.*, p. 434 and *infra*, p. 742-3.

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(ii) If Buddha be different from the skandhas, he would be devoid of the characteristics of the skandhas.[73]

It follows then that skandhas cannot be different (*vyatirikta*) from the T. Now, when skandhas and T. are not different entities, the other propositions, viz., skandhas are in T., T. is in skandhas or T. is possessed of skandhas, fall to the ground, for this relation can exist only between two distinct entities.

Thus, Nāgārjuna by the line of reasoning *reductio ad absurdum*, established that the Tathāgata can neither be proved to be identical with the skandhas nor different from them, and hence there is no Tathāgata—the Tathāgata which is popularly supposed to be the ultimate perfect state of beings. At the same time Nāgārjuna adds, there is no transmigrating being (*bhava-saṃtati*), who is supposed to become the Tathāgata ultimately.

N. then says that it may be contended by some that though it has not been possible to establish the existence of T. directly, it may be done, at least, indirectly (*parabhāvataḥ*) by proving the existence of the upādānas, and T. as their images. But this also is shown untenable by N. by his usual arguments *reductio ad absurdum*.

Does Tathāgata exist relatively?

Against the argument that the existence of T. can be proved at least as a reflection of pure skandhas similar to the image of an object on a mirror, Nāgārjuna advances the following arguments:

(a) That which appears by depending on some thing else, e.g. the reflection on a mirror is *anātma* (substanceless) and whatever is *anātma* is unreal (*niḥsvabhāva*). Hence, there is no ground for holding that the so-called T. exists in reality.

(b) Again, if T. had been really existent, then only it would have been possible to establish the separate existence (*parabhāva*) of skandhas by showing their apartness (*paratvam*) from T. As it has been already proved that T. is non-existent by its own nature (*svabhāvataḥ*), the question of separate existence (*para-svabhāva*) of skandhas cannot arise, so it is futile to argue that the existence of T.

73 *Ibid.*, p. 434 for a detailed treatment, see *infra*, p. 743-4.

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can be proved at least indirectly (*parabhāvataḥ*) with reference to the skandhas, with which *paratva* (apartness) and hence *parabhāvatva* (separate existence) of T. is out of the question.

An object must have either an existence of its own (*svabhāva*) or at least, its existence can be established with reference to some other thing (*parabhāva*) but T. has neither; hence, how can T. be said to be real?

Does Tathāgata become apparent by means of skandhas?

Now, it may be contended that T. is not to be spoken of as identical with, or different from, the skandhas; he is known only on account (*upādāya*) of the skandhas.[74] Nāgārjuna replies that that position also is not tenable, the reason being that it implies the existence of T. as prior to, and distinct from, skandhas; and that T. had the skandhas later on, just as we say, Devadatta exists and he later on acquires wealth. From all considerations, the conclusion that is arrived at is that T. cannot have an existence before he has taken up the skandhas, i.e. he cannot exist uncaused (*anupādāya*), for that would again give rise to the fallacy that things can originate without cause. That which does not exist at all,[75] how can it take up something else,[76] in this case, the skandhas (*upādānas*).

From the above it follows that a thing, which is not taken up by something else, cannot be regarded as *upādāna*. N. says: Now that it has been established that T. was non-existent before the acquisition of skandhas, and that T., in fact, did not take up the skandhas, then, is it proper to regard a thing as a cause of some other thing even if the latter does not receive the former (in some shape or other). Hence, the skandhas should not be regarded as the cause of T. A thing when not taken up by something else cannot be called *upādāna* (cause) of the latter; in the absence of such cause (*upādāna*), there can be nothing as

74 The object of the opponents of Nāgārjuna is to say that T. exists forever, but only when he takes up the aggregates (*skandhas*), he becomes apparent to us.

75 e.g. flower in the sky, son of a barren woman.

76 Just as it is meaningless to say that the flower in the sky has red petals

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producer (*upādātṛ*) out of that cause. As there is nothing without substantial cause (*nirupādāna*), there can be no Tathāgata.[77]

The T., when examined in the five-fold way (i.e. identity, difference etc.), has been shown as existing by itself (*svabhāvataḥ*), or with reference to the skandhas(=upādānas), i.e. *parabhāvataḥ*. Moreover the skandhas themselves are non-existent, because they are dependently originated (*pratītya-samutpannatvāt*).[78] Their existence also cannot be established indirectly (*parabhāvataḥ*), meaning by their relation to something else, i.e. the *upādātṛ*. The existence of *upādāna* is not possible without an agent (*upādātṛ*). Even if the existence of the agent (upādātṛ) be assumed, how can the reality of a thing be established by showing its relation to the agent (or originator) when the thing itself is non-existent which he has shown in the chapter on *skandhaparīkṣā*. Nāgārjuna thus concludes that there is neither *upādāna* nor *upādātṛ*.[79]

We need not follow Nāgārjuna any further, for he passes next to the abstruse conception of Śūnyatā, which is beyond the scope of this paper. He is not satisfied with establishing his point that there is no Tathāgata the person—a fact accepted by the Hīnayānists, he goes further and shows that there are no skandhas, the existence of which is admitted by the Hīnayānists.

Both the Hīnayānists and the Mahāyānists agree in holding that there is no persisting entity (*pudgala*) in a being apart from the skandhas, and any question about the existence of the Tathāgata after his passing away really raises the issue whether there is any persisting entity in a being, and whether that entity continues to exist after the

77 This may be cleared by the following simile: Earth is normally the material cause of a jar. But unless a quantity of earth is taken up and converted into a jar, it cannot be called the cause of the jar. When earth remains unutilised, it is not the material cause of the jar; and the existence of the jar cannot be asserted. From this N.'s conclusion is that there is neither the material cause nor the jar.

78 For detailed arguments see *M. Vṛ.*, ch. IV.

79 *M. Vṛ.*, pp. 440-1:

एवं शून्यमुपादानमुपादाता (च) सर्वशः ।
प्रज्ञप्यते च शून्येन कथं शून्यस्तथागतः ॥

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being is thoroughly cleansed of his impurities and passes away for ever. To put it in another way, does the entity (*pudgala*) exist in Nirvāṇa eternally, or not? As both the Hīnayānists and the Mahāyānists deny the existence of that entity, the personality of beings, both refuse to give any answer to the question whether there is Tathāgata (the person) after he has passed away, for a question like that cannot arise and hence any answer, if given, would be misleading,[80] and so it is safer and better to leave it as *avyākata* or *anirvacanīya*.

The Buddhist Criticism of the Conception of Soul

Most of the doctrines that have been so far discussed relate to the notions current among the imperfect Buddhists and the non-Buddhists about the nature and existence of the soul. Buddhism wholly denies the existence of the soul which is permanent, immaculate, unaffected by Karma, and in this denial (i.e. *Pudgalanairātmya*) there is no difference of opinion between the Hīnayānists and the Mahāyānists. The Pāli texts aver that the belief in the existence of the soul, or in other words, the heresy of individuality (*sakkāyadiṭṭhi*) is due to the misapprehension of one of the five khandhas as soul in the following four ways:[81]

80 It should be remembered that Nāgārjuna denies the existence of Tathāgata the person but not of Tathatā or Śūnyatā, for an exposition of which see my *Aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism*, pp. 214-5.

To the Hīnayānists, Theravādins and Sarvāstivādins, Nirvāṇa exists but is devoid of any individuality. It is the sea of one taste, one colour etc. and in which all rivers of different names, colours, tastes lose their individual characters.

81 *Paṭisambhidāmagga* (I, pp. 143-150) explains how this misapprehension happens. It says that a person, while meditating sometimes conceives of

(i) the object of meditation (e.g. *paṭhavikasina, āpokasina, nīlakasina, pītakasina*) that it is he and he is the object of meditation. It is like identifying (*advayam*) the flame (of a burning lamp) with its coolur (*yā acci so vaṇṇo, yo vaṇṇo sā accī ti*);

(ii) the khandhas as belonging to the self (*attā rūpena rūpavā*) just as some say that a tree and its shadow are two separate entities and that one belongs to the other (*rukkho māya chāyāya chāyavā*);

(iii) the khandhas as existing in the self (*attani rūpaṃ passati*) just as one would say that flower and smell are separate and the smell is in the flower, (*ayaṃ gandho imasmiṃ pupphe* etc.);

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(i) attā is the same as rūpa, or vedanā, or saññā, or saṅkhārā, or viññāṇa (*rūpaṃ* etc. *attato samanupassati*)

(ii) attā is possessed of rūpa etc. (*rūpavantaṃ* etc. *attānaṃ samanupassati*)

(iii) in attā there is rūpa etc. (*attani rūpaṃ* etc. *samanupassati*)

(iv) attā is in rūpa etc. (*rūpasmiṃ* etc. *attānaṃ samanupassati*)[82]

It appears from the discourse in the *Milindapañha*,[83] that among the five khandhas, *viññāṇa* was more often identified with *attā* or *jīva* than the rest, but no such distinction is noticeable in the Nikāyas. As a consequence of the identification of *Attā* with one of the components of a being, by the non-Buddhists, the texts aver that it can be classified like the beings into three types:[84]

(1) *attā* of beings of the lower worlds, viz., from Avīci to Paranimmita is gross (*oḷārika*);[85]

(2) *attā* of beings of the worlds from Paṭhamajhānabhūmi to Akaniṭṭhabrahmaloka is *manomaya*,[86] i.e., material but very subtle like the mind, and

(3) *attā* of beings of the worlds from Akāsānañcāyatana-brahmaloka to Nevasaññānāsaññāyatana-brahmaloka is *arūpa*[87] (*non-material*).

According to the Buddhists, *attā* does not exist, it is only a word of common usage[88] and does not correspond to any reality, hence no question should arise as to its existence, not to speak of its identification with one of the khandhas.

(iv) the khandhas as the container of the self as a casket is of a jewel.

By *rūpa* etc. I mean the five khandhas, viz., rūpa, vedanā, saññā, saṅkhārā and viññāṇa.

82 In the *M. Vṛ.*, p. 432 and elsewhere it is shown that the misapprehension happens in five ways, the fifth being that the *Attā* is something different from the *skandhas;* the first four being the same as stated above.

83 *Milindapañha*, p. 86.

84 *Dīgha*, I, p. 195; see also the commentary on *Poṭṭhapādasutta* (*IHQ.*, Supplement), p. 23.

85 Oḷārika=Rūpī cātummahābhūtiko kabaḷiṅkārāhāra-bhakkho.

86 Manomaya=Rūpī manomayo sabbaṅga-paccaṅgī ahīnindriyo.

87 Arūpa=Arūpī saññāmayo.

88 *Dīgha.*, I, p. 202: lokasāmaññā lokaniruttiyo lokavohāralokapaññattiyo; cf. *M. Vṛ.*, p. 345: nāmamātrakam evātmānaṃ.

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The *Milindapañha* raises the question whether attā is something different from the khandhas and whether it is an active agent living within the body and acting through the organs of sense. This is refuted by Nāgasena by the argument that as its activity ceases when the organs of sense cease to work, so it cannot be said to have a separate and independent existence of its own.[89]

The Pāli texts refuse to admit the existence of anything in a being besides the five khandhas. Life (*jīva*), according to them, is dependent on *āyu* (span of life), *usmā* (heat) and *viññāṇa* (vital principle) just as the sound of a conch-shell has no existence of its own, but is dependent on the blower, his exertion, and the wind blown into it.[90]

In his works, Nāgārjuna also takes up the same position as indicated in the Pāli texts, and proceeds in his own way to show that *ātman* is not the same as one of the skandhas nor has it a separate and independent existence of its own apart from the skandhas. The stanzas on the point in the *Madhyamakāvatāra*[91] runs thus:—

स्कन्धेष्वात्मा विद्यते नैव चामी
सन्ति स्कन्धा आत्मनीतीह यस्मात् ।
सत्यन्यत्वे स्यादियं कल्पना वै
तच्चान्यत्वं नास्त्यतः कल्पनैषा ॥

[The soul is not in the skandhas, nor are the skandhas in the soul; had they (soul and skandhas) been separate, then one holding the other could have been imagined; but as there is no separateness between the soul and the skandhas, the statement that one holds the other is pure imagination (i.e. false)].

इष्टो नात्मा रूपवान्नास्ति यस्माद्
आत्मा वस्त्वार्थोपयोगो हि नातः ।
भेदे गोमान रूपवानप्यभेदे
तत्त्वान्यात्वेऽरूपतो नात्मनः स्तः ॥

89 *Milindapañha*, pp. 55, 86.
90 *Digha*, II, p. 338.
91 See *M. Vr.*, p. 434.

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[As the soul is not made of rūpa (matter),[92] its existence cannot be admitted, and for the same reason, it cannot be said that the soul possesses attributes of its own (*vattvārthopayoga*). If the soul and rūpa be regarded as separate, then the relation between the soul and rūpa would be like the cowherd and his cows, and if they are regarded as not separate (*abheda*), the soul would be made of rūpa, hence neither identity (*tattva*)[93] nor difference (*anyatva*) of the soul and the skandhas can be established].

All the controversies about *attā* whether in the Pāli texts or in the works of Nāgārjuna rest on the fact that the constituents of a being, if analysed, cannot be shown to have anything called soul, apart from the five skandhas, which include, as they do, all the elements that compose a being.

Two lines of argument

The Buddhists therefore take to two lines of argument, viz., that the soul should either be identical with one or more or all of the skandhas or be wholly different from the skandhas, the stock Pāli expression for this is *taṃ jīvaṃ taṃ sarīram; aññaṃ jīvaṃ aññaṃ sarīram*. The Pāli texts assert without giving sufficient reasons, that both the above propositions are wrong (*micchādiṭṭhi*), while Nāgārjuna has recourse to his usual line of reasoning, viz., *reductio ad absurdum* to show that it is absurd to suppose a relation of identity or difference between the soul and the skandhas. We shall state here concisely Nāgārjuna's arguments:

What is the *Ātman*—the basis of the sense of I-ness (*Ko'yam ātmā nāmeti yo'haṅkāraviṣayaḥ*)? It should be either the skandhas themselves (*skandhasvabhāva*) or something apart from the skandhas (*skandhavyatirikta*). That is, the relation between the soul and the skandhas should be either one of identity (*ekatva*) or of difference

92 Rūpa here also is not form but matter. It is referring to the skandhas in general by a concrete instance. The translations given here are in the light of their Tibetan renderings. See *Madhyamakāvatāra* (Tibetan ed.), p 265; *M. Vr.*, p. 435 fn. 1.

93 See *M. Vr.*, p. 439: tattva=ekatva.

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(*anyatva*).[94] Both these positions, according to Nāgārjuna, are untenable on the ground

आत्मा स्कन्धा यदि भवेदुयव्ययाद्यभाग्भवेत् ।
स्कन्धेभ्योऽन्यो यदि भवेद्भवेदस्कन्ध लक्षणः ॥

[If Ātman be the same as the skandhas, it would be subject to origin and destruction, again if it be different from the skandhas, it would be without the characteristics appertaining to the skandhas (*phuṅ. poḥi mtshon. ñid med. par ḥgyur*)].[95]

Hence, it is not possible to establish any relation of identity or difference between the soul and the skandhas.

Identification of the Soul with the Skandhas how faulty?

The following are some of the *untenable* positions that would arise by the identification of ātman with the skandhas:—

(a) ātman, which had no existence before, comes into being, so it becomes an object constituted (*kṛtaka*) and hence impermanent, but ātman is known to be unconstituted (*akṛtaka*) and permanent;

(b) ātman requires a creator but a creator of ātman, apart from the ātmā itself, is not known. If the ātman be conceived as the creator of itself, then the contingency arises that the world has a beginning and that a being which did not exist before can appear, and ātman becomes constituted (*kṛtaka*);[96]

(c) ātman originates without any cause (*sambhūto vāpyahetukaḥ*). If it be said that ātman had no existence before and there was no creator, and then if its present existence be admitted, it would be admitting origination of an object without cause, but this is not permissible;[97]

(d) ātman has momentary origination and destruction like the skandhas or upādāna-skandhas, but that is impossible;[98]

94 In the case of *anyatva* again, the question of the relation of the container and the contained (*ādhāra ādheya*) arises, viz., whether Atman is in the skandhas or the skandhas are in the Atman. See *ante*, p 740; also *Mvyut.*, p. 208.

95 *M. Vṛ.*, p. 340.

96 *M. Vṛ.*, p. 581.

97 *M. Vṛ.*, p. 581.

98 Further, at the moment just preceding Nirvāṇa, the destruction and origination of ātmā would take place according to the doctrine of momentary existence

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(e) *upādāna* (the material cause) and *upadātṛ* (the agent) become one. Upādāna requires an agent in order that it may be given a shape. If the agent be the same as upādāna, then it would lead to the oneness (*aikyam*) of the agent and the thing produced by the agent, e.g. between the feller of the tree and the tree, the potter and the pot, the fire and the firewood; but this is not admissible;[99]

(f) ātman is many like the skandhas;

(g) there is no contradistinction (*vaiparītyaṃ*) between the characteristics of matter (*dravya*) and those of ātman;

(h) ātman is extinct (*uccheda*) in nirvāṇa.

Thus, it follows that it is futile to establish between the ātman and the skandhas a relation of identity (*tattva*) or difference (*anyatva*), or to give *ātman* the attributes of permanency (*nityatva*) or impermanency (*anityatva*) . To say that ātman is permanent (*nitya*) or impermanent (*anitya*) would make one either a Śāśvatavādin or an Ucchedavādin, both of which views are condemned in the Buddhist texts in unequivocal terms. Therefore, *ātman* should not be identified with the skandhas (*upādāna-skandhas*).

Distinguishing the Soul from the Skandhas how faulty?

Having asserted that ātman cannot be identified with the skandhas, Nāgārjuna takes up the counterproposition, viz., whether ātman is different from the skandhas (*skandha-vyatiriktaḥ*), and shows the absurdities to which this would again lead:

(a) If ātman be different from the skandhas, then it must not have the characteristics of the dependently originating skandhas, viz., origin, continuity and destruction (*utpāda-sthiti-bhaṅga-lakṣaṇa*). As these characteristics are absent in ātman, being different from the skandhas, and as it is said to be not dependently originated, therefore it must be admitted that it is non-existing like the sky-flower, for no definition can be offered of such ātman. It can only be pointed out as the basis of the sense of I-ness.

(*kṣaṇikavāda*). If the agent has been destroyed, who is it that enjoys the fruit? The contingency that arises is that one acts and another enjoys the fruits.

99 *M. Vr.*, p. 576.

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(b) Again each of the five skandhas possesses some characteristics of their own, e.g. rūpa possesses the characteristic of taking forms[100] (*rūpana*), vedanā and saṃjñā that of ascertaining the cause of direct perception (*anubhavanimittodgrahaṇa*) and vijñāna that of having detailed knowledge of objects. If ātman be distinguished from the skandhas as vijñāna is done from rūpa, then it should have some characteristics of its own, e.g., it would be something like mind (*citta*) as distinguished from matter (*rūpa*). If its special characteristics be denied, it is meaningless to say that it has existence as something different from the skandhas.

It may be contended that the non-Buddhists attribute to ātman some characteristics which are different from those of the skandhas, viz., that ātman is not an agent, but an enjoyer of fruits, attributeless and inactive; it is only when it takes something of the world (*prakṛti*) as support then are its distinctions known.[101]

Nāgārjuna is not prepared to accept the contention of the non-Buddhists that a perfectly pure ātman exists without the skandhas, on the ground that any analysis of the constituents of a being does not furnish us with any proof about its independent existence. It has, according to N., for its basis a mere notion, to which the non-Buddhists have attributed existence and qualities.

So he says that the characteristics, which the non-Buddhists, attribute to ātman, are not based on the actual conception of the form of ātman (*na svarūpata ātmanamupalabhya*). They do not understand the real basis of the notion of ātman; it is a mere term. Though they cannot establish anything, yet, out of fear, they recede from even the conventional truth and become entangled in pure conjectures, and being thus deluded, they conceive of an ātman and attribute to it some characteristics. Nāgārjuna then quotes a few verses giving his own idea of the ātman. He says: Just as on account of a mirror an image, which is not real, is seen, so also on account of the

100 *M. Vṛ.*, p. 343 n.: ruppanalakkhaṇaṃ rūpaṃ; rūpa, the object and instrument of nirūpaṇa.

101 *M. Vṛ.*, p. 344.

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skandhas, the notion of I-ness, which is unreal, arises.[102] As without a mirror, an image is not seen, so without the conglomeration of elements (skandhas), the notion of I-ness does not arise.[103]

The topic of *anattā* forms the subject-matter of Buddha's second discourse to his five comrades (*Vin.* I, pp. 13-14) and constitutes the keynote of Buddhism. In this discourse, when Buddha denied the existence of *attā*, i.e., of any permanent substance apart from the *khandhas*, he cannot be expected to solve the 'indeterminable' (*avyākata*) problems, as all of them hinge on the nature and existence of *attā*. It is therefore wrong to state that Buddha left the most important problems unanswered, or that he did not know what to say about them.

NALINAKSHA DUTT

102 The simile is: I=Image on a mirror; skandhas=mirror.

103 *M. Vy.*, p. 345:

यथादर्शमुपादाय स्वमुखप्रतिबिम्बकं ।
दृश्यते नाम तच्चैव न किं चिदपि तत्त्वतः ॥
अहंकारस्तथा स्कन्धानुपादायोपलभ्यते ।
न च कश्चित्स तत्त्वेन स्वमुखप्रतिबिम्बवत् ॥
यथादर्शमनादाय स्वमुखप्रतिबिम्बकं ।
न दृश्यते तथा स्कन्धाननादायाहमित्यपि ॥

These verses served to remove the avidyā of Ananda and made him an Arhat.

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The Purāṇas : A Study*

Retrospect

Notwithstanding a century of research or more in that important branch of Indian literature, viz., the Purāṇas, no substantial results have so far been reached, nor tangible conclusions arrived at. It has been the ruling passion of orientalists to cull out history of ancient India from the Vedic literature, its earliest literary sources. One has to acknowledge not only that magnificent results have been already attained but also this work is still being conducted with undiminished vigour. Though strenuous labour was devoted in this direction, yet there was not wanting a school of distinguished savants who began to bestow their attention to the huge mass of the Purāṇa literature.

Wilson's pioneer work

As early as the thirties of the 19th century H.H. Wilson engaged himself seriously in a close study of the Purāṇas available to him then in print and Mss, and his achievement was the heavy volume containing translation of the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* with learned notes and scholarly introduction and his essay on the Purāṇas in general.

Though no small credit is due to his labour of love, still he laboured under a wrong impression that the Purāṇas were sectarian in character and 'pious frauds written for temporary purposes in subservience to sectarian imposture.' In other words, Wilson was of opinion that the Purāṇas "are no longer authorities for Hindu belief as a whole. They are special guides for separate and sometimes conflicting branches of it: compiled for the evident purpose of promoting the preferential or in some cases the sole worship of Viṣṇu or Śiva."[1] Since such impression was firmly rooted in his mind it is but natural for him to think that the Purāṇa compilation must have been done after the 10th century, at most

* A lecture delivered under the auspices of the University of Madras.

1 Wilson, *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, I, p. v; Lassen, *Ind. Alter.*, I, 479 ff.

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after the 7th and 8th centuries of the Christian era when the waves of Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism had spread in the land.

Col. Vans Kennedy's contribution

The erroneous position which Wilson took in regard to the character and age of the Purāṇas did not go unrefuted by his own contemporaries. Among them the contribution of Col. Vans Kennedy may be prominently mentioned. His reply to Wilson in the form of letters to the *London Asiatic Journal* 1840-41 has been printed by the late editor of Wilson's *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* as an appendix. He put up an eloquent defence to the effect that the Purāṇas were as much the sacred books of the Hindus as a whole as the Vedic literature, that the exclusive worship of a deity was not meant by anything that is contained in the extant Purāṇas, and that Wilson misunderstood the preferntial worship inculcated, as the exclusive worship of a particular deity, and the votaries to be sectaries of either Viṣṇu or Śiva. He strongly upheld that the Purāṇas were a class of ancient literature, and there was no proof that they were very late compositions.

Other writers

The next stage in the story of Purāṇa scholarship was the valuable service rendered by E. Burnouf,[2] Col. Wilford and the compilers of catalogues of Mss. like Th. Aufrecht (*Bodl. Cat.*, pp. 7 ff.) and Julius Eggeling (*India Office Cat.*, pt. VI, Sec. ii, Paurāṇik Literature, pp. 1184 ff. London, 1896).

Contribution by Pargiter and Kirfel

A considerable time elapsed between the more recent researches on the Purāṇas, and the old, More recent researches brought to light a systematic record of Indian historical tradition preserved in their dynastic lists. F. E. Pargiter has been successful in his effort to obtain definite results in his attempt to reconstruct the dynasties of the Kali

2 See preface to his edition and translation of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, ou *Historie Poetique de Krichna*, in 5 volts.

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Age.[3] Mention must be made of the services of Willibald Kirfel of the German school of orientalists.[4] His *Purāṇa Pañcalakṣaṇa* is another successful attempt to prove that the five topics of a Purāṇa are not a mere theory but are commonly dealt with in all the Purāṇas. The relevant common passages are collected together in this volume.[5]

The term Purāṇa

The etymology of the term Purāṇa is furnished by the *Vāyu Purāṇa* (I. 203) thus: यस्मात्पुरा हि अनतीदं पुराणं, that which lives from ancient times. This simply shows that it means 'ancient tale' or 'old narrative.' The term was in use long before the Purāṇas were compiled.

By the time of the *Atharva Veda* (XI. 7. 24; also V. 19. 9), however, it is evident that the Purāṇa assumed some independent form as a composition . One of the references therein has the implication that the verse addressed to sage Nārada is taken from some Purāṇa.[6]

The same inference can be drawn from the use of the term in the Upaniṣads. That a definite work is meant is seen from the seventh book of the *Chāndogyopaniṣad* where Nārada says that he had studied *itihāsa* and *purāṇa*.[7]

But it is only when we come to the epoch of the Sūtra literature, we find reference to the contents of the extant Purāṇas.

The *Āpastamba Dharmasūtra*[8] (Mysore Govt. Oriental Library

3 The *Dynasties of the Kali Age* (1913) and *Ancient Ind. His. Tradition* (1922).

4 *Das Purāṇa Pañcalakṣaṇa*, Bonn, 1927.

5 See also E. J. Rapson *Cambr. His. of India*, vol. I, p. 296 ff.: *JRAS.*, 1914, pp. 1021-31; *ibid.*, 1915, pp. 516-21 and pp. 507-16; J. N. Farquhar, *An outline of the Religious Literature of India*, Oxford (1920), ch. IV, pp. 136 ff.; *ZDMG.*, 1902, pp. 651 ff.; V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, pp. 22-24 (4th edition).

6 Cf. *SBE.*, vol. 42, p. 435 where Bloomfield remarks that 'Nārada is the typical interlocutor in the Purāṇas.'

7 *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, Pāṇini Office, Allahabad (1910) VII ad. I khaṇḍa, mantras 2 and 4; *ibid.*, VII khaṇḍa, mantra 1.

8 I, 6.19.13; I, 10.29.7; II, 9.23.3. *Cf. Gautama Dharmasūtra*, XI (Mysore Oriental Library Series).

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Series) quotes from the Purāṇa and in one place it is definitely mentioned that the quotation is taken from the *Bhaviṣyat Purāṇa*.[9]

In conformity to the ancient law treatises, the expression Purāṇa connoting a particular class of literature and prescribed for a prince as a principal subject of his study occurs in the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* of the 4th century B.C.[10]

The Purāṇas are mentioned by name in the *Mahābhārata* (I. V. 55 f.) both in the special and general sense. The expression in some places means some legendary lore . In other places (See Bk. XVIII, VI, 304) there is a definite mention of the Purāṇa literature as a class and the eighteen Purāṇas as handed down by tradition.

There is again a classical definition of the expression Purāṇa given by ancient lexicographers like Amara who attributes five characteristics (*Pañcalakṣaṇa*) to a Purāṇa treatise. Among the distinguished early indologists Lassen was perhaps the first to critically examine the application of the epithet in its reference to the extant Purāṇas (*Indis. Alter.*, vol. I, 499). The *Pañcalakṣaṇa* or the five topics of a Purāṇa are

सर्गश्च प्रतिसर्गश्च वंशो मन्वन्तराणि च ।
वंशानुचरितं चेति लक्षणानां तु पञ्चकम् ॥

Pratisarga	= primary creation ;
Sarga	= secondary creation ;
Vaṃśa	= genealogy of gods and patriarch ;

9 According to F. E. Pargiter (*Dynasties of the Kali Age*), the *Bhaviṣya-purāṇa* was the source of information to the *Matysa, Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas*, so far as the dynastic lists are concerned. Prof. Keith examines this theory and concludes that by the term *Bhaviṣya*, nothing more than 'in the future' is meant (see *JRAS.*, 1914, pp. 1021-31 : *ibid.*, 1915, pp. 516-21; and pp. 141-7, 328.

आभूतसंप्लवान्ते: स्वर्गजितः ।
पुनःसर्गे बीजार्था भवन्तीति भविष्यत्पुराणे ॥ II. 9. 24, 5-6.

10 *Ar. Śās.*, Bk. I, Sec. 5; see also *Yājñ*: I, 3, *Bṛhaspati*, I, 23 (S. B. E.) vol. 33, p. 280 *Jolly, Recht und Sitte* or *Hindu Law and Customs*, Trans. pp. 64-65 cp. J. J. Meyer *Gesetzbuch und Purāṇa* (Breslau, 1929) being a reply to Hans Losch, Die Yājñavalkyasmṛti : ein Beitrag zur Quellen Kuende des Indische Rechts, Leipzig.

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Manvantara	= periods of Manus;
Vaṃśānucarita	= history of princes of solar and lunar races and of their descendants.[11]

Thus we see that the Purāṇas as a whole deal with the evolution of the universe, recreation of the universe from the constituent elements, genealogies of gods and seers, groups of 'great ages' included in an aeon (*kalpa*), and history of royal families (See *Cambridge History of India*, vol. I., p. 296).

Two classes of the Purāṇas : ancient and later

A close examination of the existing Purāṇas leaves the impression on our mind that the Purāṇas originally conformed to this definition, but lafer additions, the evidence of which is perceptible, marred it to such an extent that the *Pañcalakṣaṇa* became more a theory than an actual fact. From this we have to distinguish two classes of the Purāṇas, the ancient and the later. In ancient days it may be, there was one single Purāṇa or perhaps more than one. It was not certainly eighteen. The classification of 18 Purāṇas marks a definite stage in the evolution of the Purāṇa literature. To give an air of antiquity so as to be acceptable, the redactors of the extant Purāṇas did not ignore ancient materials and tried as far as possible to retain them as much as suited their purpose. Of these Purāṇas again the fifth section *Vaṃśānucarita* is not found in some of the Purāṇas. That the Purāṇas attained celebrity in the latter half of the Vedic period as has been already pointed out, is evident from the fact that the Upaniṣads like the *Chāndogya* and the early Buddhist works like the *Suttanipāta* (III. 7) assign to them the status of the Veda; for the Purāṇas as a whole go by the name of the fifth Veda.

Origin of the Purāṇas

The accepted traditional belief is that a certain Vyāsa is the author of all these eighteen Purāṇas as well as the *Mahābhārata*. In the

11 Wilson, *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, p. vii; Weber, *History of Indian Literature*, p. 190.

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Matsya Purāṇa it is said: Brahmā first remembered the Purāṇa and then revealed the Vedas. Originally there was a single Purāṇa with a hundred crore of verses. Appropriately to this the *Vāyu Purāṇa* says:

प्रथमं सर्वशास्त्राणां पुराणं ब्रह्मणा स्मृतम्।
अनन्तरं च वक्त्रेभ्यो वेदास्तस्य विनिःसृताः ॥ 1. 60

This stanza of the *Vāyu Purāṇa* together with that of the *Matsya Purāṇa* gives then the clue that long before the age of the Vedas, the Purāṇa was thought of and continued to be in existence. This means that the Vedic literature which contains mythological and legendary lore must have been traditionally remembered and when the Vedas were composed these legends were alluded to here and there. Thus there is the justification for the statement of the *Matsya Purāṇa* that Brahmā thought of the Purāṇa before he thought of the Vedas. This need not mean that the Purāṇa as an independent literature grew up before the Vedic compositions. It means that legendary lore existed from remote times and was handed down to posterity without interruption. The Purāṇa or old tales existed but not the Purāṇic literature as such.

Origin as told by the Viṣṇu Purāṇa

We have then to look for their origin in the Vedic literature itself. The myths and legends to which allusion is made therein as well as the particular forms of prayer and worship inculcated, afforded material for the later compiler of the Purāṇa, viz., *sarga* and *pratisarga* which are intimately connected with the origin of the world. It is not difficult to believe that the cosmogonic hymns of the *Ṛgveda Saṃhitā* afforded a convenient material to build a literary superstructure. There is, therefore, justification for the remark of Prof. Macdonell that those 'cosmogonic hymns of the *Ṛgveda* were not only the precursors of Indian philosophy but also of the Purāṇas.' (*History of Indian Literature*, p. 138).

Not only the *Saṃhitās* but also the *Brāhmaṇas* contain references to the ancient legends. The *Brāhmaṇas* deal with sacrifices and their different rites and ceremonies and contain special spells and prayers. In these particular forms of worship which are associated with the narratives and the legends of yore, the foundations of the later Purāṇa

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were laid. The later Purāṇa writer drew upon these sources and extended their range and character by introducing other miscellaneous subjects (See Weber, *History of Indian Literature* (1914), p. 24). Thus we see a distinct class of works which go by the name of the Purāṇas by the beginning of the epoch of the Upaniṣads.

A fairly clear account of the origin and the evolution of the Purāṇas is furnished by the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (III. 6-17-19). According to this testimony Vyāsa the sage originally compiled what is known as the *Purāṇa Saṃhitā*, and taught it to his disciple Lomaharṣaṇa, the Sūta or the professional chronicler. Lomaharṣaṇa was a sage himself. He had under him six disciples: Agnivarca, Maitreya, Śāṃśapāyana, Kaśyapa and Sāvarṇi. To them he imparted the *Purāṇa Saṃhitā* as he heard it from his master Vyāsa. They were also famous chroniclers and their versions were respectfully heard in different learned assemblies, specially called for on the occasion of the performance of great sacrifices by the reigning monarch of the realm. In the *Agni Purāṇa* (270. 10-13) again the same version is told but with a slight variation. According to this authority Vyāsa himself had six disciples to whom he imparted the Purāṇa lore. Of these six names mentioned in this Purāṇa, four are common, and these are Sumati, Maitreya, Śāṃśapāyana and Sāvarṇi. The other two names of the *Agni Purāṇa* are Sūta and Lomaharṣaṇa. Yet another version of the origin of the Purāṇa is given in the *Brahmāṇḍa* and the *Vāyu* (*Bd.*, II, 35, 63-70; *Vā.*, 61. 55-62; cf. *Viṣ.*, III, 6; *Bhāg.*, XII, 7) whose texts are common, and which, according to the conjecture of Pargiter, might have been originally one. According to these texts Romaharṣaṇa imparted the Purāṇa to his six disciples Ātreya Sumati, Kāśyapa Akṛtavraṇa, Bhāradvāja Agnivarcas, Vaśiṣṭha Mitrāyu, Sāvarṇi, Saumadatti and Śuśarmā Śāṃśapāyana. Of these Kāśyapa, Sāvarṇi and Śāṃśapāyana compiled respectively an independent Purāṇa Saṃhitā, and these three together with that of Romaharṣaṇa formed the *mūla saṃhitā* or *pūrva saṃhitā* according to another reading. This means that this was the original or the first Saṃhitā from which the later Purāṇas sprang up. The chief characteristics that distinguished this class of works from the rest of its kind consisted of four divisions or *padas* with different texts but conveying the same meaning. All these except

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that of Śāṃśapāyana contained 4000 verses. Among these again priority is given to Lomaharṣaṇa's Saṃhitā. Then came Kāśyapa's, then Sāvarṇika's, and lastly Śāṃśapāyanika's. Unfortunately these versions are lost though we have Purāṇas like the *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa* with four divisions or padas which are stated by Romaharṣaṇa as prakriyā, anuṣaṅga, upodghāta, and upasaṃhāra. (See *Vāyu* on *Catuṣpada* 32.67). To these names, however, we must add Ugraśravas, the son of Romaharṣaṇa who appears as the reciter in some of the Purāṇas like the *Padma*, *Harivaṃśa* etc. It is reasonable to conjecture that Ugraśravas was a disciple of Romaharṣaṇa. Thus one of the disciples goes by the name of Sūta, and is mentioned as distinct from Lomaharṣaṇa or other disciples who were, as a matter of fact, also Sūtas. It is evident, if we are to believe tradition, that Vyāsa is the common author to whom the Sūtas owed their knowledge and contents of the Purāṇas. (*Mat.*, 53. 70). That they did not merely repeat *verbatim* what they heard from their master but that they added something more and thus enlarged the scope and contents of the Purāṇa is obvious. The following expressions we meet with in many a chapter bear eloquent testimony to this fact. These are *anuśuśruma*, 'we have been told thus,' *smṛtaḥ*, 'it is thus current,' *iti naḥ śrutam*, 'we have heard it thus,' or simply *iti śrutam*, *iti śrutiḥ*, 'thus says tradition.' Again there are other equally significant terms which show other Purāṇas extant during their time, and also show their intimate acquaintance with them. Some of these terms are *purāvid*, *purāṇajña*, *paurāṇika*, *purāṇavidjana*, *paurāṇikajana*, *vaṃśavid*, *somavaṃśavid*, *vaṃśavittama* etc. The last three terms go to prove that ancient India had historians. *Vaṃśavid* and *vaṃśavittama* are epithets which cannot be translated otherwise than as 'historians of the ordinary type' and 'the great historians.' Among these again there were a few specialists in certain fields as is evidenced by the expression *somavaṃśavid*, an authority on the history of the lunar race. The Sūtas have further endeavoured to enrich this class of literature by quoting from the archives of ancient poetry then extant. These are styled as *gāthās* or ancient songs sung in honour of a king or a sage by a stray minstrel or a wandering bard. These too were handed down as a literary legacy to posterity, and the Sūtas who were supposed to be qualified students

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in every department of literature used them wherever occasion presented itself, perhaps to exhibit their ingenuity and originality. Collating the versions of different kinds we are led to the conclusion that the *mūla-saṃhitā* consisted of four versions, meaning thereby at the outset there were four Purāṇas, and the other fourteen grew later on out of these four.[12]

Classification of the Purāṇas

Tradition has unanimously accepted the existence of eighteen Mahāpurāṇas and also eighteen Upapurāṇas (see *Bhāg.*, XII, 7.8). The Upapurāṇas are very later productions, of a sectarian character and purely local interest. Their value to a student of history, and even religion is very little, and therefore we may dismiss them for the time being. Confining, then, to the Mahāpurāṇas, the other classifications are one according to the preferential worship of deities like Śiva, Viṣṇu etc., and secondly according to the qualities (*guṇa*), viz., *sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas* which predominate largely in the present books (*Padma* P., ch. XLII; cf. *Matsya* P., ch. LII). From the nature of the subjects dealt with it is wrong to assume that the ancient Purāṇa literature was divided into a few water-tight compartments like the Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava and so on. On this unfounded assumption these works are looked upon as too sectarian in character and extent. The fact is that every Purāṇa whatever classification it may come under, speaks of almost all deities. For example in a Śaiva Purāṇa we come across legends of Viṣṇu, Brahmā and other gods, and their heroic exploits. The *Vāyu Purāṇa* may be cited as an instance. In the same way in a Vaiṣṇava Purāṇa the legends of Śiva and other deities also occur. But some Purāṇas extend the legendary exploits of a particular deity, and seem to inculcate preferential worship to that deity. That did not and does not mean that other deities were ignored or condemned, and that

12 It has been contended by some scholars that out of the one single Purāṇa others issued. See A. M. T. Jackson, *JBBRAS.*, (1905) extra No. pp. 67 fw.; A Blue, *ZDMG.*, 1908, p. 337; Pargiter, *Anc. Ind. His. Tradition*, pp. 35 ff.; *contrast* Winternitz, *His. of Ind. Lit.*, p. 521-22.

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any sectarian bias was infused in such teachings.[13] What is more interesting is that every Purāṇa specifies the number eighteen together with their names. Notwithstanding the variation in the order of enumeration and in the titles of the Purāṇas, it is remarkable that every Purāṇa gives the list of eighteen including itself. It does not stand to reason that all Purāṇas were composed at one and the same time and afforded the occasion to the compiler of each Purāṇa to mention the names of the eighteen. The verse or verses containing the reference to the eighteen Purāṇas are evidently interpolations introduced at a later time when all the eighteen Purāṇas have been completed.

It is difficult to ascertain the time and the occasion when the Purāṇas were moulded into their present shape. So far as the Pūrāṇas, which contain the fifth section, go, there is the definite evidence of revision from the commencement of the Christian era to the fifth century A.D. Those Purāṇas, wherein this important section is found omitted, can possibly be taken as older and therefore compiled before the Christian era, i.e., sometime about the epoch of the Upaniṣads. But what awaits the right solution is the occasion for such different versions.[14] Orthodox opinion would have it that they were repeated by the Sūta to the sages and seers, the residents of the Naimiṣāraṇya. A certain time was allotted on the sacrificial days to the hearing of the Purāṇa from the Sūta, the only competent authority to handle that subject. It would be lack of historical sense to accept this version which narrows down all the 18 versions to a certain locality like the Naimiṣāraṇya. At the then busy centres of religious activity we must look for the locale of the Purāṇa compilations. The eighteen versions seem to have depended to a large extent on the geographical distribution of the land. The chief places of pilgrimage where often thronged a large number of people from all parts of India was the best fitted avenue for the propagation of this kind of literature. From the glorification of certain places, we may venture to conjecture that the particular version of the Purāṇa sprang up in that centre. A Purāṇa

13 See Col. Kennedy's defence published as appendix to Wilson's edition of *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*.

14 See the *Centenary vol. of the JBBRAS.*, 1905, p. 73.

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that deals with the *Gayā-mahātmya* in extenso may be reasonably taken to have been compiled in the city of Gayā. Therefore to some such centre we must look for this version or that. To hazard a conjecture the *Padma Purāṇa* was compiled originally at Puṣkara, the *Vāyu* Purāṇa was compiled at Gayā, the *Brahma Vaivarta* in Orissa, the *Mārkaṇḍeya*, in the valleys of the Narmadā and the Tapti etc.

Their position in Indian Literature

Some scholars have expressed the opinion that the Purāṇa-itihāsa literature of the Hindus was originally permeated by the ancient lore of Kṣatriya tradition, as different from merely Brāhmaṇical. They hold that ancient India developed two streams of literature and culture, the Brāhmaṇic and the Kṣatriyaic. While the Vedic tradition is Brāhmaṇic, the epic and Purāṇic tradition is regarded as the Kṣatriyaic. One of their arguments is that the Sūta, who is the chronicler of these narratives and the narrator as well, is not a Brāhmaṇa by caste.

It is further argued that the Kṣatriya literature later on passed into the hands of the Brāhmaṇas who transformed the contents and even the diction to such an extent as to give the whole literature a Brāhmaṇical air as it were.[15]

Kṣatriya literature and ascetic literature

A few scholars like Garbe and Rhys Davids took objection to the practice of labelling all Indian literature as Brāhmaṇical. They spoke of a Kṣatriya literature while the late E. Leumann drew our attention to what is known as Parivrājaka or ascetic literature in ancient India.[16]

If we look to the subject-matter of the ancient works, we find that there is no basis for holding the the opinion that the Indian literature was divided into two classes, Brāhmaṇic and Kṣatriyaic. In almost all the works we have the glorification of the Brāhmaṇical religion. Among the royal dynasties, no doubt the Kṣatriya monarchs and their genealogies are fully given. But the section covering this subject

15 *Camb. His. of Ind.*, I, p. 297; Wilson's preface to *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*; Winternitz. *His. of Ind. Liter.*, pp. 315 f.; Winternitz. *Some Problems in Ind. Lit.* (1925), p. 21.

16 Winternitz, *Some Problems of Ind. Lit.*, p. 21.

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occupies not even one-fifth of the extant Purāṇas. The major portion of the works deals with fasts and feasts and different forms of worship of particular deities, besides Vedic cosmogony and Vedānta philosophy. Fully Brāhmaṇical are the descriptions of the periods of different Manus and of the genealogies of the Saptarṣis and Prajāpatis.

Secondly, the existence of a distinct Kṣatriya tradition is a misnomer. There was no period in ancient India when the Kṣatriya was not the king and the Brāhmaṇa his guru and minister, technically known as the Purohita. It has been realised by very ancient writers on polity like Kauṭalya that a healthy combination of *śāstra* (science) and *śastra* (arms) results in the progress of the state.

Thirdly, the so-called Brāhmaṇical literature or the Vedic literature abounds with legends of men some of whom were Kṣatriyas and kings of the prehistorical period. The names of Vedic authors are found in the *Vaṃśānukīrtana* portion of the Purāṇa. With regard to *Ṛg Veda* nine families are mentioned of which three, Vaivasvata, Aila, and Cākṣuṣa are Kṣatriyas. There are hymns in the Veda whose authorship is assigned to Vivasvān, Manu, Purūravas, Yayāti, Māndhātā, Viśvāmitra, Sivi etc., names which are ever the pride of the Kṣatriya community. On this account can we term this portion of the Vedic literature as Kṣatriya literature? Besides the authorship of the hymns, the legends of kings like Hariścandra, Pṛthu, Vaideha Janaka, Nābhāga, Pradyumna etc. are in some cases alluded to and in other cases fully narrated.

Fourthly, the Purāṇas call themselves the fifth veda as the *itihāsas* thus implying that they do not ignore the Vedic or Brāhmaṇic tradition, that they are the followers of the Vedic school, and that they are rooted in Vedic literature. Another interesting feature of the whole is that the so-called Kṣatriya tradition, while glorifying the Vedic rituals and practices like the prayers, sacrifices and *śrāddhas*, ignores entirely the non-vedic religious sects, such as Buddhism and Jainism. Still Pargiter (*An. His. Tra.* p. 59) would make the following remark: "The contrast between the stories about Triśaṅku, Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra shows clearly that there were two classes of tradition, the Brāhmaṇic and Kṣatriya." In the same breath he admits their chief patrons, and "Kṣatriya tradition, even when magnifying the

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glory of kings does not disparage Brāhmaṇas but acknowledges their character and position" (*Ind. His. Tra.* p. 59). The one test to demarcate the two traditions according to Pargiter is that Kṣatriya ballad gives a simple and natural account while the Brāhmaṇical version is a farrago of absurdities and impossibilities. This means wherever a tale is told simply i.e. without embellishments of any kind and therefore with no supernatural touch in them, it is genuine and it is Kṣatriya; and embellishments centring around the incidents and therefore of a legendary character are all Brāhmaṇical. Pargiter however seems to contradict himself when he says in the previous paragraph of the same Chapter (V) in defining Kṣatriya tradition that 'Kṣatriya tales do often indulge in the marvellous, but their marvels are generally mere exaggeration without any didactic purpose.'

Fifthly, the view that the Kṣatriya tradition was preserved by a class of professional chroniclers, the Sūtas, and hence a genuine Kṣatriya tradition was built up is due to the misunderstanding of their real status.

The term Sūta has three meanings (*Vāyu*, 62. 147; *Padma*, V. I. 27 ff.): a great ṛṣi and ayonija, a *charioteer*, and a citizen of the Sūta or Anūpa country. The Anūpa country is said to be on the east of Magadha. The people occupying that territory were known as Sūtas or Anūpas, as in the Magadha kingdom the Māgadhas, after the country's name. Secondly, there was the Sūta of mixed caste (*pratiloma*) as referred to in the *Mānavadharma-śāstra* (X, 11 and 17). A person born of a Kṣatriya father and Brāhmaṇa mother was a Sūta by caste (*Mahābhārata, Virāṭ.*, ch. 21, 9.13). Our Sūta, who is the narrator of the Purāṇas and a chronicler of the palace, does not belong to the mixed Sūta caste as the following tradition will show.[17] The first mythical Sūta sprang out of the sacrificial fire of the first king of the Earth, Pṛthu, after whose name the earth became known as Pṛthivī. He is then a venerable sage and an *ayonija*. He first chronicled the story of Pṛthu (*Vāyu* P., 33, 35). When he appeared in the sacrificial hall, Pṛthu called him Sūta, and hereafter upto the historical period of the

17 Sūta's son is called *sauti* clearly indicating that it is a title to the class of Purāṇa narrators.

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Arthaśāstra the Sūta held a high social rank, evoking respect from that class of Brāhmaṇas who were partakers of Vedic sacrifices. This is evident from the way in which he is received by the elite of the assembly, honoured by the assigning of a special seat, and respected as is evident from the epithets used *medhāvi* (1·17), *vaṃśakuśala*, *kalpajña*, *mahābhāga* whenever the sages addressed him to solve their doubts.[18]

By the time the *Arthaśāstra* was composed (cir. 4th century B.C.) the Sūta caste had come into being. Kauṭalya refers to this class but hastens to restrict the application of his definition in the case of Sūta-paurāṇika and his colleague the Māgadha by saying that

Paurāṇikasto anyas sūto māgadhaśca brahmakṣatrād viśeṣataḥ.[19]

What is then the position occupied by the Purāṇas in the ancient Indian Literature? The whole Indian literature can be roughly divided into two classes, the Vedic literature and the Itihāsa-Purāṇa literature. The Vedic literature was the monopoly of the few, so the mass had to satisfy themselves by studying the Itihāsas and Purāṇas only. These were expounded for their benefit in a common hall of the village or town. Hearing of these incidents and morals formed a course of general education to the mass mind though even unlettered. It would appear that even men of letters went to hear these. An instance in point is, as furnished by the *Harṣa-carita*, that Bāṇa went to hear the *Vāyu Purāṇa* in his village. While the Itihāsas dealth with morals, law and polity (*Dharmaśāstras* and *Arthaśāstras*) and were didactic in purpose, the Purāṇas contained all forms of worship and prayer, superstitions, a crude knowledge of geography and history, legendary descriptions of places of pilgrimage and rituals, some knowledge of astronomy and astrology, different schools of philosophy, easier methods of attaining salvation, these and other miscellaneous topics of a commonplace interest. These catered largely to the taste of the common man. Thus the Purāṇas were a supplement to the *Itihāsas*. Both combined contributed to the completion of general culture.

18 See the opening lines of the *Adi Prava* of the *Mbh. Kūrma*, p. I: *Viṣṇu*. I. 13; *Agni*, 1.

19 See the Intro. to this edition of the *Arthaśāstra* by the late T. Gaṇapati Śāstrī, Triv. Sank. Series.

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The Age of the Purāṇas

The composition of the Purāṇa is to be spread over a large expanse of time covering some centuries. In the epoch of the *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Upaniṣads*, we already find some references to a form of composition allied to the Purāṇas. It seems that the earlier Purāṇas were composed in the last stages of the Vedic period but what these Purāṇas were we cannot say at present with any definiteness.

The earliest of the Dharmasūtras, the *Gautama* and the *Āpastamba* mention the Purāṇas. By the time of the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* it was counted as one of the subjects of studies for a royal prince.

That some of the Purāṇas were prior to the *Mahābhārata* is evident from the fact that the Purāṇas in general, with the exception of the *Mārkaṇḍeya* and perhaps a few more, do not mention by name either the *Mahābhārata* or the *Rāmāyaṇa*, though they are familiar with the narratives and legends found mentioned therein. The names of Vedic works including their branches are distinctly mentioned. But there is no definite reference to the epics by their name. Not only are these not quoted but the *Mahābhārata* and its supplement the *Harivaṃśa*,[20] almost a Purāṇa by itself, definitely point out their indebtedness to the Purāṇas.

Again the epic itself contains the implication that Purāṇa was prior to it in composition. Vyāsa makes it clear that after he compiled the Itihāsas and the Purāṇas, he composed the *Mahābhārata* (*Mbh.*, I. i. 34-64. cf. VIII, 34, 1498). There is again the mention of eighteen Purāṇas in the epic (XVIII, 6. 304), and it is said that one gets the same spiritual glory by listening to the 18 Purāṇas. (*An. Ind. Trad.*, p. 22). These and other references make it manifest that the Purāṇas, at least a good number of them, preceded the *Mahābhārata*, and can therefore be placed with much reliance at a date anterior to the epic. But there is no doubt that the later Purāṇas borrowed their materials from the epics.

20 I. 65 2560; 196, 7265; V, 179, 7073; XIII. 84; 3990; XVIII, 6,304.

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A study of the Purāṇas shows that the earlier Purāṇas were composed in the period prior to Mahāvīra and Gautama Buddha, while the later Purāṇas were composed in the epoch following the Buddha. Even among the older Purāṇas from the terms *arhata*, *budhyate*, *budhāya*, (See *Vāyu* P., chap. 54. 71: 97, 172) it was remarked that the Purāṇa was influenced by these heretical sects. But from the circumstances in which these terms occur, we have to take it that nothing of the kind is mentioned, and what is after all meant, is their literal meaning, 'One who is honoured and one possessing wisdom.' These are addressed to Śiva, as one of his names, and have nothing to do whatsoever with Jainism or Buddhism. According to Pargiter (*op. cit.*, p. 68) however the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (III, 17, 8-18, 34, cf. *Pad.*, VI, 263, 69-70) has an account of Buddhism and Jainism. From the term arhatas who forsook the Veda it is contended that the struggle for supremacy between the Buddhists and Jains and Brahmans has been mythologised as a *devāsura* war. The dispute between the gods and the asuras was about a divine year when Viṣṇu created Māyāmoha whose followers became known as *Arhatas*. From the circumstances in which this incident took place and considering the place of its occurrence viz., the banks of the Narmadā, the theory does not stand to reason. For we know as a matter of fact that the birth-place of these heretical sects was the Magadha kingdom far away from the Narmadā.

The *Caraṇa-vyūha*, which is reckoned to be a work of the Sūtra period, mentions five Śākhās or branches of that Veda. In the Purāṇas we also meet with some of these branches, and these are Śākalas, Vāṣkalas and Māṇḍukas. The fact that the Purāṇas speak of only three schools of the *Ṛg-veda*, and not the five as referred to in the *Caraṇavyūha* indicates that the Purāṇas which mention these schools were compiled when the other two schools of the *Ṛg-veda* have become extinct and therefore their composition can be assigned to the Sūtra period or more reasonably to the post-Sūtra period.

The Purāṇas constitute a work of various periods in succession. They are to be spread over a long period covering several centuries. Thus we have the Purāṇas belonging to the epoch of the *Upaniṣads*, and to the Sūtra, the epic and post-epic periods. Therefore every Purāṇa must be judged by its contents, and its chronology fixed accordingly.

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Their historical value

To the historian of ancient India, the Purāṇas are an unfailing source of information. Those Purāṇas, which speak of the royal dynasties and their genealogies, are twelve in number, each having the fifth section entitled the *Vaṃśānucarita*, the dynastic lists and narratives. Even in this section we find a confused conglomeration of legendary and historical events. They give barely the dynastic list. Hardly they furnish details or incidents connected with each monarch of one dynasty or the other. Even in this arithmetical enumeration of the names of the kings, the accounts suffer from want of trustworthiness. In some places inaccurate accounts and in other places wrong names are given. The historian must test this material in the light of archæological, epigraphical, and other literary evidences.

The version of the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* with regard to the Mauryan dynasty, and of the *Vāyu Purāṇa* to the early Guptas has found general acceptance among scholars. The *Vāyu* version of the Gupta rule is believed to be a description of the reign of the Candragupta I, who ruled Magadha from 320-330 A.D. (See *Ind. Ant.*, 1896, p. 323).

In the section on royal dynasties, we meet with two lists, earlier and later. The later list contains those dynasties belonging to what is known as the historical period. Here in addition to the enumeration of names, the length of the reigns of kings is given. The later list deals with those royal dynasties in the epoch following the great war which according to Pargiter is placed about 1100 B.C. After this war three lines of kings are distinguished. These are the Purus, Ikṣvākus and kings of Magadha. There were other contemporary dynasties. But these were small and unimportant. The history of those three dynasties, Purus, Ikṣvākus and Magadhan formed largely the history of ancient India. The continuity of the dynastic lists is broken when we come to the dynasty of the Āndhras. The Purāṇas place the Āndhras after the Kāṇva kings, and calculates the intervening period between these two dynasties to be 157 years. This is to be discredited for there is evidence to point out that the first of the Āndhra kings ruled about 220 or 234 B.C. and was much earlier in date than the first of the Śuṅga kings. (See Smith, *Early History of India*,

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pp. 216-17). Again with regard to this dynasty there is another discrepancy. It is still an open question whether the Andhras ever ruled in *Magadha*. The Purāṇas bear ample testimony to this but scholars doubt their authenticity (Smith, *Early History of India*, p. 216). For we do not hear of their activities in Northern India from any other source. In the absence of a definite data we are forced not to give undue credence to the Purāṇa version, and only on corroborative testimony can this position be cleared up.

Several Purāṇas contain accounts of genealogies of kings. It is not possible to say which accounts are the oldest, though it is generally believed that the *Vāyu*, *Brahmāṇḍa*, *Brahma*, and *Matsya Purāṇas* and the *Harivaṃśa* belong to this class. Other Purāṇas which contain the pedigrees of royal dynasties are the *Padma*, *Garuḍa*, *Agni*, *Bhāgavata*, *Liṅga*, *Kūrma*, *Śiva* and *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇas*. An examination of the lists in the individual Purāṇas would be of no value to the historian on account of corruptions and errors, losses and omissions, and interpolations and alterations. The present *Brahmāṇḍa* does not contain the latter half of the Āṇava genealogy, the Paurava genealogy, and a portion of the dynasties of the Kali Age. These are found in the *Vāyu* (99, 102-290). There is an incomplete version of the North Pañcāla genealogy in the *Brahma Purāṇa*. Further the *Brahma* account furnishes two different origins for the Kanyākubja and Kāśī dynasties. The incompatibility of these origins manifests itself as erroneous. The same error is visible in the account of the *Agni Purāṇa* relating to these two dynasties Kanyākubja and Kāśi. The *Matsya* and the *Liṅga* Purāṇas assign six kings to the Ikṣvāku dynasty but the *Vāyu Purāṇa* (ch. 99, sl. 281-290) gives thirty-one kings. The *Kūrma* contains more matter for chronicling the king Vasumanas (I, ch. 20) as well as the Haihaya monarchs Jayadhvaja and Durjaya (*ibid.*, I, chs. 22 and 23). The *Mākaṇḍeya Purāṇa* gives in detail the early history of the Vaiśāla dynasty (ch. 113-36).

The Purāṇas in Tamil Literature

The term *Purāṇa* meaning 'semi-legendary and legendary tales' occurs both in the *Śilappadikāram* and *Maṇimekalai*. The latter (Canto XVII, 1.98) mentions by name the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* as *Kaḍalvaṇan*

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Purāṇam, an independent testimony as to the antiquity of the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*. It may be remarked here that the term *Viṣṇu* does not occur in the Śangam literature and wherever the name Viṣṇu is mentioned there we have Kaḍalvaṇṇan, Tirumāl and other epithets.[21] It is also evident that the author of the *Maṇimekalai* is acquainted with the *Liṅga Purāṇa* as is seen from the statement 17, 9 *neḍiyon mayaṅgi nilamiśaittoṇṛi* an incident about Rāma's incarnation occurring in the *Liṅga Purāṇa*. Briefly stated the reference is to Viṣṇu taking upon himself the curse levelled against Ambarīṣa by Parvata and Nārada and in that mental delusion (Mayaṅgi) took the incarnation of Rāma. The ideas and ideals, the prescriptions and injunctions laid down in the Purāṇas together with myths, were utilised by the Nāyanmārs and Āḷvārs, the outstanding patriotic saints who carried the torchlight of wisdom and religion throughout the length and breadth of the Tamil land. That the *Liṅga Purāṇa* was well known in the Tamil country in this epoch is evident from its reference in both the *Tevāram* and the *Tiruvāymoḷi*. *Liṅgapurāṇattirukkuṛuntokai* is a title of one of the *Padikams* of *Podu* in the Tevāram attributed to the Saint Appar. In the *Tiruvāymoḷi* again 4,10,5 Nammāḷvār characterises the Śaivas by saying *Iliṅgattiṭṭa Purāṇattiyaruṃ* and this expression is followed by *Samaṇarum Śākiyaruṃ* (the Jains and the Buddhists). This class of literature became soon popular and evoked keen interest for similar literature. Hence the Tamil literary school devoted their attention to translating these original Sanskrit Purāṇas so as to bring the treasures of knowledge embedded in them to the Tamil world. Thus the Purāṇas were assigned a place in the republic of Tamil letters. It is difficult to fix particular dates for each and every Purāṇa so far translated in Tamil. These are the *Śiva*, *Liṅga*, *Matsya*, *Kūrma*, *Bhāgavata*, *Mārkaṇḍeya*, *Devibhāgavatam*, *Viṣṇu* and *Garuḍa*. Thus about ten of the eighteen Mahāpurāṇas have been translated into Tamil."

21 See the author's article on the '*Age of the Viṣṇu Purāṇa*' *IHQ.*, vol. VII, No. 2, pp. 370-371.

22 For details see the learned introduction by Mr. S. Anavaratavināyakam Pillai to the extant edition of the *Matsya Purāṇa* (1906) in Tamil

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Confusion between the Śiva and Vāyu Purāṇas

According to the *Piṅgalandai*, a famous Tamil lexicon of high antiquity, the following is the list of the eighteen Mahāpurāṇas:

Matsya, Kūrma, Varāha, Vāmana, Padma,
Viṣṇu, Bhāgavata, Brahma, Śaiva, Liṅga, Bhaviṣya
Nārada, Garuḍa, Brahmavaivarta, Skanda,
Mārkaṇḍeya, Agni and Brahmāṇḍa

From this it would appear the Tamil lexicographer was familiar with the tradition that the *Śiva Purāṇa* was a *Mahāpurāṇa*. Also it seems that the *Vāyu Purāṇa* is omitted in the list and has not found acceptance as the Mahāpurāṇa. There has been a confusion between the *Vāyu* and the *Śiva Purāṇas* as to which comes under the category of the Mahāpurāṇas. In priority of date, style, contents and the peculiar classification into four pādas the *Vāyu Purāṇa* can easily be ranked as the Mahāpurāṇa.[23]

According to the preface of the extant *Skanda Purāṇa*, and according to the Tamil lexicons the following classification of the Purāṇas has been made, with special reference to the predominating deities glorified in the respective Purāṇas. It is as follows:

	Deity	*Purāṇas*
1.	Brahma,	the Brahma and the Padma Purāṇas
2.	Sūrya,	the Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa
3.	Agni,	the Agni Purāṇa
4.	Śiva,	the Śiva, Skanda, Liṅga, Kūrma, Vāmana, Varāha, Bhaviṣya, Matsya, Mārkaṇḍeya and Vāyavīya (Brahmāṇḍa)
5.	Viṣṇu,	the Nārada, Bhāgavata, Garuḍa, Viṣṇu.

This seems wholly to be a later addition, and a clear interpolation introduced by a recent redactor of these Purāṇa texts. It was evidently

23 A recent writer on the subject seems to solve this difficulty by recognising twenty as the actual number of the Mahāpurāṇas, thus giving the status of the Mahāpurāṇa both to the *Vāyu* and the *Śiva Purāṇas*. He treats the *Harivaṃśa* also as a Mahāpurāṇa, see J. N. Farquhar, *Outline of the Religious Literature of India*, p. 139.

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introduced after the sectarian movements of Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism had spread over the land and come to stay as permanent institutions.

The five characteristics of the Purāṇa

The *Pañcalakṣaṇa* of the Purāṇas which is the definition of the lexicographer Amara Siṃha is faithfully rendered in Tamil, as a stanza in the translation of the *Kūrma Purāṇa* will show.

In other words the five topics of the Purāṇa are mentioned and it shows a faithful rendering of Amarakośa's classification. These are ulakattoṟṟam (*Sarga* Skt.), oḍukkam (*Pratisarga* Skt.), manvantaram (*Manvantara*, Skt.), munivaraśarmarapu (*Vaṃśa* Skt.) and *carittiraṅkaḷ* (*Vaṃśānucarita* Skt.).

Before we close, a word may be said about the translations. They do not seem to follow the original Sanskrit literally. The translator has his own way of rendering them. We find the individuality of the translator in a pre-eminent degree. Comparisons of texts and sections and chapters between the extant original and translations make this evident. But still there is every reason to believe that the spirit of the contents is not sacrificed to the least extent and the matter dealt with is the same, another instance to indicate the healthy contact of the North Indian culture with that of South India.

V. R. Ramchandra Dikshitar

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The Rise of Vijayanagara*

II

We shall now turn our attention to the other conclusion of Mr. Śāsīrī—that Harihara I and Bukka I 'began slowly to rise in power' in the time of Ballāḷa III and of his son, Ballāḷa IV, till about 1340 A.D., and that they "acquired sufficient importance to build forts, and attract the notice of foreign travellers". In proving this Mr. Śāstrī utilised the evidence from two records according to which in his opinion:—

(a) The Hoysala power had so declined that it could not prevent Bukka I from attacking a Hoysala town;

(b) The Hoysala control had diminished so much that it could not hinder another Hoysala governor from raising the standard of revolt in 1346 A.D.

We shall re-examine these records. The first epigraph about Bukka I runs thus:—

Svasti Śrīmat Śaka-varṣu Sahasraha-vikramada saṃvatcarada Caitra Śuddha Aṣṭamī Ādivāradali.....ra Bakkaṇa voḍeyaramagu Gaṅg.....Selāru seṭṭi halli-paṭṭaṇakke bandu Kādidalandu daḷavāṛa Eṛe-permma-nāyaka-Mūvaru-rāyara-gaṇḍana-mayudunu Baṇṭara-bāva Paranāriya-sahodara Hiriya Nāge-nāyaṅkanu Gaṅgu-selārana daḷadali kādi-bidali nāḍu-daḷavāra-yeṛe-permma nāyakanu ā tana tamma Aḍapada-Nāge-nāyaṅkeṅge tana manohutsava-dinda Baṅke-Keṛeyanu net (t) aru-goḍigeyāgi koṭṭaru etc.[23]

Mr. Rice, upon whose version Mr. Śāstrī has based his remarks, translates it thus—"Be it well! On the date specified (? 1100 A.D.) Bakkaṇṇa Oḍeyar's son Gaṅga-Selār came to Seṭṭihaḷḷi-paṭṭaṇa and fought the watchman Eṛe-permma-nāyaka's son (with various titles) Nāge-nāyaka fought in Gaṅgaselār's army and fell, on which the

* Continued from p. 301.

23 *EC.*, VII,Ci., 65, pp. 463-4 (Text).

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watchman and his younger brother in the joy of their heart, granted for him Banke-Kere as a nettaru-godige etc."[24]

The evidence from the above inscription cannot in any way be relied upon to prove that Bukka I, the younger brother of Harihara I, showed his antagonism to the Hoysala authority. The following reasons invalidate its evidence:—

(1) This is an inscription the date of which, according to Mr. Rice, is doubtful. It cannot be dated to the early Vijayanagara times. "The date given is Saka 1000 Vikrama. But this does not correspond in any way, and must be quite wrong".[25]

(2) The 'Gaṅga Selāra' known to history is the 'Gaṅga-Sālār, the Turuka of Kallubarage', who, according to an inscription dated 1397 A.D. burnt the gopuram of the Belūr temple. Mr. Rice identifies this Gaṅga Sālār with the "founder perhaps of the line of the Bahmani Sultans of Kulbarga" of 1340 A.D.[26] It is ridiculous to think that Bukka I could ever had a son called Gaṅga Selāra in 1340 A.D. or thereabouts, assuming that one accepts the conclusions drawn by Mr. Rice, who could in 1397 A.D. attack and turn the *gopuram* of the great Hindu temple at Belūr!

(3) Further, this Viragal gives us no clue as regards the identification of Bukkaṇṇa Oḍeyar; and much less does it enable us to conjecture that one of the sons of Saṅgama attacked a Hoysala town in the life-time of the Hoysalas. The name "Bukkaṇṇa" deserves notice. According to Mr. Rice we have "Vira Bukkaṇṇa Oḍeyar. The necessary inference is that he had a son called Gaṅga Selāra by name. The inscription is not so conclusive about this point. It may be "Bakkaṇṇa Oḍeyar's son Gaṅga Selāra came to Setti hallipaṭṭaṇa", or "Bakkaṇa Oḍeyar's son Gaṅga Selāra Setti coming to Hallipaṭṭaṇa". In either case the reference cannot be to Bukka I. There is no certainty of a 'Bira' (or Vira) 'Bukkaṇṇa' Oḍeyar being mentioned. The 'ra' before 'Bakaṇa' may be indeed the second letter of a 'Vīra' (or Bira). Mr. Rice has, however, added 'Bira' in the name 'Bakkaṇa'. This does not improve matters. For the name in the

24 *EC.*, VII *Cn.*, 66, p. 191.
25 *Ibid.*, p. 34.
26 *EC.*, VII, Intro. p. 31, ff. 1.

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records is 'Bakkaṇa' and not 'Bukkaṇṇa'. Admitting that we accept the reading given by Mr. Rice, we have—"Bakkaṇa-voḍeyara magu Gaṅg-Selāra Seṭṭi halḷipaṭṭaṇakke bandu etc.[27] Here we have a Bakkaṇa Oḍeyar and Gaṅga Selāra, the latter being given the status of a 'Magu' or child! It is hardly necessary to state that a warrior or chieftain, such as Gaṅga Selāra is represented to be, would have been given a higher status than that of a child in a viragal recording a 'nettarugoḍige'. Moreover there is no positive evidence to prove the identification of the Gaṅga Selāra of the above viragal with any of the sons of Bukka hitherto known to history. It may well be that a more accurate transcript of the viragal might reveal to us the names of a Bakkaṇṇa Gauḍa, Yerama Gauḍa, Gaṅga Selāra Seṭṭi coming to Halḷipaṭṭaṇa, and the fight that followed recording the death of Nāge Nāyaka. This is only a conjecture. For the present we may rest satisfied that nothing definite about the relationship between the Hoysalas and the founders of Vijayanagara can be determined from this inscription of the 12th Century A.D.[28]

We shall now examine the other 'facts' referred to by Mr. Śāstrī. He says—"The fact that Siṅgaya Daṇṇāyaka, one of the Hoysala feudatories at Danāyakanakoṭṭai, acknowledges the suzerainty of Ballāḷa III in A.D. 1340, but figures as a semi-independent ruler in A.D. 1346-47 (*Annual Report on Epigraphy*, 1906-7, para 51) also shows that the Hoysala power had declined by that time, and was passing into other hands in the interval".[29] In so far as Mr. Śāstrī has guessed at the date 1346 A.D. as the year which marks the change

27 In the transliteration of the *Viragal* Mr. Rice gives "Maga," *EC.*, VII, p. 338; in the Kannaḍa text the world is "Magu" p. 463. For the use of "Maga" in inscriptions, cf. *EC.*, IX, Kn. 32, p. 266 (Text) where Narasaṇṇa Nāyaka is called Śrī Narasiṅga Rāyara maga." Also *EC.*, VI, Cm. 105, O.C.; *EC.*, IX, Bn. 111, O.C.

28 It is admitted that the name Seṭṭi-halḷi may stand for a real village. Thus we have a Seṭṭi-halḷi in 1563 A.D., *E.C.*, V, Pt. I, Hn. 2, p. 2. As regards the name Bukkaṇṇa, it seems as if this was also a common name. The younger brother of General Maṅgappa was called Bukkaṇṇa. An inscription dated 1420 A.D. says that Iruyappa and Bukkaṇṇa were made highly famous by the abundance of the glory of General Maṅgappa, *EC.*, II, No. 253, p. 107 (Ed. II).

29 *ASR.*, 1907-8, O.C.

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in power, he is correct, although he adduces no reasons to prove his statement. It seems that we are to assume that since in the year 1346 A.D. Siṅgaya Daṇṇāyaka became semi-independent, Harihara and Bukka must have done the same by that time. But there is no evidence to prove that such was the case. Before I go further, it is better to note the source from where Mr. Śāstrī has taken the hint for his conclusion. The 'Siṅgaya Daṇṇāyaka' mentioned here is not to be confounded with the 'Siṅgeya Daṇṇāyaka', the brother of the Hoysala minister Vallappa Daṇṇāyaka. Mr. Śāstrī's remarks are based on the observations made by Mr. Venkayya. The latter in his *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for the year 1906-7, says:—"The earliest of the inscriptions in the Śiva temple at Daṇāyakanakoṭṭai belongs also to the reign of the Hoysala king Vīra Ballāḷa III, and is dated in Śaka-saṃvat 1260, the Pramāthin-Saṃvatsara, corresponding apparently to A.D. 1339-40 (no. 437 of 1906). The donor is Mādappaṇ Siṅgaya Daṇṇāyaka, who bears a few of the more important tiles of the Ketaya mentioned above. The name has evidently to be explained as Siṅgaya Daṇṇāyaka, son of Mādappa or Mādhava. Consequently Siṅgaya must have been a brother of Ketaya. In the other inscriptions of the Śiva temple dated A.D. 1346-47 (no. 402 of 1906) and 1347-48 (no. 440 of 1906), Siṅgaya Daṇṇāyaka figures as a semi-independent ruler and does not mention his over-lord. Nos. 436 and 438 of 1906 register orders by the temple authorities and therefore do not mention Siṅgaya Daṇṇāyaka though he must have been governor at the time."[30] The assumption of Mr. Venkayya is this that since Siṅgaya Daṇṇāyaka does not mention the name of his over-lord in the year 1346 A.D., he must have been a semi-independent ruler. In other words, the fact of a provincial governor not mentioning the name of his suzerain lord is equal to his having become independent. Mr. Venkayya applies this in reference to Siṅgaya Daṇṇāyaka of Daṇāyakanakoṭṭai. Now, let us apply this truism to the temple authorities of Daṇāyakanakoṭṭai. These do not mention in their inscriptions of the same time[31] the name of the ruler over

30 *Annual Report on Epigraphy* (Southern Circle), 1906-7, paras 51 and 81. "Daṇāyakanakoṭṭai is a village 12 miles west-south west of Satyamaṅgalam Tāluka of the Coimbatore District." *Ibid.*, para 48.

31 Nos. 436 and 438 of 1906.

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Danāyakanakoṭṭai. Therefore, according to the theory of Mr. Venkayya, they must necessarily have been independent. But in this case Mr. Venkayya would qualify his remarks by saying—'though he (Siṅgaya Daṇṇāyaka) must have been the governor at the time'. What Mr. Venkayya is prepared to say in connection with Siṅgaya Daṇṇāyaka, he is not prepared to say in regard to the temple authorities of the same place. The fact is that such a contention, viz., that if a provincial governor does not mention the name of his over-lord in a grant or two he must necessarily be independent cannot be maintained in all instances. There are examples of grants having been made by temple authorities as well as by provincial rulers, without mentioning the name of their over-lords, and yet the suzerain power was in existence all the while. The absence of the name of the over-lord in the last days of the Hoysalas may be explained by saying that the terror which shook the Hoysala kingdom necessitated the granting of uncommon powers by the king to his provincial governors. Indeed, it is evident from the peculiar mode in which Vīra Ballāḷa III associated himself with the most powerful nobles of his court, that that monarch never thought so much of the status of his feudatories, nor of his own, as of the greater question of saving the land from the merciless enemy that had already demolished his empire. This explains to us why about the year 1310A.D. Ballāḷa III is mentioned as having ruled the country along with the great minister Medagi Deva Daṇṇāyaka, and the great minister Aḷiya Mācheya Daṇṇāyaka.[32] Then again we are told that in 1328 A.D. "the Hoysaṇa strong-armed Vīra Ballāḷa Deva, together with the champions at his side, the strong-armed Bhīma-Rāya, the prince Kaṭhora-Hara, the prince Siṃha-Raghunātha, the prince Kālamegha, the prince Vīra Śānta, Baicheya Daṇṇāyaka Chamūpa, who was the punisher of the famous Mādhava Rāya of Udevāra, the great minister Ballappa Daṇṇāyaka and the great minister Siṅgeya Daṇṇāyaka were in the residence of the city of Uṇṇāmale, ruling the kingdom in peace and wisdom".[33] Ten years earlier (1318 A.D.) Vīra Mādhava

32 *EC.*, XI, Cd. 1, p. 2.

33 *EC.*, XI, Cd. 4, pp. 3 and 6 (Text). Mr. Rice had added certain names which do not appar in the Kannaḍa text of the inscription. He comments on this inscription as follows:—"Several of the names are very doubtful owing

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Daṇṇāyaka, viceroy over Terakaṇambi, was given almost the status of the king himself.[34]

The conclusions which may be derived from the above is that in the days of Vīra Ballāḷa III the great nobles were willingly taken into the confidence of the king, and were given the rank of a ruler. If this is granted, there is no evidence to prove that the absence of the name of the over-lord in a grant of a feudatory necessarily meant the independence of the latter. Indeed, the customs of allowing some to issue grants without mentioning the name of the suzerain power passed from the Hoysala times to the Vijayanagara age. In 1355 A.D. the authorities of the temple of Aruḷāla-nādan at Tekkal and Śakkaperumāḷ granted certain lands and a daily allowance of cooked rice to Tiruvai-moḷi-dāśar, the husband of Varadakkā[35]. Then again in 1394 A.D. "in Devalālapura, which the Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara, champion over the moustaches of the world, Kaṭhārī Sāḷuva Narasiṅga Deva Mahārāya had granted to Chikka Allappa Nāyaka, son of Haḷikare Lacchināyaka, at the time of making the great gifts prescribed for destruction of all sins, in the presence of the god Lakṣmikānta who had been there for thousands of years, in order to secure all wealth and fortune, we have set up a *dīpamāle* pillar, and a door etc".[36] To these the following from another part of the Vijayanagara empire may be added. An inscription dated Śaka 1384 (=1462-3 A.D.) speaks only of a governor placed over Tuḷuva, by name Hirīya Bhairava Deva Oḍeya of Nāgirājya.[37] In Śaka 1397 (=1475-6 A.D.) Viṭṭharasa Oḍeya placed over Bārakūru-rājya issued a grant without mentioning the name of his over-lord.[38] In all the above four instances no suzerain power is mentioned. According to

to the inscription being indistinct" (p. 3). In the original we have "Hoysiṇa Bhujabala Śrī Vīra Ballāḷa Rāyanu Paḍeyoḷa-gaṇḍa Bhujabala Bhīma-ya-Narasiṃha-Rāya Śrī Vīra-Rāya Kuvara Vīra Śanta Rāya Kuvara-Vīra Çakhyāti-gaṇḍa Baicheya Daṇṇāyaka bhatu Śrī Ma-nmahā-Pradhānaṃ Ballappa Daṇṇāyakaru Śiṅgeya Daṇṇāyakaru Uṇṇāmaleya etc., p. 6 (Text).

34 *EC.*, IV. Ch. 193, p. 23.

35 *EC.*, X. Mr. 17, p. 160.

36 *EC.*, IV. Ng. 79. p. 133.

37 34 of 1901.

38 *Ibid.*, 1910, No. 116. For other examples of provincial governors issuing similar grants, cf. No. 34 of 1901; 91 of 1901; 594 of 1902.

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the most liberal computation the foundation of the empire of Vijayanagara can be dated between 1336 A.D. and 1340 A.D., and it is unanimously held that till the days of Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya the Great, at least, the authority of the central power was unchallenged from the Eastern to the Western Coast of Southern India. Now, if we argue on the strength of the hypothesis of Mr. Venkayya, the authorities of the temple of Aruḷāḷa-nādan at Tekkaḷ, the persons at Devalālapura, the Tulauva governors, Bhairava Deva and Viṭṭharasa were all independent. This would be going contrary to the known facts of Vijayanagara history. The Vijayanagara rulers, who were anxious to preserve what they called 'former custom', (*Purvada maryāde*) went even a step further: they permitted their provincial governors to call themselves in the highest terms. In 1530 A.D. we have Chennaya Bālaya Deva, a descendant of the Coḷa dynasty ruling from Uṛaiyur (near Trichinopoly), and calling himself Mahārāja.[39] He refers incidentally to Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya in his grant. Hence it will be seen that the evidence from the inscription of Siṅgaya Daṇḍanāyaka of Daṇāyakanakoṭṭai cannot be taken to mean that that provincial ruler was an independent ruler. When we have understood this, the two 'facts' upon which Mr. Śāstrī based his arguments appear to be wholy untenable. And least of all can it be maintained that Bukka I attacked a Hoysala town in the times of the last two Hoysala rulers.

B. A. Saletore

39 *Ep. Report*, 1892 (August), p. 8.

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The Eastern Cālukyas*

III

Viṣṇuvardhana II, Viṣamasiddhi, Makaraddhvaja and Pralayāditya (A.D. 663-72)

Viṣṇuvardhana assumed the titles of Viṣamasiddhi, Makaraddhvaja and Pralayāditya.[1] One of his own inscription mentions him as the son of Jayasiṃha-Vallabha, while his other records and those of his successors state that his father was Indra Bhaṭṭāraka. It is suggested that Viṣṇuvardhana was treated as an adopted son by Jayasiṃha I.[2]

But I think the word '*putra*' (son) referring to Viṣṇuvardhana's connection with Jayasiṃha is a mistake for '*pautra*' (grandson). In the epigraphic records, the errors of this type are not altogether rare. Pulikeśin II of Badami was evidently the son of Kīrtivarman I. But the Kopparam plates of this monarch mention him as the '*pautra*' (grandson) of Kīrtivarman.[3]

Altogether four inscriptions of Viṣṇuvardhana's reign have been discovered. These are

(i) *The Reyur plate.*[4]

The Reyur plates of Viṣṇuvardhana mention him as the son of Indra, who was the dear younger brother of Jayasiṃha. It records that the King granted the village of Reyur situated in the midst of the villages of Pasiṇḍi, Paṃṛundiu, Mṛāṇumi, Delkoṇṭha, and Rāvinūyu, in the month of Caitra, in the bright fort-night, under the Maghānakṣatra, on Wednesday. The date corresponds to 13th March, A.D. 664. The writer of the grant was Vināyaka, the son of Eṛa.

* Continued from p. 448.

1 *SE.*, 1917, p. 115; *EI.*, vol. VIII, p. 237. 2 *Ibid.*

3 *EI.*, vol. XVIII, p. 259. 4 *IA.*, vol. VII, p. 189.

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(ii) *The Pa(ṇṭimu)ku* inscription.[5]

The Pa(ṇṭimu)ku inscription records the gift by the King of 12 'Khaṇḍika' of land in the village of Pa(ṇṭimu)ku, in Varanāṇḍu-viṣaya to a certain Bhavaśarman. It was issued in the 3rd year (665 A.D.) of the King's reign during the lunar eclipse. Varanāṇḍu is probably identical with Velanāṇḍu.

(iii) *The Pallivāḍa inscription.*[6]

The Pallivāḍa inscription registers that Jayasiṃha granted the village of Pallivāḍa in the Gudrahāraviṣaya and in the vicinity (*āśraya*) of Arutaṇkūr, to Dhruvaśarman, a resident of Asanapura. The record was issued in the fifth year of the King's reign in the month of Phālguṇa, on the day of the new moon, during the eclipse of the sun. The date corresponds to 17th February A.D. 668.

(iv) *The Paṇṭimuku inscription.*[7]

The Paṇṭimuku inscription records the gift of 12 Khaṇḍika of land in the village of Paṇṭimuku, in the Varanāṇḍu-viṣaya, to a Brahmin Kuṭṭhiśarman, a resident of Okoḍu. It is undated. Viṣṇuvardhana ruled for nine years,[8] and closed his reign in 672 A.D. His son Maṅgi-Yuvarāja succeeded him to the throne.

Maṅgi-Yuvarāja Vijayasiddhi and Sarvalokāśraya
(A.D. 672-696)

Maṅgi-Yuvarāja assumed the titles of Vijayasiddhi and Sarvalokāśraya.[9] Three inscriptions of his reign have been discovered. They are as folows:

(i) *The Chendalur inscription.*[10]

Three copper-plates were found in the village of Chendalur, in the Ongole taluka of the Guntur District. They do not contain the name of Maṅgi-Yuvarāja but mentions the King as the Mahārāja Sarva-

5 *SE.*, 1917, p. 115.
6 *IA.*, vol. VII, p. 191.
7 *SE.*, 1915, App. A., No. 14.
8 *IA.*, vol. VIII, p. 76.
9 *EI.*, vol. VIII, p. 237.
10 *Ibid*

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lokāśraya, son of Viṣṇuvardhana and the grand-son of Indra-Bhaṭṭāraka. The seal of the inscription bears the surname Vijayasiddhi which was assumed by Maṅgi-Yuvarāja. The inscription states that the King made a gift of the village of Cendaṛura, in the Kammarāṣṭra, to some Brāhmins residing in Kaṭura, Vaṅgra, Koḷḷipuṛo (?), Pidena, Kuriyida, and Kodiṅki. The executor was A v(na)havarman of the family of Ayyaṇa. The record was issued on the occasion of an eclipse, on the full moon tithi of Vaiśākha, in the second year of the King's reign, which corresponds to 6th May, A.D. 673.

Of the localities, Cendaṛura is identical with Chendalur, in the Ongole taluk, where the record was found.

(ii) *The Nuṭulapaṛu plates.*[11]

The Nuṭulapaṛu plates also do not mention the name of Maṅgi-Yuvarāja. They state that the inscription was issued by the son of Viṣṇuvardhana and the grandson of Indra-Bhaṭṭāraka, and record that the King granted a 'Padanata' field in the southern quarter at the village of Nuṭulapaṛu in Karmmarāṣṭra, and also a Brāhmaṇa's field, in a site called Revadistana, to a Brāhmaṇa, resident of Krañja. The grant was made on the occasion of the Uttarāyaṇa Saṃkrānti, in the twentieth year of the King's reign, which corresponds to A.D. 692. The executor was Nissaramiji.

(iii) *The Timmapuram inscription.*[12]

A plate containing an incomplete inscription was discovered at Timmapuram, in the Sarvasiddhi taluka of Vizagapaṭam District. It states that Indra-Bhaṭṭāraka was succeeded by Viṣṇuvardhana who was succeeded by his son.....Here the inscription abruptly stops. As the seal contains the legend Vijayasiddhi, the inscription seems to have belonged to Maṅgi-Yuvarāja.

Maṅgi-Yuvarāja had four sons, Jayasiṃha II, Vinayādityavarman, Viṣṇuvardhana III, and Kokkili Vikramāditya Bhaṭṭāraka. Kokkili Vikramāditya was younger than both Jayasiṃha II and Viṣṇu-

11 *IA.*, vol. XIII, p. 104.

12 *SE.*, 1908, p. 61.

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vardhana,[13] and was the step-brother of the former.[14] Maṅgi-Yuvarāja closed his reign in A.D. 696, after a reign of twenty-five years.[15] Immediately after his death, there seems to have broken out a civil war among his sons for the throne. Jayasiṃha succeeded in capturing the imperial throne of Veṅgi. Vinayāditya took possession of Madhyama Kaliṅga whose chief city was Elamañci, the modern Yellamanchili, in the Sarvasiddhi taluka of the Vizagapatam District.[16] He assumed the title of Mahārāja. His son Kokilivarma-Mahārāja or Kokkuli-Mahārāja, who assumed the epithets of Sarvalokāśraya and Anivārita,[17] succeeded him to the throne of Madhyama Kaliṅga. Two inscriptions of his reign have been discovered at Munjeru near Bhogapuram, in the Bimlipatam taluka of the Vizagapatam District. He is mentioned in them as the son of Vinayādityavarman and the grandson of Maṅgi-Yuvarāja.[18] The first inscription[19] records the grant of the village Boḍḍeri or Boṭṭeri, in Bhogipura-Viṣaya, situated in Madhyama-Kaliṅga, to a Brahmin, resident of Muñjeru, on the day of the lunar eclipse. It was issued by the King from his residence (*Vāsaka*) at Elamañci.

Muñjeru is evidently the modern village of the same name where the record was found. Bhogipura is the modern Bhogapuram, situated near Muñjeru. Madhyama-Kaliṅga which seems to be identical with Modocalingae of Megasthenes,[20] is now approximately represented by the Vizagapatam District. The grant was engraved by Būrama.

The second inscription[21] records the gift of the village Veṭṭuvāḍa, in the Bhogapura Viṣaya, to a certain A(śva)śarman, also a resident of Muñjeru, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse. The donee again distributed the above village among one hundred Brahmans, residents of Muñjeru.

Kokilivarma-Mahārāja Anivārita enjoyed his royalty till about A.D. 709, when he seems to have been overthrown by his uncle Kokuli-Vikramāditya.

13 *SII.*, vol. I, p. 41.
14 *Ibid.*, *I.A.*, vol. VIII. p. 74.
15 *Ibid.*
16 *SE.*, 1909, p. 106.
17 *SE.*, 1909, p. 106.
18 *Ibid.*,
19 *Ibid.*,
20 *IA.*, vol. VI, p. 338.
21 *SE.*, 1909, p. 106.

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Jayasiṃha II, Sarvalokāśraya and Sarvasiddhi (A.D. 696-709)

Jayasiṃha, who captured Veṅgi, assumed the epithets of Sarvalokāśraya and Sarvasiddhi.[22] An inscription of his reign was discovered.[23] It records the grant of some lands in the village of Peṇukaparu in Karmarāṣṭra-viṣaya by the King to Era-Droṇaśarman, a resident of Vaṅgipuru, on the full moon (tithi) of Jyeṣṭha. The land granted was bounded on the north by Maṣakha. The grant was issued at the request of Gobbaḍi, and the executor was Niravadya-Sakalalokāśraya Śrī-Pṛthi-Vīgāmuṇḍin. Gāmuṇḍin is probably connected with Gāmuṇḍa, a tadbhava of Grāmakūṭa.[24]

Jayasiṃha ruled for thirteen years[25] and closed his reign in A.D. 709 when his step-brother Kokkuli-Vikramāditya-Bhaṭṭāraka ascended the throne.

Kokkili-Vikramāditya-Bhaṭṭāraka, Vijayasiddhi (A.D. 709)

Kokkili-Vikramāditya seized the throne of Veṅgi by superseding the claim of his elder brother Viṣṇuvardhana. He also seems to have conquered Madhyama-Kaliṅga from his nephew Kokkilivarma Anivārita, son of Vinayādityavarman. He assumed the epithet Vijayasiddhi. An inscription[26] of his reign was discovered at Muñjeru in the Bimlipatam taluka of the Vizagapatam District. It records that Kokuli-Vikramādityā-Bhaṭṭāraka, son of Maṅgi-Yuvarāja and grandson of Viṣṇuvardhana, granted the village of Muñjeru to the residents of Depūḍi, on the occasion of his āturakāla. Āturakāla means the 'moment when one is afflicted'. It seems that the grant was made when Kokkili fell dangerously ill. The village Muñjeru is evidently where the inscription was found. Kokkili could not enjoy his sovereignty for a long time. He had not been on the throne for more than six months. His elder brother Viṣṇuvardhana III revolted and seized the sovereignty of Veṅgi by deposing him from the throne. The deposed King's son Maṅgi-Yuvarāja who assumed the title Vijayasiddhi, succeeded for some time in maintaining his regal position in Madhyama-Kaliṅga. An

22 *EI.*, vol. XVIII, pp. 313-14.
23 *Ibid.*
24 *EI.*, vol. XVIII, p. 314.
25 *SII.*, vol. I, p. 49.
26 *SE.*, 1909, p. 106.

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inscription of his reign was discovered at Muñjeru.[27] It records that Maṅgi-Yuvarāja, son of Kokkuli-Vikramāditya-Bhaṭṭāraka, grand-son of Maṅgi-Yuvarāja, granted the village of Koṇḍuka-Vilaṅgavāḍa in Bhogapura-viṣaya, in Ka(li)ṅga country, to 103 Brahmans of Muñjeru, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse when the building of a Śiva temple was in progress. Most of the localities, mentioned above, have already been identified.

Nothing is known about the successors of Maṅgi-Yuvarāja. Madhyama-Kaliṅga was reincorporated in the Veṅgi Kingdom within a very short time.

(*To be continued*)

D. C. Ganguly

27 *SE.*, 1909, p. 106.

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MISCELLANY

The Account of the Buddha's Nirvāṇa and the first Councils according to the Vinayakṣudraka

Vol. VIII, part 2 of the *IHQ.*, contains a most interesting article of Professor L. Finot "*Mahāparinibbāna-sutta* and *Cullavagga*". The author expresses his opinion to the effect that these two important texts of the Pāli Canon originally represented one work which was subsequently dismembered, the motive for this dismembering being the desire of the compilers to include the part containing the utterances of the Buddha himself in the *Sutta-piṭaka*, whereas the other part, relating to the events after the Buddha's death and especially the rules of monastic discipline were regarded as having their proper place in the *Vinaya-piṭaka*.[1]

The arguments advanced by Professor Finot in support of his opinion are the following: "The events contained in the *Cullavagga* XI follow chronologically those which form the subject-matter of the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta*." "Besides the unbroken sequence of the events which they relate the two sections share a peculiar character suggestive of a common origin, that is their historical, annalistic garb."[2] Moreover, Prof. Finot mentions the *Saṃyuktavastu* (Nanjio N. 1121.) containing an account of both Parinirvāṇa and Councils. This analogy, says Prof. Finot, makes it possible to suppose that the Theravādins (just as the Sarvāstivādins to whom the *Saṃyuktavastu* belongs) "could have had among their sacred books an historical record of the same description."[3]

Now, as regards analogies, the Tibetan tradition puts us in possession of materials according to which it becomes possible to affirm that Prof. Finot must be unquestionably right in his opinion, as will be illustrated by the following:

In the History of Buddhism of the celebrated Tibetan scholar Bu-

1 *Op. cit.*, p. 243. 2 *Ibid.*, p. 242. 3 *Ibid.*

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ston, Rin-chen-ḍub (grub), the historical part proper,[4] begins with an account of the twelve principal events in the Buddha's life.[5] The first eleven, ending with the "First Rolling of the Wheel of the Doctrine"[6] are rendered in accordance with the *Lalitavistara*. The twelfth and last event, viz. the *Buddha's departure into Nirvāṇa* is borrowed from the text called *Vinayakṣudraka*.[7] This text, as preserved in the Tibetan translation in the Kangyur, consists of three bulky volumes[8] and is in its greater part devoted to the minutæ of monastic discipline.[9] The narrative of the Buddha's Nirvāṇa which is incorporated by Bu-ston in his History is contained *in the first of these volumes*.[10] We have the description of the following events thus,—

1. *The Buddha stops that Biotic Force which keeps the continuity of his life on earth going on.*[11]

2. *The Buddha's departure to Kuśanagara and the precepts delivered by him on the way there.*[12]

3. *The Buddha's instructions concerning the funeral rites to be performed after his death.*[13]

4. *The conversion of Sunanda*[14] *and of the Parivrājaka Subhadra*[15]

5. *The last words of the Buddha and his departure into Nirvāṇa.*[16]

6. *The message of the Buddha's Nirvāṇa brought to Ajātaśatru.*[17]

4 Vol. II of my translation, Heidelberg, 1932.

5 Tib. *mdzad-pa bcu gñis.*

6 *prathama-dharma-cakra-pravartana*, i.e. the first Benares sermon.

7 Tib., *Ḥdul-ba phran-tshegs. Bu-ston, Xyl.* 88 a. 3.—*mya-ñan-las-ḥdas-paḥi tshul* (*Ḥdul-ba*) *phran-tshegs bźin bśad-do.* Transl., p. 72.

8 Kg. *ḤDUL.* (Vinaya), vols. XI (*da*), XII (*na*), and XIII (*pa*).

9 Just as in the *Cullavagga*.

10 Fol. 247 a.—301 a. of the Derge edition.

11 *āyuḥ-saṃskāra=tsheḥi ḥdu-byed. Vin-kṣudr.* (Kg. *ḤDUL.*, XI), 247 a. 6—249 a. 5 Bu-ston, Transl., p. 57.

12 *Vin.-kṣudr.*, 250 b. 6 sqq.—Bu-ston, Transl., p. 57.

13 *Vin.-kṣudr.*, 275 b. 5—276 a. 3.—Bu-ston, Transl., 59.

14 Rab-dgaḥ.

15 Rab-bzaṅ. *Vin.-kṣudr.*, 279 a. 6—280 a. 5—Bu-ston, Transl., pp. 59, 60.

16 *Vin.-kṣudr.*, 287 b. 2—290 a. 6.—Bu-ston, Transl., p. 61.

17 *Vin.-kṣudr.*, 290 a. 6 sqq.—Bu-ston, Transl., p. 62.

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7. *The funeral rites.*[18]

8. *The quarrel about the relics of the Buddha and pacification by Droṇa*[19] Conclusion in verse.

A comparision of Bu-ston's text with the version of the *Vinaya-kṣudraka* shows a very close correspondence. All the verses are quoted by Bu-ston at full length; the passages in prose are only slightly abridged.

Thereafter, having dialated on the meaning of Nirvāṇa and its interpretation according to Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna, etc.,[20] Buston passes over to the narrative of the first and second Councils. He does not indicate his source, but even at the first glance it becomes quite clear that this source is no other than the *Vinayakṣudraka*. As before, the version of the latter appears in a slightly condensed form, all the verses being quoted at full length. We have here:—

1. *The intention of Mahākāśyapa to assemble a Council of the Clergy for the sake of rehearsing the Scriptures.*[21]

2. *The invitation of Gavāmpati by Pūrṇa. The refusal of Gavāmpati to take part in the Council and his death.*[22]

3. *The arrival of the Clergy at Rājagṛha. The expulsion of Ānanda by Mahākāśyapa.*[23]

4. *Ānanda's attainment of Arhatship, his return to the Council and the accomplishment of the First Rehearsal.* (Ānanda rehearses the *Sūtras*, Upāli the *Vinaya* and Mahākāśyapa the *Abhidharma*).[24]

5. *Mahākāśyapa's and Ānanda's departure into Nirvāṇa.*[25]

6. *The arrival of Madhyāntika in Kashmir.*[26]

7. *The Second Rehearsal.*—The ten indulgences admitted by the monks of Vaiśālī, the arrival of the Arhat Yaśas and the excommunica-

18 *Vin.-kṣudr.*, 291 b. sqq.—Bu-ston, Transl., p. 63.
19 *Vin.-kṣudr.*, 297 a. 3.—301 a. 3.—Bu-ston, Transl., pp. 65-67.
20 Transl., pp. 67-72.
21 *Vin.-kṣudr.*, 301 a. 3—b. 3.—Bu-ston, Transl., p. 73.
22 *Vin.-kṣudr.*, 301 b. 7—303 b. 2.—Bu-ston, Transl., pp. 73-76.
23 *Vin.-kṣudr.*, 305 a. 6—309 b. 2.—Bu-ston, Transl., pp. 77-81.
24 *Vin-kṣudr.*, 309 b. 2—316 b. 3.—Bu-ston, Transl., pp. 81-85.
25 *Vin.-kṣudr.*, 316 b. 7—322 a. 4.—Bu-ston, Transl., pp. 85-90.
26 *Vin.-kṣudr.*, 322 a. 4—323 a. 7.—Bu-ston, Transl., p. 90.

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tion of the monks of Vaiśālī. The place and the date of the second Rehearsal.[27]

So we have the narrative of the Buddha's attainment of Nirvāṇa and that of the first and the second Councils *actually contained in one text*. And even more:—The story of the Councils begins *just on the same line in which the narrative of the burial of the Buddha finishes*,[28] without any indication whatsoever.

Prof. Finot says that "we have reason to suppose that the account of the Councils of Rājagṛha and Vaiśālī once formed the latter part of a larger historical work."[29]—We may now affirm that such a work actually exists; it is contained in the first volume of the *Vinayakṣudraka*. The two parts which were severed from each other in the Pāli Canon appear in the Northern Vinaya text as one whole.[30]

Thus it is that Prof. Finot's very illuminating suggestions find a striking confirmation by the perusal of the *Vinayakṣudraka* and Bu-ston's reference to it.

E. Obermiller

27 *Vin.-kṣudr.*, 323 b. 4.—332 a. 2.—Bu-ston, Transl., pp. 91-95.

28 Fol. 301 a. 3 (Derge ed.).

29 *Op. cit.*, p. 246.

30 We must remark here that the Northern Canon possesses independently the version of the Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra, Kg. *MDO.*, vols. VIII, IX and X.

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St. Thomas Crosses and St. Thomas Tradition

In the *IHQ.* (VII, 4, p. 759) Prof. Srinivasachari says at the end of his note on *the St. Thomas Tradition and Recent Discovery in Travancore* that "the discovery of this Kadamattam Cross may be regarded as indicating an important landmark in the history of Christianity as it grew up in the Malabar Coast". But the Kadamattam Cross is not such an important landmark, nor was it discovered recently.

In my monograph entitled *Malabar Christians and their Ancient Documents* (p. 19) I said that "the nature of the mistakes in the Pahlavi inscription around the Kadamattam Cross proclaims it an imitation" of the so-called St. Thomas Cross with Pahlavi inscription discovered by the Portuguese in *Anno Christi* 1547. I said also (*loc. cit.*) that the Kadamattam Cross "might very well have been designed by Mar Kurillos (Cyril), an artistically inclined foreign bishop who designed the beautifully carved and painted *Kadus-Kudsin* (Holy of Holies), a wooden *shāmiānā* or canopy over the main altar of the Kadamattam church, which canopy was finished on 17th September 1849 A.D. according to the bishop's own Syriac inscription on it". As I have ascertained later there is a tradition at Kadamattam that the Cross is the work of that bishop (and not of anybody of "the end of the ninth century"). On my visit to the church in 1929 the Vicar told me that this bishop came to Travancore (from Mesopotamia) in the month of Chingam 1022 M.E. and died in Travancore itself on 20th Chingam 1050 M.E. (A.C. 1874). I recognised the Kadamattam Cross inscription to be in Pahlavi in about 1915.

Four other imitations or replicas of the Mount Cross (near Madras) have so far been discovered in Travancore, viz., the larger and the smaller crosses at Kottayam, the damaged cross at Muttucira, and the recently (1931) discovered cross in Alaññād.[1]

1 *Vide* my paper *the Mount Cross and its Copies in South India* read at the first Bombay Historical Congress, 1931, and my article *Persian Crosses* in the *Hindu Illustrated Weekly* of February 7, 1932, with photos of the crosses in both cases.

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Of these the Muttucira Cross was made in 1580 A.C., and the smaller Kottayam Cross seems to be a copy of it made in, or after, 1580 to be set up in the Valiapalli church at Kottayam which was rebuilt of laterite stones in 1577 A.C. The larger Kottayam Cross seems to have been made for the above church about a hundred years ago. The date of the Ālaṅṅād replica has not yet been ascertained. As I have said in my two papers and in my monograph mentioned above there were in Malabar, according to Gouvea's *Jornada* (Coimbra, 1606 A.C.) quoted in them, many copies of the Mount Cross in the churches. These replicas are of course not earlier than 1547 A.C., the date of the discovery of the Mount Cross, near Madras. Says Gouvea: "All the ancient churches were made in the manner of Pagodes of the Gentios", (i.e. Hindu temples) "but full, all of them, of crosses after the manner of the cross of the Miracle of Saint Thomas, which they call St. Thomas' Cross;..... "were all of them adorned with these, both in painting and in sculpture". (*Jornada*, A.C. 1606, fol. 60 v, col. 1). Two or three of the numerous stone copies referred to by Gouvea may be among the five (not three) discovered in Travancore. Many more imitations have yet to be unearthed. It is rather regrettable that none of the copies seen painted on walls in Gouvea's time (*circa* 1600 A.C.) have yet come to light. Probably they have all perished.

Now, about the interpretation of the Pahlavi inscription on the Mount Cross slab and on its five copies in Travancore. The latest interpretation is by Professor C. P. T. Winckworth of Cambridge. It was communicated to me by the Professor in his letter dated 14th May 1930. It is this:—

MY LORD CHRIST, HAVE MERCY UPON AFRAS,
SON OF CHAHARBUKHT,
THE SYRIAN, WHO RESCUED THIS.

This interpretation was prepared by the Professor at my instance, and presented by him first before the Seventeenth International Congress of Orientalists (Oxford, 1928), and was generally accepted by the Iranian scholars present there.[2]

The earliest recorded attempt at deciphering and interpreting the

2 Vide *Kerala Society Papers*, vol. I, pp. 159-166, 168, 267-9.

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inscription was by a Kanara Brahmin in 1561 A.C. "as it appears from the declaration that the Vicar Gaspar Coelho ordered to be taken, and the interpretation of it was sent to the Bishop of that time in Cochin, Dom Jorge Temudo, who the next year 562 sent it to the kingdom of the cardinal Dom Anrique as an authentic instrument as it is related by the Bishop of Algarve, Dom Hieronimo Ozorio in the third Book of de Rebus Emmanuelis, at the end of it".....(see *Esplendores da Religiao*, Goa, April 1930, p. 161). A not very accurate translation (in Portuguese) of the Kanara Brahmin's Tamil reading of the Pahlavi inscription is given on the same page. It is not of any use to translate it here. In a Spanish letter of Fr. A. Monserrate, S.J., written from Cochin in 1579 *Anno Christi*, there is a Romanized transcript of the Brahmin's fraudulent Tamil reading. This was, some ten years ago, deciphered and reconstructed by me from a rotograph of that letter, and the text in Tamil and my translation in English are given in my *Malabar Christians and their Ancient Documents*. Needless to say that this translation, though amusing, will serve no useful purpose here as the Brahmin read the Pahlavi inscription on the fraudulent assumption that it was Tamil. Fr. Burthey's interpretation of the nineteenth century is equally amusing (Vide *op. cit.*, p. 26).

The first to recognise that the inscription is in Pahlavi seems to have been Burnell (1873 A.C.). His interpretation and those of Haug (1874), Harlez (1892) and others of subsequent years up to Sir J. J. Modi's or Mr. B. T. Anklesaria's are fairly well known. It is rather strange that there is a world of difference between the readings and translations of even the most recent scholars, viz., Sir J. J. Modi and Prof. C. P. T. Winckworth.

Prof. Winckworth's reading and translation is dependable especially because the very name Afras son of Chaharbukht, the Syrian ('PR'Ṣ Y ŠḤ'RBWḤT Y ṢWRYY': Afras i Chahārbukht i Suryāyā) appears in the Pahlavi portion of the Quilon Christian copper-plate of about 880 A.C. These two Afrases I would like to identify with Mar Aprot (or Afras) of Malabar Christian tradition. This Persian Bishop came to Quilon in Travancore in 825 A.C.

We can infer from Prof. Winckworth's interpretation that Afras found the Mount Cross (ignoring its copies discovered in Travancore) in

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the ninth cent. A.C. in a neglected condition and 'rescued' it, and that he got the present Pahlavi inscription (about that meritorious act of his) engraved along the arch of the Cross and, like the Portuguese who did so some seven centuries later, set it up in a church which he built for the purpose or which had already been on the Mount, Madras.

So the Mount Cross without the inscription, we may say, was in existence even before Alfras's visit to the Mount in about 850 A.C. But it can never be assigned to St. Thomas, or to any time anterior to 326 A.C., the year of the 'Invention of the Cross' by Helena, mother of Constantine, or perhaps to a date before 435 A.C., the year in which Nestorianism was established in Persia.

Prof. Srinivasachari mentions (p. 758) the cross "set up by Maruvan Sapir Iso in the Tarisaipalli Church, which is mentioned in the Kottayam Plates". These plates mention the Tarisappalli (i.e. the Tarisa Christian Church) built by the Persian merchant prince Maruvan Sabr-Iso, but no cross.[3] There is no document or tradition which says that a cross like the Mount Cross was set up anywhere in Malabar by Sabriso, or Afras, or any one else before the date (1547) of the discovery of the Mount Cross near Madras.

The Mount Cross seems to have been attributed to St. Thomas, the alleged apostle of South India, from the very year of its discovery underground (1547). In 1599 Gouvea saw in Cranganore (in the Cochin State) "the Cross of the Christians, having for tradition that St. Thomas placed it there and made many miracles,".....(*Jornada*, fol. 53 r, col. 2). This cross was presumably a copy of the Mount Cross in stone. A stone cross in Malayattur (in Travancore) also is attributed to St. Thomas. Another stone cross in Nilakkal (in Travancore) said to have been set up by St. Thomas is now supposed to be hidden in the forests there, or to have been destroyed by Hindu Forest Officers. A stone alleged to be a fragment of it is now kept in Kūvappalli (in Travancore). The enigmatic inscription on it was published by me in the *Indian Antiquary* about twelve years ago. A portion of the stone cross said to have been set up by the Apostle in Quilon (in Travancore) is alleged to have

3 See my *Malabar Christian Copper-Plates* in Malayalam, pp. 9-23 for the corrected text and translation of the plates.

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been recovered from the sea there by fishermen and preserved in Quilon. At Niranam and Kokkamangalam, two other St. Thomas localities in Travancore, they talk of wooden, not stone, crosses set up by the Saint. Thomas, Thomas everywhere, but not a scrap of evidence! The St. Thomas tradition of Malabar, by itself, cannot be taken as evidence for his South Indian Apostolate. Nor is there other evidence for it as I have attempted to show in my article 'St. Thomas in Iothabis, Calamina, Kantorya, or Mylapore' in the *Indian Antiquary* for December, 1931.

T. K. Joseph

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Bodhicittavivaraṇa

While proceeding with my *Studies on the Bodhicitta-texts, Tibetan and Chinese*, I read with much interest the notes on the *Bodhicittavivaraṇa* by Drs. Nalinaksha Dutt and P. C. Bagchi in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, vol. VII. pp. 285ff. and 740ff. The *Bodhicittavivaraṇa* No. 1 (Tib. *byaṅ. chub. sems. kyi. 'grel. pa, žes. bya. ba*, Cordier II, p. 135, No. 5 ; Tanjur, Rgyud, Gi, fol. 46 *b*. 2—49 *a*. 5), which Dr. Bagchi in his note referred to above identifies with the text mentioned in the last leaf of the MS. of the *Bodhisattvaprātimokṣasūtra* published by Dr. Dutt in the same journal, pp. 259-286, mentioned above, is not identical with the other two Tibetan texts of the same title, viz. *Bodhicittavivaraṇa* No. 2 (Tib. *byaṅ. chub. sems. kyi. 'grel. ba*, Cordier II, p. 135, No. 6 ; Tanjur, Rgyud, Gi. fol. 41 *b*. 5—46 *b*. 2) and *Bodhicittavivaraṇa* No. 3 (Tib. *byaṅ. chub. kyi. sems. kyi. rnam. par. bšad. pa*, Cordier III, p. 358, No. 93 ; Tanjur, Mdo, Gi, fol. 210 *b*. 4—216 *a*. 7).

Now the first text among the three is a prose commentary on a prose passage, which defines the true nature of *bodhicitta* and is, in fact, identical with a prose passage in the *Guhyasamājatantra* (*GOS*, Vol. LIII, p. 12).[1] Besides the Tibetan translation, it has also a Chinese translation named *phu-thi-sin-kuâṅ-shih* (Nanjio, p. 199), in Skt., as Nanjio would render, *Bodhihṛdayadhyānavyākhyā*. But the same Chinese title may be translated into Skt. as *Bodhicittabhāvanāvivaraṇam*.[2]

The other two texts are two Tibetan translations of one and the same Skt. work. The original work, like the prose commentary mentioned above, is also a commentary in verse on the same prose passage referred to above. It does not comment on the original passage verbatim, but gives an elaborate explanation of it. Both the translations agree as regards the number of verses, which is one hundred and ten. The work begins with a prose passage wherein the author states the purpose of his undertaking to write this commentary. At the end of this passage the original title of the work is found to be amplified as *Bodhicittabhāvanāvivaraṇam* which

1 सर्वभावविगतं स्कन्धधात्वायतनग्राह्यग्राहकवर्जितं धर्मनैरात्म्यसमतया स्वचित्तमा-त्मनुत्पन्नं शून्यताभावम्।

2 See *the Alphabetical Index of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka*, ed. D. Tokiwa and others, Tokyo, 1930, p. 125.

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is supported by the Chinese version of *Bodhicittavivaraṇam* No. 1, referred to above.

The *Bodhicittavivaraṇa-ṭīkā* (Tib. *braṅ. chub. sems. kyi. 'grel. pa'i. rnam. par. bśad. pa.* Cordier, II, p. 141, No. 34 ; Tanjur, Rgyud, Gi, fol. 449 *b.* 4ff.), referred to by Dr. Bagchi in his note, is a sub-commentary on *Bodhicittavivaraṇa*, No. 2. It definitely mentions *Guhyasamājatantra*[3] as the source of the prose passage defining the true nature of the *Bodhicitta*.

All the five texts mentioned above, except the Chinese one, (which is silent on the point), attribute the authorship of the original two commentaries to *Ārya Nāgārjuna*. The *Subhāṣitasaṃgraha* (ed. Bendall, p. 20), wherein verse No. 29 of the *Bodhicittavivaraṇa* No. 2, is cited, supports this attribution. The author of the *Bodhicittavivaraṇaṭīkā* further informs us that this *Ārya Nāgārjuna* was the resident of *Śrīparvata* and the sacrificator of the *Nāgas*.[4] It is not certain whether this *Ārya Nāgārjuna* is identical with the *Nāgārjuna* of the Mādhyamika or the Vajrayāna school. The fact that the texts of the Tibetan versions of these works happen to be included in a volume which contains many works[5] written by the later *Nāgārjuna* and not a single work written by the former one, indicates that the author of the two *Bodhicittavivaraṇas* may be *Ārya Nāgārjuna* of the Vajrayāna school.

Some verses of the *Bodhicittavivaraṇa*, No. 2 are cited in different Skt. works of the Mahāyānists. These verses, so far as I have been able to identify, are given below :

Ṣaḍdarśanasamuccaya of Haribhadra, Bibl. Indica, 1905, p. 46 :

वेदनारूपसंस्कारसंज्ञाविज्ञानमेव च ॥ 11[6] *a–b* ॥

Madhyamakavṛtti, Bibliotheca Buddhica, 1903, p. 41 :

फेनपिण्डोपमं रूपं वेदना बुद्बुदोपमा ।
मरीचिसदृशी संज्ञा संस्काराः कदलीनिभाः ॥ 12 ॥
मायोपमं च विज्ञानम्..... ॥ 13*a* ॥

3 See Tanjur, Rgyud, Gi, fols. 449*b*.7 and 479*a*. 5.

4 *Ibid.*

5 See Cordier, II, pp. 134 ff.

6 This and similar figures at the end of the verses refer to their numbers in the work mentioned.

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Sarvadarśanasaṃgraha, Government Oriental Hindu Series, Poona, p. 30.

परिव्राट्कामुकशुनामेकस्यां प्रमदातनौ ।
कुणपः कामिनी भक्ष्य इति तिस्रो विकल्पनाः ॥ 19 ॥[7]

Subhāṣitasaṃgraha, ed. Bendall. p. 20 :

चित्तमात्रमिदं सर्वमिति या देशना मुनेः ।
उत्रासपरिहारार्थं बालानां सा न तत्त्वतः ॥ 26 ॥

Bodhicaryāvatārapañjikā, Bibl. Indica, 1903, pp. 406, 421 :

न बोध्यबोधकाकारं चित्तं दृष्टं तथागतैः ।
यत्र बोध्या च बोध्यं च तत्र बोधिर्न विद्यते ॥ 44 ॥
अलक्षणमनुत्पादमसंस्कृतमवाङ्मयम् ।
आकाशं बोधिचित्तं च बोधिरद्वयलक्षणा ॥ 45 ॥

Bauddhagān O Dohā, ed. Haraprasada Śāstrī, p. 68 :

शून्यतासिंहनादेन त्रासिताः सर्वशत्रवः ॥ 51 *a–b* ॥

Advayavajrasaṃgraha, GOS., vol. XL, 42 :

गुडे मधुरता चाग्रे रुष्णत्वं प्रकृतिर्यथा ।
शून्यता सर्वधर्माणां तथा प्रकृतिरिष्यते ॥ 56 ॥

Sarvadarśanasaṃgraha, p. 44.

देशना लोकनाथानां सत्त्वाशयवशानुगाः ।
भिद्यन्ते बहुधा लोक उपायैर्बहुभिः पुनः ॥ 97 ॥
गम्भीरोत्तानभेदेन कचिद्वोभयलक्षणा ।
भिन्ना हि देशनाभिन्ना शून्यताद्वयलक्षणा ॥ 98 ॥

In conclusion it may be pointed out that according to the Tibetan passage (either wrongly printed or wrongly copied) cited by Dr. Bagchi (*IHQ.*, vol. VII, p. 741), one may read in the Sanskrit passage published by Dr. Dutt (op. cit. p. 285) *°cittabhāvanā°*

7 This Kārikā is quoted in many works, such as *Sarvasiddhāntasaṃgraha*, Madras, 1909, p. 12.

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(sems. sgom. pa) for *°citta°*, *°vikalpitaḥ* *(rnam. par. brtags. pa)* for *°viṭhapitaḥ*, *tadeva* *(de ñid)* for *'deva°*, *nirūpyate* *(ñes. par. rtog(s). pa)* for *niru lhyate* and *svacittam* *(raṅ sems)* for *cittam*.

P.S. When the above was going through the Press it was found that the *Lakṣaṇavimukta(?)-bodhihṛdayaśāstra* (Nanjio 1304). *'The treatise (or discourse) on the transcendentality of the Bodhicitta'* (vide the *Outlines of Mahāyāna Buddhism* by Suzuki, pp. 292, 297.), attributed to Nāgārjuna is nothing but a prose version of the *Bodhicittavivaraṇa*, No. 2.

PRABHUBHAI PATEL

Vidūsaka's Ears

Vidūṣaka is an interesting figure on the Indian stage, and it is imaginable that his dress might have been in many respects artificial and masked. I have come across an interesting passage in *Pauma-cariya*[1] of Vimala which, if my interpretation is correct, indicates that Vidūṣaka's head-dress was a sort of mask, and *he wore wooden ears*. The verse runs thus:

ते नाम होंति कण्ण ये जिनवर सासणस्मि सुइपुण्णा ।
अन्ने विदूसगस्स व दारुमया चेंव निम्भविया ॥ 1. 19.

According to its colophon *Pauma-cariya* of Vimala was composed 530 years after the Nirvāṇa of Mahāvīra, i.e. *c.* 4 A.C. It is imaginable that Vimala might be referring to a contemporary stage convention, say of the first century of the Christian era. But one does not know when this practice fell out of use. Raviṣeṇa, who finished his work *Padma-carita*[2] in 676 A.C., which closely agrees in many respects with *Pauma-cariya* of Vimala, has perhaps missed the significance, or by the time of Raviṣeṇa the use of wooden ears was antequated, of the original. The Sk. prototype of that verse runs thus:

सद्भूताश्रवणौ यौ च श्रवणौ तौ मतौ मम ।
अन्यौ विदूषकस्यैव श्रवणाकारधारिणौ ॥ 1. 2[illegible].

A. N. UPADHYE

1 Published by Jaina Dharma-prasāraka Sabhā, Bhavanagar.
2 Published in Māṇik Candra Granthamālā, Bombay, vol. 29.

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The Two Parikṣits

Parīkṣit as the sole survivor and successor of the Pāṇḍavas and the Kauravas, after the Great War, has come so much into prominence that no one notes that the Purāṇas refer to a second Parīkṣit. This Parīkṣit (whom we shall distinguish as Parīkṣit I from the well-known Parīkṣit to whom we shall refer as Parīkṣit II) was many generations earlier than the epic Parīkṣit. The Purāṇas, when referring to Parīkṣit, do not differentiate between the two princes.

In book XX of the *Atharva Veda* we meet with a mention of Parīkṣit. He is there called Kauravya (son of Kuru) which statement, as we shall see later on, is fully corroborated by almost all the Purāṇic lists of genealogy. In his realm, that of the Kurus, prosperity and peace abound. 'People thrive merrily in the kingdom of Parīkṣit' (*Atharva Veda*, XX, 127; Bloomfield's translation). The passage of the *Atharva Veda* occurs *verbatim* in the *Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra* (XII, 17).

This Parīkṣit cannot be Parīkṣit II—the son of Abhimanyu. Because we all know that far from being in peace and prosperity, the country was then immersed in sorrow after the Great War. Almost all the well-known kings of India were slain, the five illustrious sons of Pāṇḍu were on the eve of *mahāprasthāna*; the evil Kali age had already set in; this is certainly not a condition in which 'prosperity and peace abound', in which 'people thrive merrily'. Had he been the son of Abhimanyu, the names of the brilliant victors of the Great War (which was yet fresh in people's memory) could not have been reasonably omitted. Almost none of the great figures in the War is mentioned in the entire Vedic literature. Parīkṣit of the *Atharva Veda* is, therefore, Parīkṣit I, the son of Kuru, and not Parīkṣit II, the son of Abhimanyu. In the *Vedic Index* (I, p. 494), therefore, it has been rightly said that "the Epic makes him the grand-father of Pratiśravas and great grand-father of Pratīpa."

The *Mahābhārata* devotes two chapters to the genealogical lists of the family of Puru (I, 94-95). In chapter 94, (which gives the list

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down to Śāntanu only), Ajamīḍha is put as the 16th in descent from Puru. He had three wives, one of whom Dhūminī gave birth to Ṛkṣa. Ṛkṣa's son was Saṃvaraṇa. During his reign, a great calamity befell his realm. This was perhaps due to draught and consequent famine. A Pañcāla king attacked and defeated him; and he was forced to take shelter with his family and retinue in the mountainous recesses of the Punjab, protected by the rivers of Sindhu. After a long exile, however, he managed to regain his territory with the help of the great sage Vasiṣṭha. Saṃvaraṇa[1] had a son named Kuru, who extended the borders of the Kuru country over the forest regions, which was known, after his name, as Kurujāṅgala. It was due to his austerities that Kurukṣetra became a holy place. Kuru had five sons, of which Aśvavān the eldest, was known as Avikṣit. Avikṣit had eight sons of which Parīkṣit was the eldest.

In chapter 95 of the Epic, Ajamīḍha is described as the 23rd in descent from Puru. His son was Saṃvaraṇa who married Tapatī, the daughter of Vivasvān and got Kuru as his son. Kuru married Śubhāṅgī of the Dāśārha country; his son was Vidūra. Vidūra married Saṃpriyā, the daughter of Mādhava, and had a son named Anaśvā. Anaśvā married Amṛtā of Magadha, and his son was Parīkṣit.

The Java text of the *Mahābhārata* makes Ajamīḍha as the 18th in descent from Puru, and gives the following genealogy: Ajamīḍha—Dhūmrākṣa (probably a combination of the names of Dhūmini his wife, and Ṛkṣa his son)—Saṃvaraṇa—Kuru—Parīkṣit.[2]

In the genealogical list given in the grant of Vīra-coḍa-deva, Ajamīḍha occupies the 22nd position in descent from Puru, and the genealogy is given thus: Ajamīḍha—his son Saṃvaraṇa—Sudhaman (Kuru?)—Parīkṣit.[3]

Thus the different versions of the Great Epic speak of an earlier Parīkṣit, who should not be confused with his later namesake.

According to the *Bhāgavata* (ch. IX, 21) Ajamīḍha is the 22nd

1 For detailed particulars of Saṃvaraṇa, see Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, pp. 172, 175; also *JRAS.*, 1910, pp. 48-49; 1918, pp. 246-248.

2 *JRAS.*, 1913, pp. 6-7.

3 *South Indian Inscriptions*, 1, No. 39, pp. 49-62.

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descendant of Puru, and the genealogy is as follows: Ajamīḍha—Ṛkṣa—Saṃvaraṇa—Kuru—Parīkṣit.

The *Harivaṃśa* makes Ajamīḍha the 21st in descent from Puru, and gives the following succession: Ajamīḍha—Ṛkṣa—Saṃvaraṇa—Kuru—Parīkṣit (ch. 32). In one śloka, it distinctly says that there are two Parīkṣits (ch. 32, 105). In another place, it says कुरोः पुत्रस्य राजेन्द्र राज्ञः पारीक्षितस्य ह (ch. 30, 9) which undoubtedly makes Parīkṣit I son of Kuru.

The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (IV, 19) has Ajamīḍha in the 23rd place down from Puru and then gives Ajamīḍha—Ṛkṣa—Saṃvaraṇa—Kuru—Parīkṣit.

In the *Matsya Purāṇa* (ch. 50, 23), Ajamīḍha is the 19th in descent from Puru, and Ajamīḍha is followed by Ṛkṣa—Saṃvaraṇa—Kuru—Parīkṣit.

In the *Vāyu Purāṇa* (II, ch. 37), Ajamīḍha stands 22nd in descent from Puru, and Ajamīḍha is followed by Ṛkṣa—Saṃvaraṇa—Kuru—Parīkṣit.

Mr. Pargiter is of opinion that "Ajamīḍha, Ṛkṣa and Saṃvaraṇa in the main Paurava line were not three successive kings;—genealogies were also intentionally abbreviated." Indeed, in the synchronistic list drawn up by him, he shows that there were long gaps between these kings. It may be possible that the princes who intervened in the gaps were lesser potentates with no political supremacy and as they could not add anything to the glory of the family their names were deliberately omitted. This omission, however, is systematic and it has been accepted by all the Purāṇas.

From the evidences cited above, we can, by no means, ignore the presence of an earlier Parīkṣit who preceded his younger namesake by at least ten or twelve generations.

This Parīkṣit I was contemporary with Śrutāyu, king of Videha and Devānīka, king of Ayodhyā; while Parīkṣit II was contemporary with Vṛhatkṣaṇa, son of Bṛhadbala, king of Ayodhyā, who fell in the Great War. Contemporary with Parīkṣit I was the great Yādava king, Vṛṣṇi, from whose name Kṛṣṇa is often called Vārṣṇeya; but at the time of Parīkṣit II, the Yādavas were destroyed at Prabhāsa; Kṛṣṇa had passed away to the heaven, and one of his family, Vajra, was installed

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by Arjuna in the neighbourhood of Indraprastha just on the eve of their mahāprasthāna.[4]

Dr. H. C. Roy Choudhuri has devoted a chapter in his *Political History of Ancient India* to the Age of the Pārīkṣitas. In this chapter he has made a confusion between the two Parīkṣits. He writes:

"It is, however, possible that Parīkṣit I and Parīkṣit II were really one and the same individual, but the Epic and the Purāṇic poets had some doubts as to whether he was to be regarded as an ancestor or a descendant of the Pāṇḍavas.....That there was a good deal of confusion regarding the parentage of Parīkṣit and the exact position of the king and his sons in the Kuru genealogy is apparent from the dynastic lists given by the Great Epic and the Viṣṇu Purāṇa."....."This confusion, may have been due to the fact that, according to one tradition, Parīkṣit, the father of Janamejaya was the ancestor of the Pāṇḍavas, while according to another and a more reliable one, he was their descendant and that the Epic and the Purāṇic writers sought to reconcile these traditions by postulating the existence of two Parīkṣits and two Janamejayas. The important fact to remember is that Parīkṣit with whose accession our history begins should be identified with his Vedic namesake." (pp. 9-10).

We have already seen that the two kings were separate individuals and the Epic and the Purāṇic poets had no doubt as to their separate identity. Some Purāṇas, the *Harivaṃśa* (ch. 32, 105) and the *Brahma* (ch. 13, 112-3) distinctly calls them Parīkṣit I and Parīkṣit II. We do not find any confusion regarding the parentage of Parīkṣit and the exact position of the king in the genealogical lists as furnished by the different Purāṇas, not excluding the Great Epic and the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*.

NITYADHAN BHATTACHARYYA

4 Pargiter, *op. cit.*, also *JRAS.* (1910).

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REVIEWS

LES COMPOSÉS NOMINAUX DANS LES ŚATAPATHA-BRAHMAṆA by Helena Willman-Grabowska. Première Partie: Index de la Composition Nominale du *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa*, avec quatre Suppléments; Seconde Partie: Le Rôle de la Composition Nominale dans le *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa*. Mémoires de la Commission Orientale de l'Académie Polonaise des Sciences et des Lettres, Nos. 10 and 12. Pp. XXII+134 and VI+266. Krakow 1927-28.

This book incorporates an enormous amount of labour on the part of the authoress. It is a rich store-house of valuable material and is doubtless destined to be the basis of many future works on Vedic philology. The authoress has won by it the gratitude and admiration of all lovers of Vedic philology.

All the nominal compounds in the *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa* of the Mādhyandina recension have been collected and alphabetically arranged in the first part of this work. Their number is no less than 3004. The compounds have been reproduced fairly accurately and much pain has been taken to do justice to the often baffling system of accentuation in the *ŚB*. Every entry in this index is moreover accompanied by a French translation, which, however, in our opinion, was quite unnecessary; for the authoress has not been able to make much improvement on the excellent translation of Eggeling, and moreover, it is not quite in harmony with the purpose with which the book has been written, viz., to ascertain the rôle played by nominal compounds in the *ŚB*. More useful has been the separation of the compounds derived directly from the *Saṃhitā* from those really belonging to the *Brāhmaṇa*. Thus we get the statistical data that of the 3004 nominal compounds occurring in the *ŚB*. 590 are derived from *VS*. and only 72 are common to both. It will be a revelation to many to note that comparatively so few nominal compounds would be common to these two closely connected Vedic texts belonging to succeeding ages. This is surely one of the most eloquent proofs of the fact that in the age of the *Brāhmaṇas*, Sanskrit was still a progressive and living language.

The authoress has also tried to sift out all the nominal compounds

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which occur only in the *ŚB.* and in no other *Brāhmaṇa*. About 800 compounds in the Index are marked with a dot before them, which is to indicate that the authoress has not found those compounds in *TS.*, *TB.*, *AB.*, and the fragments of the *Jaiminīyabrāhmaṇa* as published by Oertel in *JAOS.*, XIV, XV, and XVII, and for which in the St. Petersburg Dictionary only one reference has been given and that out of the *ŚB.* This, however, does not authorise the authoress to put a dot before the respective compounds, if in that way she wishes to mark off the nominal compounds which are peculiar to the *ŚB.* alone. Moreover, with regard to the *Jaiminīyabrāhmaṇa* one may ask, why only the fragments published by Oertel have been consulted and not the excellent *Auswahl* of Caland, published already in 1919.

Besides this index of nominal compounds the first part contains a list of verbs compounded with nouns, a complete list of *āmreḍitas* occurring in the text of the *ŚB.*, a list of derivatives of the compounds and a list of the proper names occurring in the *ŚB.* The whole of the second part is devoted to a detailed discussion of the compounds indexed in the first part. But neither the index nor the discussion on the indexed compounds is quite satisfactory. Such a strictly alphabetical index, regardless of all difference of category and meaning, is not convenient to the serious student of the language, who will demand some kind of scientific grouping of the material, at least, according to categories. No such thing has been attempted. Only the *bahuvrīhis* have been pointed out in the text, parenthetically. In vain will the reader turn to the second part for a scientific treatment of the material collected in the first: the compounds have been arranged and grouped there according to their frequency of occurrence. The detailed discussions, to which the whole of the second part has been devoted, must, unfortunately, be characterised as rambling thoughts. With every page the feeling grows in the mind of the reader that the authoress has no definite plan before her, no fixed point of view to represent, nothing new to offer to the reader. On the contrary, a careful reader will notice a mass of inaccuracies, sometimes of quite an unpleasant nature.

This much for the methodology of Madame Grabowska. Coming to the details, however, we have again, unfortunately, to find fault

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with the authoress, who has bestowed so much labour on the work, but has, as it appears, published the book rather hastily.

From the outset it has been a bold venture to try to reproduce correctly the accent of the *ŚB.*, of which so much is to be inferred by comparison and which still remains so obscure. Three great Sanskritists, namely Weber (Preface to the ŚB.), Leumann (*Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung=KZ.* 31, pp. 22-51) and Caland (Introduction to *Kāṇvīya Śatapatha*, pp. 7-11) have made the *ŚB.*-accent the subject of their special study and Wackernagel too in his peerless grammar (vol. I § 252) has thought it worth while to devote a special section to it. Has Madame Grabowska probed all the difficulties in her way? It is doubtful.

As is well-known, the manuscripts of the *ŚB.* show only one kind of accent mark, namely that of *anudātta* in the usual accent system. But this sign is found in the *ŚB.*-manuscripts under those syllables which elsewhere bear the sign of *udātta* and to make matters worse, the same sign is used also to designate a syllable preceding a *svarita* syllable, the *svarita* syllable itself being left without any sign like an *anudātta* syllable. (To avoid confusion, Weber in his edition of the *ŚB.* has used double horizontal strokes to designate the syllable preceding a *svarita* syllable.) Now the question arises, whether the horizontal stroke in the *ŚB.*-manscripts is the sign of real *anudātta* or is it simply a mode of designating *udātta* and *svarita* syllables respectively? The authorities are on the whole unanimous so far as the *udātta* accent is concerned: it is admitted that a horizontal stroke under a syllable in the *ŚB.* really indicates the *udātta* accent of the same syllable. But opinions diverge on the *svarita* accent. It is held by Kielhorn (*Ind. St.*, X, p. 402) Leumann and Wackernagel that the horizontal stroke under a syllable preceding the *svarita* syllable actually denotes the *udātta* accent (systematically called *anudātta* in the *Bhāṣika Sūtra*, which, however, clearly applies only to the graphic representation of the accent mark) of the syllable and has nothing to do with the *svarita* of the following syllable. Thus according to Weber the graphic representation *manúṣyeṣu* in the *ŚB.* is equivalent to *manuṣyeṣu* of the other texts, whereas according to Kielhorn, Leumann and Wackernagel the graphical representation in the *ŚB.* as it is,

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reflects the true value of the accent. They therefore take upon themselves the great responsibility of vouchsafing that *manuṣyeṣu* of the former days was changed into *manúṣyeṣu* in the days of the *ŚB*. This fascinating problem of the *svarita* accent in the *ŚB*. has at last been solved by Prof. Caland (Introd. to *Kāṇvīya Śatapatha*, p. 11), who has shown that Weber after all has been right. Madame Grabowska has followed Weber in reproducing the accent of the *ŚB* text, but in view of the peculiar difficulties attending the task, only a part of which could be shown in the short excursus above, she has not been able to prevent some deplorable mistakes creeping into her work. Thus in reproducing the word dealt with above she has accented it as *manúṣya* instead of *manuṣyá*. The authoress rightly says that the real accent of *āspātra* (**āspā́tra or āspātra**) cannot be inferred from the text of the *ŚB*. (p. 251). But there are some cases where the real accent can be inferred, and yet the authoress has not been able to do it. On p. 141 Madame Grabowska has taken some pains to demonstrate why it cannot be decided from the *ŚB*. text whether **pūrvā́huti** is to be read as **pū́rvā ā́huti** or not. But the example has been ill-chosen; for it can be definitely proved that **pūrvā́huti** is no compound at all and that it has to be read as **pū́rvā ā́huti.** Only five pages below (p. 146) the authoress quotes the sentence *sā yā* **pūrvā́hutiḥ** etc. Now this sentence definitely proves that the so-called compound has to be read as **pū́rvā́huti,** for bearing in mind that of consecutive *udātta* syllables only the last one is marked (excepting when too many accent signs have to be suppressed in this way), we may easily conclude that if there was no accent on **pū-**, we would have had **sā yā́** instead of *sā yā*. The real accentuation of *pārvāhuti* would therefore be **pūrvā́huti** and this double accent further shows that it is no compound at all. It has therefore to be struck off the index in the first part.

The analysis of the compounds handled in this work is not always satisfactory. For instance, the compounds with the negative prefix *a /an* have been divided into two classes (Pt. 2, p. vii): (1) those in which the negative prefix is connected only with the first component of the compound, e.g. *a-kṛṣṭa-pacyá*, and (2) those in which it is connected with the whole of the compound, e.g. *á-nyūnātirikta*. But a third category ought to have been made, viz. of those, in which the negative

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prefix is connected only with the last component of the compound, e.g. *án-agni-cit*, *á-chambat-kāra*, *an-ante-vāsin*. Such compounds, though illogical, like so many other things in a living language, are of an old type. Already from the *RV*. we have instances like *án-agni-dagdha*, *á-dāra-sṛt* till *Pāṇini's a-sūryam-paśya* (cf. Wackernagel, II, I, § 84 p. 200). These compounds later gave rise to very peculiar anomalous constructions in which the negative prefix is joined not to the verb, as sense would have it, but a noun or adjective belonging to it, e.g. *a-śabdam kurvan*. Wackernagel (*ibid.* § 31c, p. 78) has traced these anomalous constructions back up to the Sūtras; but at least one instance can be cited from the *Brāhmaṇas*: *an-agnāv adhidhāya* (*Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa*, III. 167, *JAOS.*, XVIII, p. 42).

Much speculation has been made to explain the interrelation betwen *rakṣohán* and *rákṣasām apahanta* (Pt. II, p. 21). The authoress is apparently very much puzzled that the preverb *apa-* has been dropped in the compound *rakṣohán* although to all appearance it means nothing but *rákṣasām apahanta*. It may be pointed out that the resumption of a compound verb by the simplex is quite a common phenomenon in the Indo-Germanic languages. It is very conspicuous in some old Greek inscriptions and quite frequent in the *Brāhmaṇas*. For full literature on the point cf. *JAOS.*, XXVIII, p. 86, note 5. The authoress is convinced that the group *rákṣasām apahanta* is a stereotyped phrase, just as unchangeable as the compound *rakṣohán*. She may be right in this, but it is wrong to try to prove it with the help of such participal constructions as *rákṣāṃsy apaghnánn eti*; for here *apaghnán* is a participle only in form, its real function being to express continuous action in combination with *eti* (cf. Delbrück *Altindische Syntax*, § 218). No capital can be made out of such participles.

It is difficult to believe that *asurarakṣasani* is a compound of the type *kṛtākṛtá* and does not mean Asuras and Rakṣas (p. 24). The *Brāhmaṇa* authors are inclined to derive the ritual exclamation *vaṣaṭ* from √*vṛṣ* and Madame Grabowska naturally considers it to be one of their numerous puerile etymologies (p. 33). But, in spite of Eggeling (*SBE.*, XII, p. 88, note) there may be more truth in this etymology of the *Brāhmaṇa* authors than Madame Grabowska thinks, for there is nothing in the way of deriving *vaṣaṭ* from √*vṛṣ* if we make allowance for Prākritic influence.

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On p. 36 the two compounds *ṛtvíj* and (agnídh) have been apparently considered to be of the same antiquity. But it is well known that (agnídh) is a later form originated out of the Ṛgvedic agnídh, in which *-dh* represents the weakest grade of √dhā. At a later age this obscure form was not understood and people began to consider it to be compounded of *agni*+*i* (*n*) *dh*. Hence the form agnídh (cf. Wackernagel I, § 75c, p. 82 and II, 1, § 42a, note, p. 98). Similar weak grade forms are to be found in the *ṚV*. *devátta*<*deva-t-ta*, Prākṛ. *dinna*<*di-d-na*, cf. Gr. dídomi.

The whole discussion on *saṃvatsará* (pp. 55-58) is singularly unfortunate. She declares that the origin of this word is uncertain, although it is one of the few words which certainly belong to the oldest stratum of Indo-Germanic vocabulary, for we have still before us, distributed among different languages, the various Ablaut forms of the word, reminiscent of the hoary past, when the mysterious laws of accent were still in full force. We find the fuller form of the word in (*Saṃ*)*vatsará*, Gr.(v)étos Lat. vetus etc. and the weaker form in the endingless locative *par-út* "in the preceding year" to which however later the locative ending was subjoined, cf. Doric péruti, Att.pérusi (Kretschmer, *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Sprachforschung*, XXXI, p. 354). Moreover Madame Grabowska seems to be inclined to derive the word from *vatsá* "calf", which in her opinion is an "euphemism"! If that is in her mind she is certainly wrong, for even apart from all other considerations the weak grade form *par-út* etc. amply shows that the original meaning was year; éthalon apparently stands for Aeolic etalon. The exact meaning of *vatsá*, Lat. *vitulus*, is "one year old (calf)"; cf. Gothic *wiṛthrus*, Mod. German *Widder* etc. In the same way to years old house-hold animals were called in Latin bīmus<bis+hiems; similarly *trímus*, *quadrímus*. From the same stem, Greek *chímaros* "one year old goat", old Norse *gymbr* "one year old lamb" etc.

The authoress is perfectly right in saying that "la fonction idéale de l'année dans les traités brahmaniques est des plus multiples" (p. 56). But in connection with *saṃvatsará* she ought to have noted the very striking phenomenon that in the older literature *saṃvatsará* has almost always an occult and mystical meaning. In the *ṚV*. it never designates

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a year of joy or sorrow in ordinary human life, for which the various seasons of the year are used—a curious instance of *pars pro toto*. *Saṃvatsará* is rather the year personified than merely the period of a year. If it is used in the latter sense, it is always in connection with the magical sacrifice or the absolute and abstract period of a year.

In saṃvatsaratamī,-tamī has certainly nothing to do with *támas*.

The authoress has indulged in an endless amount of speculation on the suffix-*in* in *kāmarūpin* (p. 78) and she often refers to it as a typical irregular formation. Is she not aware that *bahuvrīhis* are often pleonastically extended by the suffix *in* (cf. Wackernagel II, 1 § 53, pp. 121-2)? Yet she herself has given a list of compounds extended by *-in* on p. 248.

Towards the end of the book the authoress has devoted a few short chapters to the discussion of the compounds from the morphological point of view (pp. 232-51). But they are superficial and offer nothing new to the reader. A discussion on the accent of compounds follows, in course of which Madame Grabowska makes the interesting remark that the change of accent since the days of the *ṚV*. shows a tendency to move towards the second component in the case of *tatpuruṣas* and *bahuvrīhis* (p. 254). An opposite movement, however, is also known; cf. *ṚV. saptá*: *ŚB. sápta*. The juxtaposition of compounds from the view-point of accent is sometimes very suggestive, but the authoress has failed to take the hint. For instance, on p. 256 both the *dvandva* compounds ajāvayaḥ and *ajāviká* are given. Now the question arises, whether *-ká* in *ajāviká* is only a compositional suffix or is it derived from the diminutive form avikā. Now in ajāvayaḥ we have the pure stem unencumbered by the diminutive suffix and this would suggest that in *ajāviká* too the pure stem has been used, *-ká* being only the compositional suffix. But, on the other hand, as the compositional *-ka* is never accented, the reader has to fall back upon the diminutive avikā. The question can thus never be satisfactorily answered.

Lastly, a word on typographical mistakes: their number is legion, almost every page is disfigured by them. The Sanskrit quotations have been often massacred. But that is not the worst of it. Such a sentence at the outset as "Je me suis ṣuis (*sic*!) bornée *à* n'en donner qu'une

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reference par kāṇḍa" (Pt. I, p. xvii) is sure to put the reader in a bad humour.

Such are the defects of the book under review—they could be easily multiplied. Yet, even leaving the second part out of consideration, nobody can deny the usefulness of the material collected in the first. The authoress is therefore to be congratulated on this work.

BATAKRISHNA GHOSH

HISTORY OF DHARMAŚĀSTRA, vol. I, by P. V. Kane, M.A., LL.M. Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona 1930.

The book is a consistent history of the works on Dharmaśāstra. The task undertaken by the author is undoubtedly a difficult one. Although a great deal has been said on the history of Vedic literature, of kāvya and drama, Dharmaśāstra has hitherto remained almost untouched. There is no denying the fact that the history of Sanskrit literature cannot be exhaustive and thorough without a history of one of its most important branches, namely, the Dharmaśāstra. So we are thankful to Mr. Kane for what he has done to remove this desideratum. He has traversed through an extensive field hitherto untrodden and his treatment has been very lucid and clear. He begins with the definition of 'Dharma', a perplexing word, no doubt, and shows how it has passed through different transitions in meaning. He then dwells on the different sources of Dharma and rightly observes that though the Vedas do not contain positive precepts on matters of Dharma in a connected form yet the rules contained in the Dharmasūtras had their roots deep down in the ancient Vedic tradition. This conclusion he bases upon a collection of incidental references made in the Vedic literature to the topics falling under the domain of Dharmaśāstra. Not only this. He predicates also a high antiquity for the Dharmaśāstra works and proves that some of them existed before Gautama and Bodhāyana i.e. before 600-300 B.C. He then gives a very consistent account of the several Dharmasūtras and this he does with an eye to chronology. He begins with Gautama Dharma-

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sūtra which he rightly considers as the oldest of the Dharmasūtras we come across and does not omit even the latest ones. There is a theory started by much eminent scholars as Max Müller and Weber, namely that once there existed a work called Mānava-dharmasūtra and that the existing Manu-smṛti is only a recast of the same. Mr. Kane doubts the validity of the arguments put forward in favour of this theory and discards it on weightier grounds.

It is well-known to scholars that there is a sharp controversy regarding the time of Kauṭilya. Some of the European scholars are for placing him in the 3rd century A.D., while Indian scholars place him in the 4th century B.C. The arguments advanced by European scholars have been very successfully assailed by Mr. Kane, and in doing so he has generally adopted the line of arguments preferred by Mr. K. P. Jayaswal in his well-known work *Hindu Polity*.

The author has noticed all the *nibandhas* and commentaries both in print and in manuscript. He has also taken notice of the writers on Dharmaśāstra such as Yogloka, Śrīkara etc., whose works are now lost but who are referred to by later commentators and digest-makers. He has not omitted even such works as the *Vyavahārāloka* (of Gopāla Siddhāntavāgiśa) which quotes profusely the views of Vācaspati's *Vyavahāracintāmaṇi* and is thus comparatively recent. Kalyāṇabhaṭṭa has also not escaped his notice. It is truly pointed out that he has taken great liberties with the text of Nārada. But when we find the word śāstra explained in Asahāya's commentary as नारदमनुविश्वरूपात्मक we should not see in it any tampering on the part of Kalyāṇabhaṭṭa. For Viśvarūpa here may be taken to mean Viṣṇu especially when it has been used with the two great Saṃhitākāras.

That *Viśvarūpanibandha* is a book of one, Viśvarūpa by name, who is other than the author of the *Bālakrīḍā* is certain, for many views quoted as Viśvarūpa's by the later Nibandhakāras such as Mitrāmiśra and others do not tally with those expressed in the *Bālakrīḍā*. Mr. Kane has given additional reasons too.

The Dharmaśāstra character of the Purāṇas and the *Mahābhārata* is undisputed. Mr. Kane gives us a list of the topics of Dharmaśāstra that are dwelt upon in the *Rāmāyaṇa* also. It is needless to mention that this epic is not looked upon in India as a mere Kāvya

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but a great book on Dharma as well. Mr. Kane has not entered into the vexed question as to the age of the two epics.

The synopsis of the contents, the general index, the list of works on Dharmaśāstra and the list of authors on Dharmaśāstra have greatly enhanced the usefulness and value of the book.

From whatever point of view we look at this comprehensive work we cannot but praise it. It is a splendid contribution to the cause of Sanskrit and bears unmistakable marks of patient industry and profound study of the author. It is an admirable thesis and students of Sanskrit can hardly do without it.

AMARESWAR THAKUR

WORDS IN THE ṚGVEDA (being an attempt to fix the sense of every word that occurs in Ṛgveda) vol. I by Vaijanath Kashinath Rajavade, M.A. Poona 1932. 8 vo. 368 pp.

In this volume Prof. Rajavade attempts to fix the sense of several words occurring in the Ṛgveda. The principle which he follows for this purpose is enunciated on p. iv. of the preface. There we find :

"Accustomed as we are to the style of Kālidāsa and other modern authors, we expect that each word should have a special import of its own. But the Vedic bards disappoint us in this expectation. They indulge in this freak [the repetition of the same idea in different words in one and the same Ṛk] to an extraordinary degree. *They play changes on one theme viz. wealth and grant of wealth for which they have at hand inexhaustible store of words. Was there a competition among them as to who should cram into the small space of a single Ṛk. the largest number of synonyms ?*" The italics are ours. 'Sometimes we have a string of epithets having the same sense as in सनितः सुसनितरुग्र चित्र चेतिष्ठ सूनृत ८।४६।२० ; सनितः=सुसनितः=उग्र=चित्र=चेतिष्ठ=सूनृत=० giver."

Prof. Rajavade should have approached the subject with an open mind and not with his preconceived notion which has made him turn and twist every word occurring in the Veda to fit in with his idea. The author's *idée fixée* seems to be that every substantive in the *Ṛgveda* means 'wealth' or 'gift' and every root means 'to give.'

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Curiously enough the author has not generally shown us how he arrived at this conclusion which is, on the face of it, absurd.

In one or two places however, he takes us into his confidence and shows us how he came to attach the meaning of 'wealth' to certain words but those are clear cases of misconception.

Thus on p. 239 the author says :—

"यदिन्द्र ते चतस्रो यच्छूर सन्ति तिस्रः। यद्वा पञ्च क्षितीनामस्मभ्यं सु न आ भर (५।३५।२) =हे शूर इन्द्र ते तव यत् चतस्रः सन्ति वा अथवा यत् तिस्रः सन्ति वा अथवा पञ्च क्षितीनां यत् अस्ति अस्मभ्यं तत् सु धनम् आभर।.....This is a clear instance of सु meaning wealth. इन्द्र=शूर=O donor."

I regret however to point out that Prof. Rajavade quotes the *Ṛk.* incorrectly. In the *Ṛgveda* the second half of the mantra runs thus—यद्वा पञ्च क्षितीनामवस्तत् सु न आ भर. Instead of अस्मभ्यम् the word अवस् distinctly occurs there as the accusative, so we fail to see how सु can possibly mean wealth here.

Again on p. 233 we read :—

"किं ते कृण्वन्ति कीकटेषु गावो ये नाशिरं दुहे न तपन्ति घर्मम्। आ नो भर प्रमगन्दस्य वेदो नैचाशाखं मघवान् रन्धया नः॥ (३।५३।१४) गावः is masculine here on account of ते and ये". "गावः आशिरं दुहे दुहन्ति=cows yield milk that can be turned into curds. तपन्ति घर्मं=they yield milk which can be boiled." Is it not absurd to say that bulls yield milk ?

In the *Ṛgveda*, however, there is no ये in the second verse as it would be spoiled by the insertion of an additional syllable. As for ते it cannot be regarded as a correlative of ये for the simple reason that it is unaccented and therefore cannot mean 'those' or 'they'. Blissfully unconscious of the importance of accentuation in the determination of the meaning of Vedic words, the professor often stumbles from one blunder to another.

This is a very well-known Ṛk. which is often quoted to refute the अपौरुषेयत्व of the Vedas and it is astonishing to find a scholar misquoting it

Again, on p. 102 we read :

"पुनः पुनर्जायमाना पुराणी समानं वर्णमभि शुम्भमाना। श्वघ्नीव कृत्नुर्विज आमिनाना

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सर्वस्य देवी जरयन्त्यायुः (१।९२।१०).....सर्वस्य आयुः जरयन्ति—wearing out the life of *all* or increasing the wealth of *all*." On p. 318 we find the following supplementary note : "स=मानं=वर्णः=अभि=धनम्. शुम्भमाना=giving, कृलुः=कृ+लु=दात्री। विजः धनानि आमिनाना ददती। देवी=धनवती। सु+वः=सर्वः=धनवान्। सर्वस्य=सर्वस्मै। आयुः=धनम्। जरयन्ती=ददती।"

The reader will find सर्वस्य both on p. 102 and on p. 318. Unfortunately for Prof. Rajavade this *mantra* from one of the most poetical hymns in the *Rgveda* does not contain सर्वस्य but मर्तस्य.

Enough of misquotations. We shall now turn our attention to the other points raised in the preface.

On p. iv we read :—

"अ is not merely negative in *Rv.*; it has a positive sense..... Sāyaṇa in his comment on इमे चेतारो अनृतस्य भूरेः (७।६।५) says:—इमे त्रयः भूरेः प्रभूतस्य अनृतस्य चेतारः हन्तारः. But अनृत is अ+नृत नृ=to give. नृत=a gift, wealth. अ+नृत=abundant wealth. भूरि too means abundant or abundant wealth. चि=to give. चेतृ=a giver."

The learned author, however, does not make the least attempt to show why Sāyaṇa's explanation is to be rejected in favour of his own, especially as many scholars also generally support Sāyaṇa here. In the revised edition of Grassmann's *Wörterbuch* this very instance has been quoted under the first sense of अनृत—Unrecht, Ungesetzliches, Unheiliges (p. 40). Prof. Rajavade should remember : एकाकिनी प्रतिज्ञा तु प्रतिज्ञातं न साधयेत्।

On the page v we find : "Sāyaṇa explains सुरभिष्टमम् (I/186/7) by अतिशयेन सुरभि and सुदृष्टमं (I/18/9) by अत्याधिक्येन धाष्टर्ययुक्तं (?). In the *Pada-pāṭha* सुरभिष्टमं is सुरभि's तमं (sic !) But the word is made up of सु+र+भि+स्त+मं ; सु=र=भि=स्त=wealth. म shows possession सुरभिष्टम—possessed of abundant riches. त्वमग्ने द्युभिः (2/1/1) ; here द्युभिः is not अहोभिः though Yāska and Sāyaṇa say so : द्युः धनम्। तेन युक्तः भिः धनं यस्य सः द्युभिः। भि in द्युभिः and सुरभिः means wealth."

The absurdity of the Professor's derivation of सुरभिष्टमम् is too patent to require any refutation. As for द्युभिः not only Yāska and Sāyaṇa but the author of the *Pada-pāṭha* as also western scholars

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like Geldner regard it as an instrumental plural. Geldner even compares *ágre ahnām* (5. 1. 4-5). Of course, if the Professor could show that भि in Sanskrit occurs as an independent word in the sense of wealth or that it occurs in other Indo-Germanic languages in that sense or is derived from a root which supports this sense, we could have understood his attitude, but unfortunately he does not attempt anything of the kind.

On p. vi. we read :

"We find prepositions like प्र, अभि, अधि, and roots like कृ and नृ used as nouns. प्रतद्वसू (8/13/27) according to Yāska (निरुक्त ६।२१) is प्राप्तवसू which Sāyaṇa adopts, but the latter adds another explanation viz. विस्तीर्णधनौ ; so that प्रतत् is either प्राप्त or प्रतत, that is, विस्तीर्ण. But प्र+तत्+वसु is the correct analysis of the word. प्र=तत्=वसु wealth प्रतद्वसू—those who possess abundant wealth. कृतद्वसू is कृ+तत्+वसु. कृ=तत्=वसु. कृतद्वसू—exceedingly rich." Here again the reader will find that our author does not adduce any reason why प्र and तत् in प्रतद्वसू should mean wealth. Nor is it at all clear what is there to prevent us from accepting the explanation of Sāyaṇa and the analysis of the *Pada-pāṭha*. In the case of कृतद्वसू Sāyaṇa's explanation तकारोपजनश्छान्दसः seems to be quite correct, the त in शतद्वसू, कृतद्वसू etc. being due to the analogy of such forms as विदद्वसू.

What has been stated above will be quite sufficient to demonstrate the absolutely unscientific character of the entire work. Still as Prof. Rajavade requests " the reader to begin with आभर to pass on to 'who shall etc.' and then to take up काकुद् and क्रतु" we are proceeding further in compliance with his request.

On looking up आभर we find the first example given under आभर is 1. 4. 7. एमाशुमाशवे भर यज्ञश्रियं नृमादनम्। पतयन्मन्दयत्सखम्॥ There यज्ञश्रियं is explained thus :—"यज्ञः धनं तेन युक्ता श्रीः धनं यस्य—who has abundant wealth." Sāyaṇa explains यज्ञश्रियं thus यज्ञस्य सम्पद्रूपम्। Skandasvāmin :—यज्ञं यः श्रयति सं यज्ञश्रीः तं यज्ञश्रियं हविष्टमापन्नम् इत्यर्थः। Venkaṭamādhava :—यः सोमो यज्ञं श्रयति। Apart from the fact that neither Sanskrit Yajña nor Avestic Yaśna means धनम्, यज्ञश्रियम् cannot be

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regarded as a Bahuvṛīhi compound as its final member is accented. A Bahuvṛīhi compound, as a rule, accents its first member (cf. *Pāṇ.* 6. 2.1 बहुव्रीहौ प्रकृत्या पूर्वपदम्). Following Sāyaṇa we may dissolve it as a तत्पुरुष in which case the final syllable of यज्ञश्री will be accented according to समासस्य (6. 1. 223) or as an उपपद when the rule गतिकारकोपपदात् कृत् (6. 2. 139) will apply.

We leave our readers to judge, whether it is preferable to take so much liberty with the grammatical rules by taking यज्ञश्रियं as a बहुव्रीहि as well as with the canons of rhetoric by regarding it as tautologous or to accept the explanations of Sāyaṇa and others which are free from these blemishes.

नृमादनम् again is explained by our author : "नृ धनम्। तेन युक्तं मादनं धनं यस्य।" Sāyaṇa explains it thus नृणाम् ऋत्विग्यजमानानां हर्षहेतुम्। Skandasvāmin :—नरो मनुष्या ऋत्विजः, तदाकारा वा देवाः तेषां मदकरम्. Veṅkaṭamādhava :—मदयति च मनुष्यान्।

Here also the author's explanation involves the above two defects. Moreover he cannot suggest even the apology for a ground for rejecting the well-known senses of Skt. नृ Gk. *aner*, Avesta *nere*, Old Lat. *nero*, and Skt. मद् Av. *madhaite*, lat. *médéri* etc.

पतयन्मन्दयत्सखम् is explained by Prof. Rajavade thus :—"पतयतां मन्दयतां सखायं ? पतयति मन्दयति इन्द्रः तस्य सखायं ? पतयति—(Indra) is a master, a ruler. मन्दयति—(Indra) gives. Soma is the companion of Indra who rules over wealth and gives it to his devotees."

This explanation must be rejected as in the case of a षष्ठीतत्पुरुष compound the final member i.e. सख would be accented. पतयन्मन्दयत्सखम् is evidently a governing compound and one is inclined to agree with Wackernagel who in his *Altindische Grammatik* (vol. II, p. 318) regards it as a double compound meaning who 'causes his friend to fly and to be glad.'

On p. 241 we find :

"यदिन्द्र नाहुषीष्वाँ ओजो नृम्णं च कृष्टिषु। यद्वा पञ्च क्षितीनां द्युम्नमा भर सत्रा विश्वानि पौंस्या (६।४६।७) × × × × × ओजः=नृम्णं=द्युम्नं=सत्रा=विश्वा=पौंस्या=riches. यद्वा पञ्च *interpolated being metrically superfluous.*"

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I must confess here that I have not been able to understand the author's notions of Vedic metre. The metre here is Bṛhatī which is defined thus in the *Ṛkprātiśākhya* :—

चतुष्पदा तु बृहती प्रायः षट्त्रिंशदक्षरा।
अष्टाक्षराख्ययः पादास्तृतीयो द्वादशाक्षरः॥

i.e. बृहती consists of 36 syllables, and four verses, three of eight syllables each and the third of 12 syllables.

Now in the mantra यदिन्द्र if we drop out यद्वा पञ्च, the बृहती metre will be destroyed altogether.

Similarly, on pp. 49-50.

"मम देवा विहवे सन्तु सर्व
इन्द्रवन्तो मरुतो विष्णुरग्निः।
ममान्तरिक्षमुरुलोकमस्तु
मह्यं वातः पवतां कामे अस्मिन्॥ (१०।१२८।२)

.....अस्मिन् कामे—in this desire. These two words put in for making up the necessary number of syllables spoil the metre all the same. The last quarter is metrically very defective."

Here again it has to be admitted Prof. Rajavade's notions of defective metres differ very widely from the commonly accepted view. The metre in the above mantra is evidently Triṣṭubh and the last quarter is quite normal. As Macdonell points out, the scheme of the normal verse of eleven syllables is — — — —, ⏑ ⏑ — — ⏑ — — — (*Vedic Grammar for Students*, p. 441) and this has been scrupulously observed in the last quarter of our mantra, the ए of कामे being prosodically short (*Ibid.*, p. 437).

Again on p. 55 we read :

"विश्वान् देवाँ आ वह सोमपीतयेऽन्तरिक्षादुषस्त्वम्।
सास्माꣳ धा गोमदश्वावदुक्थमिषो वाजं सुवीर्यम्॥ (१।४८।१२);

.....सोमपीतये and गोमदश्ववत् spoil the metre and are redundant."

This is also a fairly well-known Ṛk, and Prof. Rajavade has, in his usual way, misquoted it. He prints इषः for उषः and remarks इषः may have been originally उषः.

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As for the metre, we have evidently got Sato-bṛhatī which is defined thus in the *Ṛkprātiśākhya* :—

युग्मावष्टाक्षरौ पादावयुजौ द्वादशाक्षरौ ।
सा सतोबृहती नाम ... ... ॥

i.e. when the even verses consist of eight syllables and the odd verses twelve syllables the metre is known as **सतोबृहती**. It is therefore difficult to understand how **सोमपीतये** and **गोमदश्ववत्** (by the way the word is **अश्वावत्** and not **श्रव**) spoil the metre.

Similarly, on p. 176 we read

"वयं त इन्द्र स्तोमेभिर्विधेम त्वमस्माकं शतक्रतो ।
महि स्थूरं शशयं राधो अद्रयं प्रस्कण्वस्य नि तोशय ॥ (८।५४।८)

.....metre requires **स्तोमैः** and not **स्तोमेभिः**।"

(In the first place **प्रस्कण्वस्य** does not occur in the Ṛgveda but **प्रस्कण्वाय**. Secondly, it does not belong to the 54th hymn of the 8th Maṇḍala but to the 55th).

Here also the metre is Sato-bṛhatī and so metre requires **स्तोमेभिः** and not **स्तोमैः**।

Again on p. 137 we find :

"अभागः सन्नप परेतो अस्मि
तव क्रत्वा तविषस्य प्रचेतः ।
तं त्वा मन्यो अक्रतुर्जिहीलाहं
स्वा तनूर्बलदेयाय मेहि ॥ (१०।८३।५)

.....Metre requires **प्रचेतसः** which then would qualify **तव**."

Here again the metre being **त्रिष्टुप्** the verses should contain eleven syllables each and so **प्रचेतः** is quite correct, the change of **प्रचेतः** into **प्रचेतसः**, far from improving the metre will spoil it by introducing an additional syllable.

This will suffice for **आभर**. Let us now follow the direction of the author and turn our attention to "who shall be our guide in interpreting Ṛg-veda ?" Under this caption (p. 271) the author at the outset quotes *Rv.*, I. I. 3. "**अग्निना रयिमश्नवत् पोषमेव दिवेदिवे । यशसं वीरवत्तमम्**" as also Geldner's and Macdonell's notes on the mantra and remarks : **यशस्** has three senses viz. water, food and wealth as given in the *Nighaṇṭu*.

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Fame, glory is nowhere its sense in Ṛv. That is altogether a modern sense of the word. Every interpreter must bear in mind one thing viz. the employment of synonymous words in one and the same Ṛk. The present Ṛk. is an instance in point. रयि, पोष, यशस् and even वीर mean waalth (?).....दिवे दिवे is dative singular of द्यु which means both day and wealth. The dative according to Sāyaṇa is irregular for the locative. But I think दिवे दिवे is like सनये धनानाम्, वाजसातये, अवसे, ऊतये etc. which are results of the gifts received. दिवे दिवे = for prosperity, that one may enjoy wealth or prosperity."

The above explanation bristles with errors and misstatements. First as to यशस्. When we find यशस् in the sense of fame or glory in all the commentaries from the *Nirukta* downwards and when both Indian and European commentators agree in thinking that यशस् means fame in certain cases, and when this sense eminently suits the context in this particular case, is it not very unreasonable to reject this meaning and propose a meaning for the word which would lay the mantra open to the fault of tautology ? वीर means 'hero' in Sanskrit, it also means 'man' in Avesta and the corresponding word *vir* in Latin means 'manly or heroic man'. The sense of 'hero' suits the present mantra. Is it not therefore altogether unwarranted to attribute an arbitrary sense to the word ?

In the third place दिवे is not a dative form at all. It is the locative singular of दिव and so the learned scholar's speculation as to the meaning of the dative is entirely uncalled for.

Lastly दिवे दिवे and द्यवि द्यवि always mean day by day in the *Ṛgveda.*

On p. 272 we read : "श्रुधी हवं which occurs more than once in *Ṛv.* means 'give (us) wealth' and not hear our call. श्रु and हु have peculiar senses in *Ṛv.* श्रुष्टि, for instance, consists of श्रु and स्ति both of which mean wealth. श्रु, श्रुत्, श्रवस्, all mean wealth. The *Nighaṇṭu* gives अन्न and धन as the two senses of श्रवस्. The word never means fame in *Ṛv.*" (p. 272).

This is a string of errors. श्रुधि corresponds to Greek *kluthi*

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and means 'hear thou.' Lat. *clueo, -ere* (later also *cluo, ere*) means to be called. Cognate forms with similar meanings are found in other Indo-Germanic languages also. Corresponding to श्रुष्टिः we have Śurstiś in the *Avesta*. The stem श्रुष् found in श्रुष्टि occurs in *Av.* Sraośa, A. S. *hlos-nian*, listen, *hlyst*, the hearing whence *hlyst-an*, Eng. listen. श्रवः corresponds to Gk. kle(w)os. The root hū gives us hava, havas, havana, homan, havîman etc. all meaning invocation and the like. We find corresponding forms in the Avesta also—Zavaiti, Zatana, Zaban etc. in the same sense. It is difficult to understand how in the face of all these well-known instances the author rejects the generally accepted meaning and proposes a new one which has no foundation in facts.

On p. 275 we find : "अस्माकमग्ने मघवत् सु दीदिहि (१।७६।५); here मघवत् qualifies सु। मघवत् सु = wealth added to wealth = abundant wealth. मघवत् सु is not one word though the पदकार says so."

The author's knowledge of the rules of accentuation will be apparent from the fact that the locative plural form मघवत्सु is regarded by him as two separate words though there is only one accent.

Again on p. 175 the author explains सकृत् thus—"or, हे सकृत् O thou possessed of wealth." Even admitting for argument's sake that कृत् means wealth, सकृत् can, by no stretch of the imagination, be regarded as a vocative as it is accented on the second syllable ; and vocatives, as everybody knows, accent the first syllable when they are accented at all (Pāṇ. 6. 1. 198, Hirt, *Indo-germanische Grammatik* Vol. v § 216).

He next (p. 275) quotes Ṛk 2.2.6. स नो रेवत् समिधानः स्वस्तये सं ददस्वान् रयिमस्माछ दीदिहि and remarks : "This Ṛk. leaves no doubt about दि meaning to give." The natural construction of the *Ṛk* is रयिं संददस्वान् दीदिहि which clearly shows दि here means anything but 'to give'. The Skt. root दी goes back to I.E. dei, deiā and means 'to shine' and there is no reason for taking it here in the sense of 'to give'.

On the same page we find : "घोषावस्तर—दिवानक्तम् ..... The Padakāra

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treats दोषावस्तर् as a compound which it is not, just as दोषावस्तोः is not a compound."

दोषा वस्तोः is not a compound because the two words have two separate accents. But since दोषावस्तर् in all three places where it occurs has got only one accent, it cannot, पदकार or no पदकार, be regarded as two separate words. As Pandit Sitaram Joshi points out, the use of the expression नपां वस्ता in *Rv.*, 3. 49. 4 as also in Āśvalāyana's *Śrautasūtra*, III. 12. 4 : यदि सायं दोषावस्तर्नमः स्वाहेति। यदि प्रातः प्रातर्वस्तर्नमः स्वाहेति clearly show that cannot mean 'night' in this connexion.

On p. 222 Prof. Rajavade writes : "सौभगा = riches. चेतस् has misled all as they have not been able to forget its modern meaning. चेतस् is not the mind though I laboured under that impression for years, but wealth from चित् to give. स्व धनम्। तेन युक्तं चेतः धनं यस्मिन् तं, क्रतुं धनम् सुचेतसं क्रतुम् = abundant wealth. We must forget modern Sanskrit and think in Ṛgvedic terms. Otherwise our labour must end in nothing. क्रतु nowhere means प्रज्ञा."

We should no doubt be chary of attributing later senses to Ṛgvedic words but is it reasonable to suppose that each and every word in the *Ṛg-veda* must have undergone a change of meaning in later Sanskrit ?

Skt. Kratuḥ corresponds to Av. Xratuś, Gk. Kratos, Hom. Gk. Kratus and certainly means प्रज्ञा in some cases. As regards चेतस् it is well-known that the root चित् means 'to perceive' and as the learned professor has not been able to adduce any reason why it should mean 'to give' he would have done well, in our opinion, to stick to his original view.

On p. 7 the learned scholar says : "नित्यानवरताजस्रम् (अमर १।१।६६) ; अजस्र = नित्य. This sense is modern, not Ṛgvedic." Yet on p. 144 he says अजस्रम् = constant." भवति विज्ञतमः क्रमशो जनः।

On p. 21 Prof. Rajavade explains भाव्यम् as भविष्यमाणम्, his explanation in English being "what is to be." So he has clearly used

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भविष्यमाणम् here in the कर्तृवाच्य, but भू, as is well-known, is read in the धातुपाठ as a परस्मैपदी root.

On p. 30 we find "शर्धयित्रीः हिं सन्तीः करोति" and on p. 162 "आशुषाणासः स्तुवन्त्यः"। With all the deference due to the learned scholar, we must point out that no Sanskrit grammar sanctions the forms हिंसन्तीः and स्तुवन्त्यः. They ought to be हिंसतीः and स्तुवत्यः।

In direct violation of all rules of grammar, ancient and modern, Indian and European, our author everywhere regards नावा as a nom. sing. form even though the context lends no support to this outrage on grammar. It is well-known that नौ Gk. *nau* is the nom. sing. and नावा the Instr. sing. of नौ. See Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik*, vol. III § 121, 121 a ४, Meillet et Vendryes, *Traité de Grammaire Comparée des Langues Classiques* p. 96, Hirt, *Indogermanische Grammatik* vol. II, p. 66, Caroy, *Grammaire de la Langue Sanscrite*, p. 80.

On p. 35 अविम् is explained "अविरोम्नां कृतं पवित्रम्." Strict grammar requires अविरोमभिः, अविरोम्नाम् by the way should be spelt with a ण.

On p. 41 त्रिः is explained as त्रीणि. This is not correct. त्री means त्रीणि in the *Ṛv.* (Pāṇ 6. 1. 70). The corresponding form in Younger Av. is *thrī*. cf. Lat. *trī-ginta*, 30, Lith. *try' lika*, (vide Wackernagel III, § 177) a). त्रिः on the other hand means three times (Pāṇ 5. 4. 18). cf. Younger Av. *thriš*, Gk. *tris*. (Hirt. *Indo-germanische Grammatik*. Vol. III. § p. 309, 318),

On p. 94 we find "जोहुवतः irregular for जोहुवन्ति. The wrong form is due to the nearest word इन्द्राग्नी। जोहुवति, जोहुवतः, जोहुवन्ति" and on p. 15) "घन् reduplicated becomes घनिघन्, घनिघ्नति, घनिघ्नतः, घनिघ्नन्ति. घनिघ्नत् (=घनिघ्नन्) present participal".

We would advise the author to let the यङ्लुगन्त forms severely alone, for they have landed even experts in grammar in disaster.

On p. 111 we find "यन्नि is the 2nd per. sing. imperative." Is सि the termination for the imperative?

On the same page we read "शिन्नू=give, from शक्+स् (of लेट्)." This is repeated on p. 112. But why should the स् of लेट् change the radical

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अ to इ? Moreover, in the passage quoted by the author himself on p. 158—शिक्षा शचीवस्तव नः शचीभिः can शिक्षा by any stretch of the imagination be regarded as a लेट् form? Does a लेट् 2nd person form ever end in आ? The fact is the स belongs to the desiderative and not to लेट्.

On p. 140 we read पर "beyond (the reach of), the word governs the accusative or the instrumental." Does it not govern the ablative also? Vide Speyer, *Vedische und Sanskrit Syntax* § 87, Macdonell, *Vedic Grammar for Students* § 201. 4 etc.

On p. 72 we find "भूरिश्रृङ्गाः—बहुदीप्ताः (Durga)." As a matter of fact, however, Durga uses the unimpeachable expression बहुदीप्तयः।

On p. 126 the learned professor gives us a very interesting derivation of महिमानम्। He says: "महिमानं was most probably महि मानं (a great gift) i.e. *two* padas and not *one*." The fact that it is the making of great gifts that brings greatness to a man would seem to set up a strong presumption in favour of this derivation! cf. सर्वे गुणाः काञ्चनमाश्रयन्ति। This highly interesting derivation reminds us of a similar derivation of "wife"—

Half of wish, half of fear,

So a partner will appear."

Similarly on p. 241 he explains प्रिय thus—"प्री to give. प्रिय = what is given, wealth." This would seem to explain clearly how Sanskrit प्रिय, प्रिया—Av. *frya*, Goth. *freis* came to mean dear, beloved, and help us to understand how the English words friend, friendship etc., which are derived from the same root came to acquire their modern signification!

We took up this volume of Vedic studies from the pen of an Indian scholar with high hopes but we have been most painfully disappointed to find the author without an insight into the fundamental principles of Comparative Philology, rules of accentuation, Vedic metre and scientific method playing havoc with the mantras of the *Rgveda*. Well has it been said, बिभेत्यल्पश्रुताद्वेदो मामयं प्रहरिष्यति।

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It only remains to draw up a short list of some of the words which according to Prof. Rajavade mean 'wealth' or 'to give.'

रुद्=पृ=to give. रोदसी=wealthy ones पर्वन्=धनम्। ऋजीपिन्=वृषन्= a giver (ii).

ऋ=जि=आ=पा=धनम्। वनेषु=अर्वत्सु=उस्रियासु=हृत्सु=दिवि=अद्रौ=into treasures of wealth. विततान=अदधात्=gave. वन्+अं=वनं=a gift. अप्= wealth. दिवि loc. sing. of द्यु=wealth. अद्=रिः=wealth, अ=न्तरि=क्षं=wealth, पयस् from पि to give. सु (=to give) + मः=सोमः (p. iii)

"Sometimes you have a string of epithets having the same sense as in सनितः सुसनितरुग्र चित्र चेतिष्ठ सूनृत (८।४६।२०); सनितः=सुसनितः=उग्र=चित्र= चेतिष्ठ=सूनृत=O giver." नृ=to give नृत=a gift, wealth. अनृत=abundant wealth चि=to give. चेतृ=a giver (iv).

श्रुष्टि is equal to श्रु+स्ति, श्रु=स्ति=wealth. This स्ति forms the last syllable of अभिष्टि, गविष्टि, दिविष्टि and श्रुष्टि—all of which mean abundant wealth. स्वस्ति too has स्ति at the end. स्वं धनम्। तेन युक्तः स्तिः धनं स्वस्तिः (v).

The word [सुरभिष्टमम्] is made up of सु+र+भि+स्त+मं. सु=र=भि=स्त= wealth. (p. v)

भि in द्युभिः and सुरभिः means wealth. (v)

ऋ=दु=to give, a gift, wealth (v)

प्र=तत्=वसु=wealth (vi)

कृ=तत्=वसु. कृतद्वसू=exceedingly rich (vi)

क्रतु and दक्ष both mean wealth (p. 11)

ब्रह्मणा=अर्वता=by means of our wealth (p. 22).

राधस् and श्रवस् mean riches (p. 23).

प्र=wealth (p. 28)

ऋणम्=wealth. स्वर्, अहर् and क्षपा were used to denote wealth (p. 33)

त्मना=with gifts of wealth (p. 42)

यज्ञ=what is given, wealth (p. 86)

ऊर्जम्=धनम् (p. 89)

आयुः=life, that is wealth (p. 89)

आ+चेतत्=is given, चित्=to give. (p. 90)

शस्=to give. शस्ति=a gift. (p. 104)

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भद्रः क्रतुः=a rich treasure (p. 104)

श्रवः=क्रतुः=wealth (p. 104)

क्रतवः=विभ्वः=धनवन्तः. नर्यं=धनवन्तम् (p. 106)

शग्धि=पृधि=यंसि=शिशीहि=give (p. 107)

नृ=वाज=धन=क्रतु=wealth (p. 108)

अर्वत्=नृ=धन=क्रतु=wealth (p. 108)

पुरु and चु both mean wealth (p. 108)

क्रतुं=गातुम्=धनम् (p. 108)

क्रतु, वर, श्वात्र, अर्क, गोत्र=wealth (p. 112)

रै=वसु=क्रतुः=अमृतं=रायः=वयः=wealth (p. 113)

यज्ञ=जैत्र=क्रतु=रयि=वीर=यशस्=अवः=wealth (p. 114)

चित् and चेतस् both mean wealth (p. 115)

द्रविण, ऋत, नमस्, स्व, क्रतु, श्री, दक्ष and मनस् all mean wealth (p. 116)

दक्ष, क्रतु and वसु=wealth (p. 116)

काव्येन=with wealth (p. 116)

क्रत्वा=अवसा=धनेन (p. 117)

मन्यु=strength, wealth (p. 119)

वसु, वरिवः, क्रतु, रै and अवः, all mean wealth (p. 119)

क्रतु and दक्ष both mean wealth (p. 119)

यज्ञ, ऋभु, वयस्, क्रतु, दक्ष, स, प्रजा, इष्, सर्व, वीर, विश्, शर्ध and इन्द्रिय all mean wealth (p. 156)

वसु=गातु=वाज=श्रवः=wealth (p. 160)

नेदु=देव=चनः=सु=चेतुन=महः=रायः = महि=शवस्= चन्नस्=भुज=मघ=वीर्य=wealth. (p. 232) etc. etc.

KSHITISH CHANDRA CHATTERJI

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Select Contents of Oriental Journals

The Indian Antiquary, vol. lxi, Oct., 1932

SIR AUREL STEIN.—*Alexander's passage of the Jhelum.* The writer supports Cunningham's location of Jalalpur as the place where Alexander crossed the Jhelum.

A. H. LONGHURST—*The Great Stūpa at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa in Southern India.* This is a topographical account of the site where the Archæological Deptt. have excavated the famous *Mahācaitya* along with a site-plan and pictures of the stūpa, and those of the locket containing the bone-relic of Buddha. In summarising the contents of the inscriptions, the writer reproduces the mistake of Prof. Vogel, pointed in this Journal (vide *IHQ.*, vol. VII, pp. 651ff.). He supports, though a bit hesitatingly, the opinion of Dr. Hirananda Sastri that the Mahācetiya was originally built to enshrine some corporeal remains of Buddha.

D. C. GANGULY.—*The History of the Paramāra-Mahākumāras.* This is the first portion of a continued article and contains the names of the inscriptional sources from which the history of the Paramāra-Mahākumāras may be reconstructed.

NIHAR RANJAN ROY.—*The Nāthlaung Temple and its gods (Pagan, Burma).* This is the last portion of a continued article, dealing with the images which are opined by the writer as those of the Vāmana or Trivikrama and of Kalki-avatāra. The paper is concluded by a dissertation on the art and historical background of the Nāthlaung images

Ibid., Nov., 1932

R. R. HALDAR.—*The Ghoṣuṇḍī Inscription of the Second Century B.C.* A large portion of the inscription has already been edited in the *E. I.* The present fragment records the construction of a stone wall round a place of worship for Saṅkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva. This is important for the history of the Nārāyaṇa worship.

E. H. JOHNSTON.—*Some Further Notes on the above Inscription.*

D. C. GANGULY.—*The History of the Paramāra Mahākumāras.*

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B. A. SALETORE.—*The Vijayanagara Conquest of Ceylon.* It is proposed in this continued article to show that Ceylon was under Vijayanagara during the reign of the Vijayanagara king Virūpākṣa.

Ibid., Dec., 1932

NALINI NATH DAS GUPTA.—*To the East of Samataṭa.* The writer supports the conclusions of Pandit Padmanatha Bhattacharya in regard to his identification of *Shih-li-ch'-a-to-lo*, *Ka-mo lang-ka* and *To-lo-po-ti* (mentioned by Yuan-chwang) with Sylhet, Comilla, and Hill Tipperah respectively, but objects to the identification of other three places.

KALIPADA MITRA.—*The Gāy-ḍāṇār Festival: The Cult of the Mother Goddess.* This is mainly an account of a peculiar mode of worshipping Lakṣmī, the corn Goddess as practised in several districts of Bengal. It is called *Gārśī* (a corruption of *Gārhasthya*) *vrata* and is observed on the *Saṇkrānti* day of the month of Kārttika.

JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH.—*The Initial Date of the Gāṅgeya Era.*—The conclusion is that the Gāṅgeya era was started in 496 A.C.

Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society, July, 1932

M. GOVINDA PAI.—*The Genealogy and Chronology of the Pallavas.*

NANDALAL CHATTERJI.—*Mr. Vansittart's Mission to Mīr Qāsim*, 1762.

LANKA SUNDARAM.—*The Revenue Administration of the Northern Sircars (1769-1786).*

M. RAMA RAO.—*The Political History of the Kākatiyas.* This instalment of the article deals with the reign of Pratāparudra and his successors.

R. SUBBA RAO.—*The History of the Eastern Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga.*

Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society,
Sept. and Dec., 1932, vol. xviii, pt. ii

G. RAMADAS.—*Chicacole Plates of Anantavarmadeva's son Madhu-Kāvārṇadeva, dated 526 Gaṅga era.* The inscription is in Sans-

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krit and written in Nāgarī characters with a mixture of Oriya. Kaliṅganagara (mod. Mukhalingam) is mentioned in the grant. The date of the inscription, Mr. Das writes, is very important as on the basis of the date given in this inscription and with the help of mathematics, it can be shown that Gaṅga era started Ś. 362 and 389. He has prepared a list of the kings of the Gaṅga family, showing the duration of reign of each in Śaka years. The facsimiles of the plates are given along with a critical edition and an English translation of the charter.

R. S. TRIPATHI.—*On the Extent of Harṣa's Empire.* The author discusses in this paper the following points: (a) the limits of Harṣa's paternal kingdom of Thanesvar, which he inherited after the assassination of Rājyavardhana; (b) the extent of the Maukhari dominions, which came under Harṣa after his seat of government was transferred to Kanauj; (c) the territorial acquisitions of Harṣa as a result of his campaigns and conquests; and (d) Yuan Chwang's testimony regarding the political status of the countries he visited, and the relations they bore to Kanauj.

NANDALAL CHATTERJI.—*Mīr Qāsim at Patna, 1761.*—In this paper there is an account of the political affairs that confronted Mīr Qāsim in 1761 and the steps taken by the Nawab to consolidate his position. The writer shows how the Nawab "got rid of the Shahzadah, prevented a close alliance between him and the Company, secured the recall of Carnac and Coote, ruined Rāmnārāyaṇ and his associates, established his complete control over Patna, and finally freed himself from the control of the Company's officials."

RAI BAHADUR SARAT CHANDRA ROY.—*The Study of folklore and tradition in India.* In this paper the writer points to the need of comparative and regional study of the folklore of different races, peoples and countries, and the importance of the science of Folklore as a handmaid of History. He then dwells on the importance of Tradition as a source of History where contemporary authentic records are wanting.

R. D. BANERJI.—*A Note on the Puri Plates of Dharmarāja.* The writer contends that the date 512 cannot have referred to the Śaka era. The genealogy shows that Dharmarāja was much later than Mādhavarāja II (619-20 A.D.), hence Dharmarāja cannot be placed earlier than him.

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R. D. BANERJI.—*The Tekkali Plates of Śatrubhañja.* The facsimiles of the plates are given along with a tentative edition of the inscription. The donor, who is a member of the Bhañja family, grants a village to two brāhmaṇas. The most important part in the inscription is the date which is given thus : *Saṃvat 8, 100 Kārttika Sudi 8.*

Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1930, vol. xxxi, no. 83

V. GOLOUBEW.—*The Art of India and Indo-China with special reference to Ceylon.* Prof. Goloubew holds that the whole peninsula of Indo-China, excepting Tongking, had Indian culture. He then speaks about the Sanskrit and other inscriptions found there. He shows by dealing with some of the images that the Cambodian art borrowed a lot of formulas from India, but they have also have their own traditions. He then refers to an image of Buddha, a work which he thinks of Ceylonese origin, and some of the temple architectures of Indo-China which resemble those of Ceylon. Lastly he refers to a Cambodian image of a god found in Ceylon and kept in the Colombo Musuem.

S. PARANAVITANA.—*The Excavations in the Citadel at Anurādhapura.*

Journal of Oriental Research, July-October, 1932

K. A. NILAKANTHA SASTRI.—*Mahīpāla of the Caṇḍakauśikam.* This is an attempt to establish the view that Kṣemīśvara produced his drama *Caṇḍakauśika* in the beginning of the 10th century A.C. under the patronage of the Gurjara-Pratīhāra king Mahīpāla I. Arguments have been put forward to show that the verse in the drama which speaks of Mahīpāla defeating the Karṇāṭakas cannot have any reference to Mahīpāla of Bengal as that king cannot be credited with such a feat.

T. N. RAMACHANDRAN.—*Vijaya Kampavarman.* Against the prevalent opinion that Kampavarman was a son of the later Pallava king Nandivarman III, and ruled jointly with Aparājita in the 9th century A.C., the paper points out that he was a son of Aparājita and was a reigning king from about 907 to 933 A.C.

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P. S. SUBRAHMANYA SASTRI.—*History of Grammatical Theories in Tamil.*

T. R. CHINTAMANI.—*A New Commentary on the Amarakośa.* The commentary, believed to have been written by an Utkala scholar some time after the 17th century, mentions 28 works many of which are unknown or little known. A short account of some of these works has been given in this paper.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, October, 1932.

R. F. G. MÜLLER.—*Zum Alter der frühen Fachüberlieferungen der indischen Medizin, der Saṃhitā des Caraka, Suśruta and Vāgbhaṭa.* (On the earliest tradition about Indian medicine and the antiquity of the Saṃhitās of Caraka, Suśruta and Vāgbhaṭa).

The author tries to ascertain the time of Vāgbhaṭa by referring to the various authorities in which he or his work is mentioned and states that 7th century A. C. can be definitely accepted as the latest date. The second in the series of writers on ancient Indian medicine is Suśruta. To ascertain his date, the writer collects the traditions about his life and then tries to fix the probable period when the science of surgery came into vogue in India, but he finds difficulty in putting the date of Suśruta within narrow limits. He also examines the evidences relating to the time of Caraka. His conclusion is that the collections of writings going under the name of Caraka, Suśruta and Vāgbhaṭa must have been in existence by the middle of the second half of the first millennium A.C. (before 700).

STEN KONOW.—*Kalawan Copper-plate Inscription of the year 134.*

This is a Kharoṣṭhī inscription in 5 lines found at Kalawan, 3 miles S. E. of Sirkap in Taxila. The inscription records the erection of a *Stūpa* containing relics for the acceptance of the Sarvāstivādas by an Upāsikā in the year 134 of Azes on the 23rd day of Śrāvaṇa. Prof. Sten Konow gives his observations about the Era indicated by the date in the inscription, and draws attention to the various points of interest in it.

Mahakosala Historical Society's Papers, vol. I

L. P. PANDEYA.—*The Antiquity of Mahākośala.* In this article

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passages have been quoted from ancient works mentioning the name of Kośala.

V. V. MIRASHI.—*Notes on the Bilhari Stone inscription.* The inscription describes the early Kalachuri kings of Tripurī beginning with Kokkala I, and contains an interesting reference to the celebrated poet Rājaśekhara that may help to ascertain how old he was in a particular year.

D. P. MISHRA.—*The Search for Laṅkā.* The note suggests that Laṅkā is to be located on that portion of the Bay of Bengal which washes the shores of the northern part of the present Andhra country as then and only then can the description of the place in the *Rāmāyaṇa* be appropriate.

L. P. PANDEYA.—*Mahākośala in Inscriptions.* The article deals with portions of various inscriptions referring to the country of Mahākośala.

HIRALAL.—*Tummāṇa.* This is a description of a village called Tumāna in the Bilaspur District as also of the relics found there. The place has been identified with the earlier capital of the Haihayas called Tummāṇa in the inscriptions.

L. P. PANDEYA.—*Mahānadī, the famous River of Mahākośala.*

JAGANNATH PRASAD.—*Ancient Cave Temples for Theatrical Performances.* The caves of Sītābeṅgarā and the Yogīmārā on the Ramgar Hill in Surguja State are believed to have been used as pleasure resorts in ancient times. The former used as a theatre, the latter as a trysting place for lovers. The places have been described, and the age of the Yogīmārā inscription discussed in the paper.

L. P. PANDEYA.—*Mahākośala and its History.*

Tirumalai Śrī Venkateśvara, September, 1932

P. V. JAGADISA IYER.—*Places of Antiquarian Interest in South India.*

T. A. VENKATESWAR DIKSHITAR.—*A Reply to some of the Criticisms of Dr. Thibaut in Śaṅkara's Interpretation of the Sūtras of Bādarāyaṇa.*

M. RAMKRISHNA KAVI.—*Janāśraya School of Sanskrit Prosody.* The *Janāśrayichandoviciti* is a work on prosody surmised to have been written about 600 A.C. by Gaṇasvāmin under the patronage

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of king Janāśraya, probably of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin dynasty of the Deccan. A number of verses quoted in the work has been traced, and the convention introduced in its terminology has been explained.

V. VIJAYARAGHACHARIAR.—शिल्प सूत्रम . The edition of the work continues.

Ibid., October, 1932

C. V. SUBRAHMANYAM.—*Tiruvalluvar and his Kural.* In this paper dealing with the ancient Tamil poet Tiruvalluvar and his work, the writer examines the views of the previous scholars as to the personal history and the age of the poet.

M. DORASWAMAYYA.—*Kumāradāsa and Jānakīharaṇa.* From a newly found Ms. of the *Jānakīharaṇa*, extra verses have been supplied in the paper showing that the printed texts of the poem are incomplete. It has also been shown that Kumāradāsa quotes an author of the 6th century and cannot therefore be placed at a later period.

A. PADMANABIAH.—*Early Dravidian Races.*

Ibid., Nov., 1933

C. V. SUBRAHMANYAM.—*Tiruvalluvar and his Kural.* This instalment of the paper discusses the myths and legends connected with the life of the divine poet, also the value of his *Kural.*

A. PADMANABIAH.—*Early Dravidian Races.*

M. RAMKRISHNA KAVI.—*Nṛttapāra—A type of Drama.* It has been shown that the *Nṛttapāra*, referred to in the *Bhagavadajjukīya* but not mentioned in the later works on dramaturgy, represents a special type of drama, and was prevalent from the time of Subandhu till the days of Mahendravikrama.

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Prākṛt Verses in the Bharata-Nāṭyaśāstra*

SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

A = Apabhraṃśa.

a, b, c and d indicate respectively the 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th *pāda* (quarter) of a stanza.

B = The Manuscript of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* in the India Office Library.

C = The Chowkhamba text of the Bharata-*Nāṭyaśāstra*.

HOS = Harvard Oriental Series.

K = The Kāvyamālā text of the Bharata-*Nāṭyaśāstra*.

KM = The Kāvyamālā Series.

M = Mahārāṣṭrī Prākṛt.

Mg = Māgadhī Prākṛt.

NŚ = The Bharata-*Nāṭyaśāstra*.

R = The Manuscript of the Bharata-*Nāṭyaśāstra* in the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.

Ś = Śaurasenī Prākṛt.

Except in the section 2 of the Introduction, bracketed numerals indicating the chapter and verse of the Bharata-*Nāṭyaśāstra* refer to the Kāvyamālā edition of the work. Numerals not so bracketed refer to the Chowkhamba text of the same.

INTRODUCTION

1. The Present Edition

Though the entire text of the Bharata-*Nāṭyaśāstra* (*NŚ*.) has been twice published, most of the Pkt. verses which occur in the chapter XXXII as examples of different kinds of *dhruvās* (a class of songs to be sung during the performance of a *rūpaka*) are in a state of

* A portion of this work originally formed a part of the thesis offered to the Calcutta University in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of the Master of Arts in Comparative Philology.

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hopeless mutilation. Hence, no apology need be offered for making an attempt of critically editing them which by reason of their occurrence in a work dated variously between 200 B. C, and 700 A. C. (S. K. De, *Sanskrit Poetics*, Vol. I. p. 23 ; Winternitz, *Geschichte der indische Litteratur*, vol. III, p. 8.) have a special fascination for the students of the Middle Indo-Aryan. Besides this, the language of the verses may incidentally furnish important hints as to the age of the *NŚ.* as a whole, which, in spite of a view to the contrary, seems to have reasons in its favour to be taken as the composition of a single author. Apart from the linguistic and historical importance of the verses, their literary value is also not inconsiderable. Specimens of beautiful lyric poetry,—these Pkt. *dhruvās*, unlike Pkt. anthologies, such as the *Gāhā-sattasaī*, which treats almost exclusively of the *ādirasa*, deal with different *rasas* on a variety of subjects mostly drawn from nature (*vide infra* § 5).

2. The Critical Apparatus

The present edition of the Pkt. verses of the *NŚ.* has been based on four texts of the work which have been referred to as B, C, K and R. The following is a description of the texts :

B. This Ms. belongs to the India Office Library (London), and was acquired by Bühler. It is a modern Devanāgarī transcript probably from a South Indian original which seems to be closely allied to Mss. used for the KM. text of the *NŚ.*

C. This is the text of the *NŚ.* published in the Kāshi Sanskrit Series from Chowkhamba in 1929. This text claims to be an edition based on five Mss. which have not been described. As the Pkt. verses in the text do not possess any variant it may be surmised that most of the Mss. were fragmentary and lacked ch. XXXII containing the Pkt. verses.

K. This is the text of the *NŚ.* issued in KM. It is based on two Mss. which, though not described, seem to have been fairly complete. Pkt. verses in this text contain variants from both the Mss. *Ka* and *Kha* which will be called K^1 and K^2 respectively.

R. This is a palm-leaf *pothi* of the *NŚ* written in the Grantha script. It belongs to the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, and forms a part of its Whish collection. This text, though very corrupt in its orthography is fairly complete in portions containing the Pkt. verses, and has substantial agreement with C. But it

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omits some verses to be found in C. and gives some fragments not to be met with in C, or any other text and a complete verse omitted in C. but occurring in other texts. Besides this, R. at times gives the verses in a different order. To show the difference of arrangement of verses in the two texts(C. and R.), verses represented by their serial numbers as given in C. have been arranged below with necessary notes in the order of their occurrence in R.

(Fragments of verses not to be found in C. have been described in the Appendix A).

58-152, (omits 60 and 66)
163-174,
176 (fragmentary)
Two fragments not traceable in other texts,
176 (the remaining portion of the verse),
178, 182,
One fragment not traceable in any other text
216, 218, (omits 220)
222-234, (omits 236)
238-249,

One additonal verse which occurs in other texts but has been omitted in C.

250-254,
289, 291 (fragmentary)
One fragment not traceable in any other text,
184,
One fragment not traceable in any other text,
186,
One fragment not traceable in other text.
188-214,
291 (fragmentary),
293-324,

As regards the number and reading of the Pkt. verses, the four texts of the *NŚ*. fall clearly into two groups which may be said to constitute *two different recensions*, shorter and longer. B. and K. represent the shorter recension while C. and R. the longer one. Besides peculiar readings and their difference in the number of verses, the order of verses in the two recensions sometimes vary. The following are two comparative tables showing the correspon-

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dence and difference of the two recensions. In the first table serial numbers of Pkt. verses as well as Skt. verses (defining metres) have been used.

Correspondence

Longer Recension (represented by C.)	Shorter Recension (represented by K.)
47-166	48-166
167-169	nil
170-178	168-169
172-173	174-175
174	nil
175-176	172-173
177-178	nil
179	181
180-199	nil
200-201	185-186
202-203	nil
204-210	187-193
211	nil
212-220	195-203
221-222	206-207
223-236	209-222
237-238	nil
239-242	229-230
243-244	223-224
245-249	231-235
250-255	238-243
256-261	nil
262-264	246-247
265-268	nil
272-287	248-260
288-289	272-273
290-291	267-268
292-293	261-262
294-295	269-270
296-297	277-278
298-301	263-266
302-303	274-276
304-306	279-281

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307	...	...	...	nil
308	...	...	...	282
309-311	...	...	...	nil
312-313	...	...	...	286 287
314	...	...	...	nil
315-317	...	...	...	289-291
318-322	...	...	...	nil
323	...	...	...	298
324	...	...	...	nil

Difference

Besides its correspondence with the longer recension the shorter recension (as available in K. and B.) gives entirely different examples of some *dhruvās*, and some additional *dhruvās* (*nos.* 150, 170, 177, 179, 183, 204, 225, 227, 284, 295-296 in K.) with their examples. Serial numbers of those Pkt. verses given as examples of *dhruvās* of same metres are given below :

Shorter Recension (as represented by K.)				Longer Recension (as represented by C.)
83	...	...	...	79
87	...	...	...	83
97	...	...	...	93
128	...	...	..	126
152	...	...	...	150
163	...	...	...	163
167	...	...	...	167
176	...	...	...	174
262	...	...	...	293
278	...	...	...	297
283	...	...	...	309
288	...	...	...	314
290	...	...	...	316
292	...	...	...	318

The question which of the two recensions is nearer the original is indeed a very puzzling one and cannot be decided at once. From the materials at our disposal it may however be tentatively accepted that the shorter recension in its orthography has remained nearer

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the original, while a number of its verses have been emended, and as for verses which read differently but are examples of same *dhruvās* as they are in the longer recension, nothing very definite can be said (see below the section on Reconstruction). And as for the longer recension it may be accepted tentatively that though successive generations of scribes have done the utmost violence to its orthography it has preserved the words of the original better than the shorter recension. But in spite of this merit, readings of the longer recension too do not appear to have escaped emendation. Such emendations have been pointed out in the Notes. The orthographical defect of the longer recension is due to a more or less rigid application of the rule about the elision of intervocal stops. This orthographic change in all probability occurred long after Vararuci (*c.* 500 A.C.) wrote his grammar and the true meaning of his sūtra *Ka-ga-ca-ja-ta-da-pa-ya-vāṃ prāyo lopaḥ* (II. 2) was lost. Pkt. verses not only of the *NŚ.* but of classical works like Kālidāsa's *Śakuntalā* also did not escape the rough handling of emendators. The following is an instance of such violence.

As an example of Ś. the king-scholar Bhoja in his *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa* quotes from the act VI of the *Śakuntalā* a verse recited by a *ceṭī*. This is as follows :—

तुमं सि मए चुअङ्कुर दिण्णो कामस्स गहिदधणुहस्स ।
जुवइ-मणोमोहणसह पञ्चब्भहिओ सरो होहि ॥

This is the reading of the KM. edition of the *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa* (p. 125). The fact that all intervocal *d*'s excepting one have been dropped shows clearly the emendator's hand. This verse with slight variation occurs in the Devanāgarī recension of the *Śakuntalā*. The Nirṇaya-sāgara edition of the work with Rāghava-bhaṭṭa's commentary representing this recension reads the verse as follows :—

तुमं सि मए चुदङ्कुर दिण्णो कामस्स गहिदधणुअस्स ।
पहिअजणजुवइलक्खो पञ्चब्भहिओ सरो होहि ॥

In spite of the slight variation this reading clearly shows the Ś. character of the verse better ; for it suppresses only one intervocal *d*. However it is astonishing to find that Cappeller in his edition of the Southern recension of the play reads the couplet with all intervocal *d*'s elided. And besides this he records no variant for the same. Are we to believe that the Mss. supported him

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uniformly? In the Bengali recension edited by Pischel the verse reads differently to some extent, and is as follows :—

अरिहसि मे चुअङ्कुरो दिण्णो कामस्स गहिअचावस्स ।
सच्चविअजुवइलक्खो पच्चब्भहिओ सरो होउ ॥ (HOS. text)

Variants recorded by Pischel abundantly show the original Ś. character of the verse. Evidently he forced a new reading on the text wiping off all traces of Ś. May we not assume that Indian scholars of the past too, at times, made similar emendations? Variants of the verse quoted above may support one in that direction. A further support to the above theory is given by Hillebrandt who has shown that some verses of *Śakuntalā*, *Mṛcchakaṭika*, and *Mudrārākṣasa* which were ordinarily believed to be M. are in fact Ś. According to this scholar the Ś. character of these verses is clearly indicated the practice of the very best manuscripts showing the change of *t* to *d* (which according to him is a characteristic of Ś.) in striking contrast with other verses where *t* is not changed to *d*, but is suppressed (a characteristic of M.). He strengthened his case by pointing out the fact that on account of their Ś. character some verses got mixed up with prose Ś. (Pkt.) passages (Introduction to *Mudrārākṣasa*, pp. iii-iv). He brought to light four such verses (*Ibid*). In spite of this Hillebrandt saw no reason to doubt the so-called old rule which restricted M. to songs. That the *NŚ.* prescribes Ś. for the *dhruvā* songs and does not anywhere mention M. is almost enough to show that the rule considered to be old by Hillebrandt was later than this work. The earliest mention of M. in connection with the drama is probably in the *Daśarūpa* of Dhanañjaya (c. 1000 A.C.). The relevant passage is as follows :—

स्त्रीणां तु प्राकृतं प्रायः शौरसेन्यधमेषु च ।
पिशाचाद्यन्तनीचादौ पैशाचं मागधं तथा ॥ (II. 60. Hall's ed.)

This couplet however is liable to another interpretation as well which would remove M. from consideration. Thus it may be assumed that Kālidāsa, Śūdraka and Viśākhadatta did not use any M.

3. Reconstruction

For the verses which occur in both the recensions the reading of the longer recension and the orthography of the shorter one have been adopted, and only in exceptional cases the readings of the

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shorter recension have been utilised. (see Notes). As for verses which occur exclusively in the longer recension, and the shorter recension has not any reading identical with them (*vide* Appendix B), they have been, whenever necessary, subjected to orthographic emendation to bring them in a line with the rest of the verses. Justification of this emendation is two-fold. First, the text of the longer recension in spite of the emendator's interference has at times accidentally preserved the traces of its orthographic kinship with the shorter recension. A careful study of the verses occurring only in the longer recension, will convince one about this fact. Secondly, the style and expressions used in these verses as well as their subject-matter are in such a striking harmony with the rest of the verses of longer recension, that one will scarcely be inclined to consider the former as later compositions.

The case of verses which occur only in the shorter recension but correspond to some verses of the longer recension (*vide* Appendix B) is very curious. Before getting access to more data in the shape of old Mss. it is not possible to say definitely whether they are the corrupt and emended form of the original verses or are later compositions very badly handed down.

According to good Mss. the verses under discussion present the *Ya śruti* in most places where intervocal stops have been dropped. From this it appears that this *Ya-śruti*, far from being an exclusive characteristic of the so-called Jaina Prākṛts (Ardha-Māgadhī and others), exists also in the Ś. of the Sanskrit drama. The rather systematic absence of the *Ya-śruti* mostly in final syllables and in some medial syllables, however, need not be attributed to scribe's negligence; since, later enquiry into this phenomenon may yet be able to give it some phonetic explanation. Hence no emendation has been made in case of the latter kind of omission of the *Ya-śruti*.

So far about the orthographic emendations and their omission. Apart from this, conjectural emendation whether of a syllable or of a word has sometimes been made. These however have not been marked, as they are of a trivial nature, and to do otherwise would look cumbrous. They may be detected with no great difficulty after a comparison of the various readings. But an exception has been made in case of those emendations which lack any kind of palæographic or literary possibility, or have otherwise failed to give thorough satisfaction to the editor. These have been enclosed within square brackets.

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In spite of the editor's best efforts the verses marked with asterisks (XVII, XXXIII, XLVII, LI, LII, LV, LVI, LVIII, LIX, LXIII, XCV, CII, CVI, CVII, CVIII) could not be reconstructed. To them, therefore the editor draws the attention of scholars who may be interested in Prākṛtic studies and are in a position to have access to fresh materials.

4. The Language and Metre etc.

It has been mentioned before that the Pkt. verses of the ch. XXXII of the *NŚ.* are examples of different kinds of *dhruvās* or songs sung during the performance of a *rūpaka.* This fact gives a clue for ascertaining as to which of the Pkt. dialects they belong to. For, in the same chapter of the *NŚ.* it has been distinctly laid down that the *dhruvās* are to be in Ś.

भाषा तु शूरसेनानां ध्रुवायां सम्प्रयोजयेत् [v. l. भाषादि सौरसेनानां तु in BK. शूरसेनी स्यात् ध्रुवाणां in CR. XXXII. 408 (390)] i.e. the language of the Śūrasenas should be employed in a *dhruvā.* This ignores the later rule which prescribes Mahārāṣṭrī as the language of songs of ladies.

However there may be one objection about taking Ś. to be the language of the *dhruvās* ; for, in them *a*-bases of nouns have *-mmi* as their locative-singular ending as an alternative to *-e.* Mārkaṇḍeya and Rāma Tarkavāgīśa in their Pkt. grammars have not allowed this freedom to Ś. Probably in pursuance of this rule Pischel also in his grammar opines the absence of a locative *-mmi* for *a*-bases (*Grammatik der Prākrit-sprachen*, p. 253). And he finds fault with Rājaśekhara for using such forms as *majjhammi* (*Karp.*, 16. 8) along with *majjhe* (*Karp.*, 12. 10 ; 22. 9) ;*kavvammi*-kāvye (*Karp.* 16. 8) ; *Rāmammi*-Rāme ; *sedusimantammi*-setusīmante (*Bālar.*, 963 ; 194. 14). And in continuation of that he blames Indian editions of works containing Pkt., the authors of which, he opines, substituted *-mmi* forms in place of those of *-e* which 'perhaps' were in the reading of Mss. Then he cites the name of *Mudrārākṣasa* among other works. And Sten Konow, too (probably following his great teacher) sanctions only *-e* to *a*-stems of Ś. nouns. At the sight of *-mmi* forms besides those of *-e* in Rājaśekhara he doubts whether the famous poet was able to distinguish between Ś. and M., and considered the question difficult on account of the deplorable condition of the Mss. (*Karpūra-mañjarī*, HOS. pp. 202-203). Since these two scholars adopted the view it has gained considerable currency at the present time. And

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Woolner in his *Introduction to Pkt.* has allowed only *-e* for the locative singular of Ś. nouns in *a*-stems (first edition of the work published in Lahore, p. 31).

Hence the examples of *dhruvās* appear to have a difficulty in the way of being called Ś. But after subjecting the whole matter to a very close scrutiny we may yet find the difficulty to be more apparent than real. The objection of Sten Konow is based on what Mārkaṇḍeya Kavīndra (c. 1700 A.C.) writes in his grammar (*Karpūramañjarī*, HOS. pp. 202-203), and Kāma Tarkavāgīśa (c. 1600 A.C.) also support Sten Konow and Pischel. Now none of these authorities was earlier than the 16th century—a time when Pkts. were no longer largely studied much less used as living languages, and A., a developed form of the same, has already given place to the newly arisen New Indo-Aryan dialects. Grammars written under these conditions had every chance of being based on insufficient data. Thus their testimony loses much of its reliability. Moreover the fact that both of them were inhabitants of Eastern India—far away from the Midland—further weakens their authority regarding a language which had its origin in the latter region. In his edition of the Ś. and Mg. *Stabakas* of *Prākṛta Kalpataru* Grierson attaches special importance to Rāma Tarkavāgīśa's as well as Mārkaṇḍeya's authority on the Mg. dialect on the ground that these two were inhabitants of the East in which part of the country Mg. was current in earlier times (see the reprint of the work issued by the publishers of the *Indian Antiquary*, p. 2). Following a similar line of reasoning one may attach the same kind of importance to Hemacandra's authority on Ś. For,he belonged to Gujarāt which has as its present speech *Gujarātī*—a reputed descendant of Ś. Thus Hemacandra being a person of the 12th century, nearly five centuries earlier than Mārkaṇḍeya and Rāma Tarkavāgīśa, was unquestionably a superior authority on Ś. The fact that he was an adherent of Jaina faith probably gives additional value to his authority on different varieties of Pkt. For, as is well-known, Jainas have their scriptures in different kinds of Pkt., and in mediæval times it was with them that the Pkt. muse found shelter and sustenance. Now let us examine what Hemacandra says on the point. In his Pkt. grammar he devotes only *27 sūtras* to point out those points on which Ś. differs from the (principal) Pkt. (commonly belived to be M.). None of these rules however notices what according to Mārkaṇḍeya and Rāma Tarkavāgīśa is a pecularity of Ś., and his *śeṣaṃ prākṛtavat* (IV, 286) frankly allows *-mmi* as well as

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-e to form the locative singular of Ś. nouns of *a*-stems. Vararuci one of the earliest grammarians—assuredly earlier than Hemacandra—endorses also this view by his *śeṣam māhārāṣṭrīvat* (XII, 32); for, he too did not record the above so called pecularity of Ś. in his chapter XII.

The concurrent testimony of Mss., as has been pointed out before, shows that Rājaśekhara used both *-mmi* and *-e* forms. After a review of all his works especially the newly discovered *Kāvyamīmāmsā* where he speaks so much of Pkts. and their currency in different parts of India it would be rash indeed to assume that Rājaśekhara, a person of the 9th century when the Pkt. scholarship was comparatively speaking more living, had smaller knowledge of Pkt. than Mārkaṇḍeya or Rāma Tarkavāgīśa, and was unable to distinguish between Ś. and M.

The *-mmi* forms referred to above have additional support from the Ś. *Apabhraṃśa*. The Ś. *Apabhraṃśa* allows among many other terminations *-mmi* for the nouns with *a*-stems (Introduction, p. 19 of *Bhavisayattakahā*. Ed. Dālāl and Guṇe, Baroda, 1923).

Thus it is now clear that *-mmi* as a termination of the locative singular of nouns in *a*-stems does not affect the Ś. character of the *dhruvās*. It may be added in support of our conclusion that a modern Jaina scholar of Gujarāt also adopts the same view regarding the above question (Becaradāsa J. Dosi, *Prākṛta Vyākaraṇa*, Ahmedabad, pp. 130-132). And Hillebrandt too in his edition of *Mudrārākṣasa* where he bestowed particular care on the Pkt. languages of the play (*vide* p. ii) accepts *-mmi* forms as Ś. on the testimony of all his Mss. In page 25 of this work occurs a Pkt. verse which runs as *Cāṇakkammi akaruṇe* etc. Hillebrandt has established the Ś. character of this verse from the practice of the very best Mss. (*vide* p. iii of his *Mudrārākṣasa*). Thus in spite of Pischel's and Sten Konow's exasperation on ancient Indian scribes and writers we may accept *-mmi* forms as Ś. and banish all doubts about the Ś. character of the examples of *dhruvās*.

Texts B. and K. read some examples of *dhruvās* (VII, XXIII and XLV) having words with nominal suffix *u* instead of *o*. As this is one of the characteristics of A, some scholars have discovered traces of A. in the examples of *dhruvās*, (Guṇe, Introduction to *Bhavisayattakahā*, pp. 50-51). But texts C. and R. read those words with *o* which is to be found uniformly in the rest of the examples in all the Mss. Besides this the *u*-reading is not metrically indispensable,

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This shows the utter futility of the *Apabhraṃśa theory* based on inadequate material. Even if all the Mss. agreed in reading *u* for *o* in the above three verses it would not have been proper to assume the existence of A. in the *NŚ*. For, Vararuci (*circa* 500 A.C.) does not mention any speech named A. though he has treated M. in his grammar, and the *NŚ*. also ignores M. Consequently it would be extremely rash to assume on such poor material the rise of A. at the time when this work was written ; for it is an well-admitted fact that the development of A. followed that of M. (S. K. Chatterji, *The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, p. 19).

Though the bulk of the examples is in Ś., examples of some *dhruvās* appear in Skt. They seem to militate against the general rule which prescribes Ś. for *dhruvās* in general. They are quoted below, for a discussion.

A ..... ।
यो गङ्गाश्रित् ॥ 47

B ईशं देवं ।
शर्व्वं वन्दे ॥ 49
(v. l. देवं सर्व्वं
ईशं वन्दे ॥ 50)

C शङ्करः शूलभृत् ।
पातु मां लोककृत् ॥ 51 (52)

D उमेशः सुरेन्द्रः ।
तवायुर्ददातु ॥ 53 (54)
(v. l. तवायुः करोतु KB)

E अधिकं विरहे ।
मदनो दहति ॥ 55 (56)

But the difficulty in case of *A-D* does not exist, for there is the exception (to the general rule) which reads as follows :

दिव्यानां संस्कृतं गानं प्रयोगे तु विधीयते । *NŚ*. XXXII, 409 (391).
(v. l. Mss. संस्कृतं गानां प्रमाणैस्तु,)

i,e. in (dramatic) practice Skt. songs are prescribed for use in case

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of gods. But E. does not seem to come under the above exception, for it relates to *viraha* (=separation)—a human affair. This example together with the definition of its metre constitutes one stanza. This may be the reason of its loss of Ś. character and ultimate conversion to Skt. In Ś. it would be

अधिकं विरहे।
मदणो दहदि ॥

A comparison of this with its Skt. version will show how easy was the transition from Ś. to Skt.

5. Metres and the Subject-matter

All the *dhruvās* have been composed in *akṣara* (=syllable) metres ; that is to say, they all depend on specified number of syllables in each of their four *pādas* (=quarters of a Skt. stanza). *Pādas* may contain exclusively short or long syllables or an admixture of both. (In this matter *dhruvās* perhaps show their freedom from the tradition which associate *mātrā* or moric metres with Pkt. poesy). But the rule regarding the four *pādas* and equal number of syllables has been departed from in *dhruvās* (LXXXIV-XCII) of the *Caturasra-vivardhitā* (C.V.) class, (*NŚ.* ch. XXXII. 255 ; K. 243). This special name is probably due to their peculiar metrical character which allows six additional syllables to the *pādas* in the following manner :

1 syllable to the 2nd *pāda*
1+1 or 2 syllables to the 3rd *pāda*
1+1+1 or 3 syllables to the 4th *pāda*

Thus a CV. *dhruvā* of *Anuṣṭubh* metre will have 8, (8+1), (8+2), (8+3) or 38 syllables in all, i.e. six extra syllables distributed in the last three *pādas*. Such is the case with all other metres used for CV. *dhruvās*. The number of syllables in their four *pādas* can very easily be ascertained.

Some *dhruvās* (XXV, XXXV, L, LVII, LXXVII, LXXVIII, XCIII, CIII, CIV) partially use an internal rime. It is probably this tendency of using internal rime that developed the final rime in the A. poetry of a later age. (Cf. S. K. Chatterji, *op. cit.*, p. 19).

Dhruvās have been composed in a simple language but there are some difficult expressions here and there. In order to make them clear the substance of difficult verses and the meaning of

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difficult words have been given in the Notes and in the Select Glossary.

A discussion about the subject-matter of the examples of *dhruvās* may not be out of place here. This may give us some important clue about the antiquity of those pieces. They deal with the sun, the moon, the stars, clouds, storms and typical sights in different Indian seasons. Among them all, an important part is played by seasons which furnished themes for most of the *dhruvās* and seem to have enjoyed a great popularity. On a perusal of them we understand the full import of the query of the *naṭī* in the *prastāvanā* of *Śakuntalā* as to which season she should sing about (*adha kadaram uṇa uduṃ samāssaīa gāīssaṃ*, p. 1, HOS. edition). On the ground of this *naṭī*'s query, it may be assumed that Kālidāsa here probably followed the dramaturgical tradition dependent on the *NŚ*.

6. The Age of Composition

Since the Pkt. verses illustrating *dhruvās* form an integral part of the *NŚ*. the question of the date of its composition is connected with that of the entire work. But as it will be out of place in the introduction to an edition of the Pkt. verses to discuss in full the wealth of data available in the *NŚ*. we shall examine here only the language of Pkt. verses of it to see if any clue to its age can be had.

The Ś. of the *dhruvās* have the following peculiarities.

(1) The retention of the two syllables *-aya-* in *ṇij-anta* verbs (XXXII, XLIX, LXXIV, LXXVI, LXXIX, LXXXII) as well as their occasional reduction to *e* (XVII, XXIII, XXXI, LXXI, LXXVIII).

(2) The exclusive retention of *c*.

(3) The exclusive retention of *v*.

(4) *g*, *j* and *d* have sometimes been dropped and sometimes retained without much care for a system in the matter.

All the above phonological features taken together give the Ś. of the *dhruvās* an appearance slightly different from that available in the extant editions of dramas. Proper light about the nature of this Ś. could have come from the *NŚ*. itself, but the hopelessly damaged condition of the relevant portion of the work (ch. XVIII. 6-8.) leaves us in despair about the matter. However with the help of available Pkt. grammars and old Pkt. texts an attempt may be made for solving the question viz. at what stage of its evolution the

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Middle Indo-Aryan was likely to assume the shape of Ś. of the *dhruvās*. Let us take those phonological features one by one and examine them.

(1) *Aya* became reduced to *e* at a very early period, at the very begining of the Middle Indo-Aryan period, in fact (*cf. avayesi*< **avādesi*<**avādayasi=avādayat*, Bharhut). From the fact that the *dhruvās* contain the reduced form (XVII, XXIII, XXXI, LXXI and LXXVIII) as well as the fuller form (XXXII, XLIX, LXXIV, LXXVI, LXXIX and LXXXIII) it may be guessed that they were composed at a time earlier than 200 B.C. when a hesitancy was yet felt about the recognition of the reduced colloquial form, or when both the colloquial and the literary forms were equally prevalent. But as the sounds in question occur in poetry meant to be sung we are not sure whether they indicate the state of affair suggested above or are merely instances of poetic license. Even if we accept the second alternative they probably remain sufficiently old when compared with the extant Pkt. poetry.

(2) That *c* is never dropped in it is perhaps a very important feature of the Ś. of the *dhruvās*. It probably gives us a hint about their age. The implication of Vararuci's statement that in Māgadhī *c* is pronounced distinctly is that in other dialects such as Ś. it is pronounced indistinctly. The meaning of this 'indistinct' (*aspaṣṭa*) pronunciation is however not clear. Though Sir George Grierson is inclined to think that it means a dental affricate pronunciation Prof. Suniti Kumar Chatterji considers it to be an elided pronunciation (*op. cit.* p. 246). Now this elided pronunciation in all probability led to the elision of its graphic representation in the beginning of the second MIA period (200 A. C.—600 A. C.). Thus *c* retained in writing perhaps point to a time anterior to that. This would place the composition of the *dhruvās* at a time earlier than 200 A. C. when *c* was not weakened enough to be totally dispensed with in writing.

(3) As for the retention of *v*, we cannot base on it any conclusion. For we have only two instances of it (XXIV, XXVII). If this fact may be given any weight it will also point to a very early time.

(4) The examples of *dhruvās* very arbitrarily drop *g*, *j* and *d* and retain them. This probably indicates their age with considerable definitness. For these voiced stops could only have been fricatives. The hesitancy between retaining a voiced stop and dropping it which is noticed in the Ś. of the *dhruvās* is very much similar to the same phenomenon observable in the contemporary documents of the transitional period

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(200 B.C.—200 A.C.) of the MIA. (S. K. Chatterji, *op. cit.*, p. 85). If we could depend solely on the above datum the examples of *dhruvās* could be roughly placed between 200 B.C. and 200 A.C. But we know Ś. of Aśvaghoṣa (1st century A.C.) which differs from the Ś. of the *dhruvās* in not softening the intervocal hard stops. This would at once bring down the date of the examples of *dhruvās* to 200 A.C. But as we do not know the actual phonetic value given to Aśvaghoṣa's unvoiced stops which in all probability were voiced in enunciation, the actual time of the *dhruvās* might be earlier still. Or it may be that Aśvaghoṣa's Ś. is a Pkt. dialect that was already archaic enough to be out of ordinary use, and he wrote much like the later dramatists a Pkt. which though commonly understood was already an obsolete speech in his own time. In that case too, the available version of the examples of *dhruvās* points to a time earlier than 200 A.C.

7. Acknowledgments

The editor now begs to acknowledge his indebtedness to scholars whose works have directly or indirectly helped him in the present task. But among them all, western students of Pkt. texts like Weber, Pischel and Hillebrandt deserve to be specially mentioned. Dr. S. K. De and Pandit Vidhusekhar Bhattacharya saw a portion of this work and very kindly suggested nearly half a dozen emendations. The editor thankfully acknowledges these which have been pointed out in proper places in the Notes. And finally he very cheerfully tenders his most grateful thanks to his teacher Prof. Suniti Kumar Chatterji who procured from abroad Mss. for the use of the editor, and supervised the preparation of this work when in an earlier form it was a part of the thesis offered to the Calcutta University in partial fulfilment of requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Comparative Philology.

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APPENDIX A.

Fragments and a complete verse that appear to be belonging to the *longer recension* and occur not in C. but in R., are given below.

1 After the first quarter of 176

पगलिता तु सा...(followed by the Skt. definition of the next *dhruvā*.)

2 Before the second quarter of 176

पवण विघुंणिअ ष (?)कअवअणं

3 Before the verse 216 (with its first word वासतो omitted).

मेहंगं णांदंठूण अंरगंजिद णमं जंते वा

4 After the verse 249

(See LXVIII)

5 After the first half of the verse 291

एको सोअंको कोहेदि कोविदो णिणगाहि माशं(?)यगा

6 After the verse 184

जलहरणादुहणतो हतदाणो वणंपमदतो सअरि सथानो

... ... असोगलं दोण माइरंणंमि

7 After the fragmentary verse 186

लघुसकाल सुहसीदले लहं लरविद सुरहिमदवातालिना।

सुरभिमारुदेण सा विभादि जलण सिहाविलंवी ॥

8 Before the fragment of 291 i.e. (वरतणु पओपवणो) and after the first word of 216 (वासतो ; see 3 above).

हेमसमूह लाठूअ माठणा सरसि जधुदण

जल कलोभि मणिणाटो ष(?)डवपाहिविअदि

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APPENDIX B.

Dhruvās illustrated differently in the *shorter recension* are given below.

1 Corresponding to 79

K. दीसदि तुं न छै(?)पुद्यदिसामहै
जुह्वं समागतं कौमुदिचं ··· दो ॥ (83)

B. दीगदि तुण्ण वपुद्य दिशामहे ।
जुह्वं समागतु केमुदि चंदो ॥

2 Corresponding to 83

BK. तुकमलाकरे सुं भमरोणेवे (B. सु)
समसुद्धवत्ती विहगाणपन्नी (B. पन्ती) ॥ (87)

3 Corresponding to 93.

BK. साहससुब्भावं कित्सिपिए क्रुद्धाम् ।
मादिरसंबद्धां उच्छिसिसब्भावम् ॥ (97)

4 Corresponding to 126

BK. मेहलमुधूर्त्तु...णिर्म्मलगहाउलो (B.- सोहिदणं)
सो हिदणं हंगणो गोमालकरो ससी ॥ (128)

5 Corresponding to 150

BK. एसोयमत्तमयघुम्मिदाणणे (B. दापणे)
दीणे (B. क्षीणे) पफुल्लवणवागुचालिओ (B. चालिऊं) ।
पासाभिबद्धचरणो गयानुगो
रम्मं वणं वणं गय वचरोपलो ॥ (152)

6 Corresponding to 163

BK. एस मेहो णाणं (B.- णे) दत्ते धूमनिभे विज्जादोसे लघ्वन्ते जावि ।
दुर्लभ जालावद्धो (B.- वदो) मिदुविसो गोविजाश्वीणायं ततो दिग्गजो ॥
(163)

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7 Corresponding to 167

BK. तारामज्जे मेहविशुष्को विमलतरे
उज्जाहिंतो जादि समग्गं (B. समगां) रजतनिभो ।
जोह्वा (B. जोएहा) सोहं विक्किरमाणे (B. विकर-) गगणतले
लीलायत्तो गच्छदि एसो रजनिकरो ॥ (167)

8 Corresponding to 174

BK. दिवसं सूरसणाहं सेविअ चंदे कुसुमदवीण
उदिदो दीसदि एसो दप्पण विवाकिदि सदिसो ।
गयणे मेहविमुक्के पुम्मसहावो रदिमुहवे
विहरं विक्किरमाणो सारदुजुह्वं वजदि दुदम् ॥
(B. विरहं लंविम्करमाणे सारदुजु एह वजादि दुदं) ॥ (176)

9 Corresponding to 293

BK. सागरं समुद्गुणंतो रथपदलघुगदिभिभवति
मघा (·B .ध्य)- दशामाहणन्ते भरुस्तु चजनविभयमतुलम् ।
रणजालमुल्ययन्तो दिवसकरणपिण्ड
करणोव्वोधयं पजासु कामंदि वरतण्यु सुहपवणा (B. वरतणु सुपणो)।
(262)

10 Corresponding to 297

BK. गगणतलंगणमभिरुहमाणो (B. णे) उडुगणसमाषगदो
युवतिजणाणं सुरचितरूपा सुखितदयिणजनमदणकरो ।
किरणसहस्सविमुंचितवन्दो रजति[गि]रिशिखरसदिसवधू (B.- हु)
उदयदि संपदि अरु जगदीषो (B.- वो) कुमुदवणरुचि विमलकरो ॥ (278)

11 Corresponding to 309 (see variants under CI.)

12 Corresponing to 314 (see variants under CIII.)

13 Corresponding to 316 (see variants under CIV.)

14 Corresponding to 318 (see variants under CV.)

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TEXT

I सन्तवन्तो अङ्गम्मि ।
वाइ वादो पुप्फवाही ॥ 58 (59)

II वणसण्डे वियसन्ते ।
वणहत्थी परिक्खिण्णो ॥ 60 (62)

III हिमाहए वणन्तए ।
अस्सुगदो [पवङ्गओ] ॥ 62 (64)

IV एदे गज्जन्ता तोयं मुञ्चन्ता ।
लोयं छादन्ता मेहा सम्पत्ता ॥ 64 (68)

V मेहणिरुद्धं पेक्खिय [वोम्मं] ।
पन्थियदारा अंसु किलिण्णा ॥ 66 (70)

I पुष्प *or* प्रतिष्ठा (— ⏑ —, —) × 4. 57 (58)

(*a*) BK. सोतवन्तो, C. संग्रन्ततो, R. सोसन्दतो ; (*b*) C. अङ्गग्रम्मि, R. अगणावे, BK. अगायाद्धम् ; (*c*) B. वाइ वानु, KCR. वाइ वाओ ; (*d*) BK. सुम्प-, R. पुप्प-.

II भ्रमरी (⏑ ⏑ —, —)×4. 59 (61)

(*a*) C. वणखण्डे, R. *omits the entire couplet* ; (*b*) C. विग्रसंतो, BK. अदिमत्तो ; (*c*) B. परिखेप्पो(?).

III जया (⏑ — ⏑, —)×4. 61 (63)

(*a*) C. एमाहए *for* हिमाहए ; (*b*) CR. वणीतरे ; (*c*) C. ग्रसूगग्रं, B. ग्रच्च ग्रर्णु, R. ग्रच्चुगग्रो, K. ग्रस्त ग्रनू ; (*d*) C. पवंएग्रो, R. ववान्तग्रो, BK. वङ्गएगाउ.

IV विद्युद्भ्रान्ता (— — —, — —)×4. 63 (67)

(*a*) KCR. एए, B. एणा ❀ज्जन्ता ; (*b*) R तोग्र मुञ्चतो ; C. मुञ्चन्ता ; (*c*) CR. लोग्रं, B. छांदंता, R. *omits this pāda* ; (*d*) K. संपएणा मेहा, B. संपणा मेह, R. ❀ह❀म्पाता.

V भूतलतन्वी *or* भूतलमान्या (— ⏑ ⏑, — —)×4. 65 (69)

(*a*) C. मेहणिरुद्धे, B मोह-, R *omits this couplet* ; (*b*) B. परिखग्र, K. पारख ; C. वम्म, B चंत्रं, K. ग्रञ्चम् ; (*c*) C. पंथिग्रदारा ; K. वंभाय्यांछाप(?) B भाय्यांछारा (?).

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VI पवणहदो सलिलहरो ।
भमइ णहे अहिय-समो ॥ 68 (72)

VII मेह[पावुदो] णट्ठ-जोह्मओ ।
णिच्चणिप्पहो एस चन्दओ ॥ 70 (74)

VIII बलाहयेहिं सङ्गज्जियेहिं ।
णहं समन्ता वरुज़्झइ व्व ॥ 72 (76)

IX तडिसण्णद्धं घणसंरुद्धं ।
जलधारेहिं रुददीवब्भं ॥ 74 (78)

X वज्जाहय-तुण्डो डाहज्जरसुत्तो ।
एसो गिरिरायो भूमिं विसदि व्व ॥ 77 (81)

VI कमलमुखी (⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ —)×4. 67 (71)
(*a*) RC. पवणाहओ, R. वणवणहओ ; (*b*) R. सलिल अरो, K. सलिलवणा, B. सलिलघणो ; (*c*) R मतिह *for* णहे ; (*d*) C. अहिअ समो, BK. अहिय मसौ (?), R. आहिसमो.

VII अगुरु (— ⏑ —, ⏑ —)×4. 69 (73)
(*a*) R. मेहवावेओ, C. मेहराअदो ; B. मेहतुर्द्धतु, K. मेह उर्द्धतुं ; (*b*) K. णई जोह्वउं, B. नह जोएहतुं, C. णंठरंणाओ, R. णाठ रदठणाओ ; (*c*) BK. णिप्पहे ; (*d*) BK. चन्दउ, R. ववणाओणि.

VIII शिखा (⏑ — ⏑, — —)×4. 71 (75)
(*a*) C. बहालएहिं, BK. चेलाहएहिं ; (*b*) C. संगजिएहिं, BK. येएजिएहिं ; (*c*) BK णं हंसमत्ता ; C. समंतो, R. समदो *for* समन्ता ; (*d*) BK, परुणयं वा, R. परुणाण व्व *for* वरुज़्झइ व्व.

IX घनपंक्ति (⏑ ⏑ —, — —)×4. 73 (77)
(*a*) R. तडिसंसणद्ध, K. तडियंखुद्धं, B. तडियं वबुद्धं ; (*b*) R. घणससल्ल्ध ; (*c*) CR. जलधाराहि ; (*d*) B. रुदतीवाब्भम्, K. रुदतीवद्दम्, CR. रुवदीवंभं.

X तनुमध्या (— — ⏑, ⏑ — —)×4. 76 (80)
(*a*) R. वज्जाहअरुंडो, C. बज्जाहयरुंडो, B. वज्जाहयतुन्दो, K. वज्राहयतुन्दो ; (*b*) BK. याउज्जरसुत्तो, R. डालंरुवसे ; (*c*) C. गिरिराअं, R. गिरिराअ ; (*d*) K. भुमीं ; C. विसलम्वा, R. विथलंवा, B. पाददीवा, K[1], पददीवा, K[2]. परदीवा.

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XI वाद[विदारिदे] विज्जुणिवादिदे ।
एत्थ महाणगे कन्ददि हत्थिणी ॥ 79

XII सुह-सिसिरम्मि मदजणणम्मि ।
कमलवणम्मि विचरदि वादो ॥ 81 (85)

XIII कमलाकरेसुं भमरालयेसुं ।
मदमुव्वहन्तो पविसेइ हत्थी ॥ 83 (87)

XIV गज्जन्ते जलदा णच्चन्ते सिहिणो ।
गायन्ते भमरा रम्मे पाउसए ॥ 85 (89)

XV जलदणादयं सुणिय कुञ्जरो ।
णददि काणणे पडिगयाकुलो ॥ 87 (91)

XVI एसा हिमाहदं विकसित्त-पत्तयं ।
दट्ठूण पादवं हंसी परुणिया ॥ 89 (93)

XI **मालिनी** (— ⏑ ⏑, — ⏑ —)×4. 78 (82)

(*a*) C. **वाआपीकीविए**, R. **वाअपिकीविअं** ; BK. *read this couplet differently* [*see Appendix B.*] ; (*b*) C. **वजिविणिपातिते**, R. **वज़िविज़ु णिवातितो** ; (*c*) R **एथ** ; (*d*) C. **क्रन्दति**, R. **क्रदति हथिणी**.

XII **मकरकशीर्षा** (⏑ ⏑ —, ⏑ — —)×4. 80 (84)

(*a*) BK. **इह** *for* **छह** ; K. **शिशिरम्मि** ; (*b*) BK. **पमदवणम्मि**, R. **मदजणणि** ; (*c*) BK. **मदजणणम्मि** ; (*d*) CR. **विअरइ** ; R. **वाद**, C. **वाओ**.

XIII **विमला** (⏑ ⏑ —, ⏑ — —)×4. 82 (86)

(*a*) K **तुकमालाकरे सुं**, B. *omits this pāda.* (*b*) C. **भमरालएसुं**, K. **भमरोणेवे**, B. **भमरोणेवेछ**, R. **भमरअणाएसु** ; (*c*) C. **मदमुद्वहन्तो**, R. **दन्मुएहतो**. BK. *read cd. differently* [*see Appendix B.*] ; (*d*) R. **पिह नन्दति**.

XIV **वीर्य्या** (— — —, ⏑ ⏑ —)×4. 84 (88)

(*a*) C. **जलआ** ; (*c*) CR. **गाअन्तो** ; (*d*) K. **राम्म**, B. **रम्म** ; K. **थाउपस**

XV **गिरा(?)** (⏑ ⏑ ⏑, — ⏑ —) ×4, 86 (90)

(*a*) CR. **जलदणादअं** ; (*b*) CR. **छणिअ** ; (*d*) CR. **पडिगआउलो**, BK. **पडिगयाहुरो**.

XVI **जला** (— — ⏑, — ⏑ —)×4. 88 (92)

(*a*) BK. **हि वाउणा** *for* **हिमाहदं**, R. **हिमहादा**, C. **हिमहादाहिं** ; (*b*) BK. **विरिक्तपुन्न(गय-B)यनम्** (?), C. **खितअपातअं** ; (*c*) B. **दधूण**, R. **दंदूण** *for* **दट्ठूण** ; C. **पाअवं** ; (*d*) R. **परुणिआ**.

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XVII एदे गज्जमाणा भूवं छादयन्ता ।
भीमा कालमेहा उव्वेयं जणेन्ति ॥ 91 (95)

XVIII * साहसं सभावं हि एअएतुं रामा ।
विरडं बधं चन्दु सुडं भावं मे ॥(?) 93

XIX एसा हंसवधू एत्था काणणए ।
गन्तुं उस्सुइया कन्तं सङ्गहिया ॥ 95 (99)

XX पवणाहदया तरुणा तरवो ।
कुसुमागमए विहसन्ति विय ॥ 97 (101)

XXI [मेहवुन्दं] एसो विक्खिरन्तो वादो ।
दुस्सहो आवादि पादवाणं लासी ॥ 99 (103)

XVII रम्या *or* सुनन्दा (— — —, ⏑ — —)×4. 90 (94)

(*a*) RC. एते ; B. नहमाणा, K. णाहमाणा, C. जङ्गमागा ; (*b*) C. भूअं, R. भूणाअ, K. अङ्गं, B. अद्धं ; C. छादअन्ता K. स्वदेयत्ता, B. त्वदेयता, R. हंहादअंतं ; (*c*) R. हिमा *for* भीमा ; (*d*) C. उव्वेअं, K. उखेधेयं जरान्ति, B. उग्वेधेयं जरात्ति.

XVIII कान्ता *or* ललिता (— ⏑ ⏑, — — —)×4. 92 (96)

This couplet is beyond restoration. BK. *read this differently* [*see Appendix B.*] *and the version of* C. *is given above ; the version of* R. *is as follows :*

साहछसदाषसिए अएतुंठमा ।
चिरसंवंधं चंदु संदाषमो ॥

XIX पंक्ति (— — —, ⏑ ⏑ —)×4. 94 (98)

(*a*) CR. हंसबहू, (*b*) R. हिथा, K. हिच्छा, B. ❀छा ; BK. काणणाउ ; (*c*) C. उसुअअं, K. जसुछइया, B. जछइया ; (*d*) CR. कान्तं, B. कत्तं, BK. संगहआ, CR. सङ्गलआ.

XX नलिनी (⏑ ⏑ —, ⏑ ⏑ —)×4. 96 (100)

(*a*) BK. पवणाहतका, C. पवणाहिहआ, R. पवणंहिहआ ; (*b*) C. तरुणो, R. *omits the pāda* ; (*c*) R. कुछमोंगमए ; (*d*) C. विच *for* विअ, K. वि ❀ ❀ ❀, B. ❀ ❀ ❀ विय.

XXI नीलतोया (— ⏑ —, — — —)×4. 98 (102)

(*a*) R. हेमन्विदे, C. मन्विदे, BK. मेह वं वादि ; (*b*) BK. विरिकरिन्दो, R. धाद, BK. वादि, C. वाउ ; (*c*) BCRK. दूसहो, BK. आदादि, CR. आवाइ ; (*d*) BK. पादपाणं, CR. पाअवाणं ; CR. लासे.

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XXII सुरुचिरणयणं वरमणिणिकरं ।
मम मदजणणं तव वदणमिदं ॥ 102 (106)

XXIII पियो वाइ वाथओ सुवसन्तकालओ ।
एसकामुओ विय मदणं जणेन्तओ ॥ 104 (108)

XXIV पेकूखिऊण आगदं माधवं वहित्थओ ।
पादवं पणोल्लिणो वाइ दकूखिणाणिलो ॥ 106 (110)

XXV हंसागमणधीरे (?) कासंसुअविचित्ते ।
एदं सरदकाले रम्मं सुरभितोयं ॥ 108 (112)

XXVI चक्कसणामवधू कन्त-सहाइणिया ।
णिम्मलयम्मि जले हिण्डदि सङ्कहिया ॥ 110 (114)

XXII चपला (⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, —)×4. 101 (105)
(*a*) BK. सुचिरनयनं, CR. -णअणं ; (*b*) BK. वरमणिनिकरं, C. वरमणि णियरं, R. ॐरमणिइकरं ; (*c*) BK. मदजननं ; (*d*) C. वअणमिदं, K. वदनमिति, B. वदनमिमि R. वखनमिदं.

XXIII विमला *or* तन्वी (⏑ ⏑ —, ⏑ — ⏑, —)×4. 103 (107)
(*a*) CR. पिअ, BK. पिय ; CR. वाअओ ; BK. वायतुं (?) ; (*b*) BK. सु-वसन्तकालॐ ; (*c*) C. एअ *and* BK. पिय *for* एस, BK. कामुको पिय, R. *reads only* विअ *for c.* (*d*) C. जणंतओ BK. जणन्तउ.

XXIV कामिनी (— ⏑ —, ⏑ — ⏑, —)×4. 105 (109)
(*a*) C. पेछिऊण, R. पेखिऊण ; C. आअअं, R. आअंद, BK. *read this pāda as* परिकलण अब्भदं ; (*b*) C. माहवं R. माहव (?), BK. हिदुवाॐ (*c*) CR. पाअवं, BK. थादवं ; R. पंणोलणो, BK. मुण्णज्जतुं (?).

XXV भ्रमरमाला (— — ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ —, —)×4. 107 (111)
(*a*) BK. हंसागमन-, R. अंसा गमणि ; (*c*) R. एष *for* एदं, C. सरअ ; (*d*) CR. सरहितोअं R. सरहिअं.

XXVI भोगवती (— ⏑ ⏑, — ⏑ ⏑, —)×4. 109 (113)
(*a*) C. -वहू ; (*b*) C. -सहाइणिआ, BK. -सहाइणिया (?), R. -सदाइणि ; (*c*) K. निम्मलयस्सि C. णिम्भलमस्सि ; (*d*) CR. हिण्डइ संगमिआ (*chāyā in* K. *is* सङ्गहिता), BK. दिडदि *for* हिण्डदि.

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XXVII एसा पियकलदा रम्माभरण-जुदा ।
काले मदजणणे जादा कुसुमवदी ॥ 112 (116)

XXVIII हिमाहदे वणम्मि पणट्ठपङ्कतोये ।
करेणुआ विहीणो उवेदि मत्तहत्थी ॥ 114 (118)

XXIX जलहर-सम्भते महिहर-कुञ्जम्मि ।
सहयरि-संजुत्तो पविचरिदो हत्थी ॥ 116 (120)

XXX महामेह-विदाणं बलायावलिणद्धं ।
महाभीम-णिणादं [पदिट्ठं] गयणम्मि ॥ 118 (122)

XXXI कुसुमगन्धवाही सलिलरेणु-पुण्णो ।
रमणि वादि वादो मणसिजं जणेन्तो ॥ 120 (124)

XXVII मधुकरिका (— — ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, —) × 4. 111 (115)
(*a*) KB. पियकलता, C. विमल लदा ; (*b*) B. रम्माभरणयुदा, K. रम्माभरणमुदा ; (*d*) R. जाआ असुमवरं *for d.*

XXVIII समुद्रा *or* सुभद्रा (⏑ — ⏑, — ⏑ —, —) × 4. 113 (117)
(*a*) RC. हिमाहते, BK. *omit* हिमाहदे ; BK. *insert* सुरकररे क *after* वणम्मि ; (*b*) R. वणंठषकतोए ; BK. *replace b. by* पणद्वयरिकसुत्थे ; (*c*) CR. करेणआ, BK. करेणुअ ; K. व्विहीणो ; (*d*) B. उवेदे, R. उवेइ.

XXIX कुसुमवती (⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ — —, —) × 4. 115 (119)
(*a*) BK. जलहरसंभत्तो, R. जलहरसम्भषते, C. जलहरसंणद्धे ; (*b*) CR. महिअर कुंजम्मि, BK. महिहरमूलै वि ; (*c*) C. सहअरि-, K. सहपरि संधुजुत्तो, R. हिअ मग्गन्तो ; (*d*) K. पचिवरिदो, B. परिवरिदो.

XXX मुदिता *or* समुदिता (⏑ — —, ⏑ ⏑ —, —) × 4. 117 (121)
(*a*) K. महामोह-, B. महामेहविदारण, R. दहमेहविआणं, C. दहामेवहआण ; (*b*) C. वलाआवलिणं अ, R. वलाआवलिणंथ, B. वलयाकुलवर्द्धनं, K. वलायाकुलवद्धम् ; (*c*) BK. महाभीमनिनादा, CR. महाभीमणिणाअं ; (*d*) BK. यदित्तं गणयम्मि, C. वठ्ठणा गअणम्मि, R. वइं णगंअणंमि.

XXXI प्रकाशिता (⏑ ⏑ ⏑, — ⏑ —, —) × 4. 119 (123)
(*a*) R. कुसुमगधावाही ; (*b*) B. -रेणुपुण्ण, R. -रेणागंगो ; (*c*) CR. वाओ *for* वादो ; (*d*) K. जणन्ते, B. जणेत्तो CR. जणंतो.

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XXXII पवणो पत्थवाही मदणं दीवयन्तो ।
सिसिरे वादि काले मम [तासं जणेन्तो] ॥ 122 (126)

XXXIII * गलन्तपीअतोआ पिअंणपंघिसघा (?) ।
भमन्तपद्यवाआ ण भादि णिंगआम् (?) ॥ 124

XXXIV मेहमलमुक्कओ णिम्मलब्भ-णिग्गदो ।
सोहदि णहङ्गणे कोमलकरो ससी ॥ 126 (128)

XXXV विकचाम्बुज-हसिरे भमरावलिमुखरे ।
बहु-णिम्मल-सलिले विहगो पविचरदि ॥ 129(131)

XXXVI कुसुमसुगन्धियए मणसिजजीवणए ।
पमदवणंगणए विचरदि हंसवहू ॥ 132 (133)

XXXII दीक्षा (⏑ ⏑ —, — ⏑ —, —) × 4. 121 (125)

(*a*) BK. पणो चणो *for* पवणो, C. पंथवाही, R. प्रथवाही, K. युकूप्रवाही, B. युग्युवाही ; (*b*) K. दीवयन्तौ, B. दोवयतौ ; (*c*) B. सञ्जिरे *for* सिसरे ; BK. वाति, RC. *have for c* अद्विशदो ❀ ❀ ; (*d*) RC. *omit* मम, BK. मम संयोजणे स्तौ, C. शिशिरे संवलन्ते *and* R. शिशिरे संववते *for d*.

XXXIII विलम्बिता (⏑ — ⏑, — ⏑ —, —) × 4. 123

This dhruvā is very corrupt and is read differently by BK. [*see Appendix B.*] : R. *reads it as follows* :

गलंद पिअतोआ पिअणणवंढि संधा ।
भमंत च ए क वाआ णभादि णिगआअं ॥

XXXIV चञ्चल गति (— ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ — ⏑, —) × 4. 125 (127)

(*a*) BK. मेहलमुधूर्त्तु, C. हेमलअमुक्कओ ; (*b*) C. णिमलम्भणिग्गओ, R. णिम्मलंभ, BK. णिम्मलगहाउलो ; (*c*) BK. सो हिदयं हंगणो, C. पुणण-ससि सोहइ ; (*d*) BK. गोमालकरो *for* कोमलकरो ; RC. णहगह अंगणे.

XXXV विमलजला *or* ललिता (⏑ ⏑ —, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ —) × 4. 127-128 (130)

(*a*) C. विकचाम्बुअसिहरे R. विकचावरुहसिहरे ; (*b*) C. भमरावलिमुहरे, K. भ्रमरावलि- R. भरावलिविद्धसरा ; (*d*) CR. पविचरह, BK. परिभमिदो.

XXXVI ललितगति (⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ — ⏑, ⏑ —) × 4. 131 (132)

(*a*) CR. कुसुम (-मं R.) सुगन्धिअए (-हि. R.), (*b*) C. मणिसिअ-, R. मणसिअ- ; (*c*) BK. पमदवणगणए, C. पमदवणगअए, (*d*) K. चिन्नरदि, B. चिन्नरह, RC. विअरह ; K. हंसवए, B. हंसवत, C. हंसबहू.

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XXXVII बहुकुसुमसोहिए कमलवणसण्डए ।
सहयरसहायिणी पविचरदि हंसिआ ॥ 134 (135)

XXXVIII विविधवणविचारी कमलवणसुअन्धि ।
कुमुदवणविबोधी भमदि सरदि वादो ॥ 136 (137)

XXXIX पुलिणतलङ्कणए कमलणिवासिणिआ ।
पियदमवासगिहं विसरदि सारसिआ ॥ 138 (139)

XL हंसकुलसमुदिदे सारसकुलमुहले ।
मत्तमधुकरगणे हिण्डदि मधुकरिका ॥ 140 (141)

XLI राहूपराय-हियसोहं चन्दं णिसमिऊण ।
तारागणो विगुरुसोओ तेजोंसुकेहिँ रुददीव ॥ 143 (144)

XXXVII **मही** (⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ —, ⏑ —) × 4. 133 (134)
(*a*) RC. बहुकुसमसो(-पसो C.)हिए, (*c*) BK. सहयरसहायणी, CR. सहअर-सहाइणी ; (*d*) CR. -चरइ ; R. हंसी.

XXXVIII **मधुकरी** (⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, — —) × 4. 135 (136)
(*a*) C विविहवणविआरी, R. विविहवणविअधि ; (*c*) C. कुमुअवणविबोहो ; (*d*) C. सरदि सरइ वाओ, R. सरइ सरइ वाओ.

XXXIX **नलिनी** (⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ — ⏑, ⏑ —) 137 (138)
(*b*) B, कमलतलणिधिवासिणि, K. कमलणिधिवासिणि ; (*c*) BK. पिययम-वासगिहं, C. पिअअमवासगहे, R. पविसिअ पसगह ; (*d*) R. *omits this pāda.*

XL **नदी** (— ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ —) × 4. 139 (140)
(*a*) K. हंसकुल संमुदिदे, B. हंसकुलं संमुमुदे. C. हंसदल समुदिए R. गंगसइल समुदिते, (*b*) BK. सारसकुञ्जमुहल, R. सारसए मुहुलेअ्रो (*c*) B. मत्तमधुकरगण, K. मस्तमधुकरगण, R. तंमहुअरगणे, CR. हिण्डइ, B. हिण्डहि, CR. महु- अरिआ.

XLI **रुचिरा** (— — ⏑, — ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ — —) × 4. 142 (143)
(*a*) R. राहूपराअ हि असोही, K. राहूपराय हि यसो हो, B, वहुपराय हि सोहो, C. नासानाहूपराअहि अ, (*b*) R. चंदंअहे मिसमि समिऊण, BK. वन्दोणहि णिसमिउण, C. पदणहे मिसमि ; (*c*) BK. विगुरुमोहो, C. धिअसोहो ; (*d*) BK. तेजोसुकेहि, C. तेजाहु पाहि, R. तेजंसुहि, C. रुदतीव, B. रुदतीप, K. रुदतीय, R. रदंसिवा.

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XLII घणगब्भगेह-परिखित्तो अरुणप्पहा-पिहिदसोहो ।
गयणंगणे विहरमाणो ण विभादि जुह्वरहिदेन्दु ॥ 145 (146)

XLIII जलधरविदाणपिहिदङ्गो रविकिरणजालहिदसोहो ।
अहमुखविणिग्गमविवण्णो ण तिमिरगणोहसिओ चन्दो ॥
147 (148)

XLIV एसो वसन्तमधुआसिआगणो सेलोव्व पूव्वपवणस्स चालिदो ।
[दाणहि]गन्धगदिओ [गजासणो] रम्मवणे गजवरं
पवण्णओ ॥ 150

XLV वणसंवुदं घणतमागमासिअं अवगाहिऊण रयणीमुहं ससी ।
इह णिच्चलो कुविदमन्दजोसिणो ण विराजदे समधिकं
पदीविय ॥ 152 (154)

XLII **प्रमिता** (⏑ ⏑ —, ⏑ — ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, —) × 4. 144 (145)
(*a*) BK. **वणगब्भगेह-** ; (*b*) BK. **अरुणजहा-**, RC. **-विहिअसोहो** *for* **पिहिद-सोहो** ; (*c*) RC. **गअणंगणे**, BK. **गणयंगणे** ; B. **पिहिदरमाणे** *and* K. **पिहिदरभंणे**, *for* **विहरमाणो** ; (*d*) CR. **ण विभाति**, BK. **विताइ** *for* **विभादि** ; R. **जोह्वरहिदजुण्ण**, C. **दिशेमूणारहिएन्दु**, BK. **जुए हरहिहिन्दु**.

XLIII **गतविशोका** (⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ —, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, — —) × 4. 146 (147)
(*a*) BK. **जलधरदिताण पिहिअङ्गो**. C. **जलहरविदरणविहदङ्ग**, R. **जलहर-विदाणविहिदंस्त** ; (*b*) BK. **रदिकिरणजालहतमोहो**, (*c*) C. **अहमुखपिणी-गणेण विपरीअओ**, R. **अहमुखविणिगणेण विवरि च**, BK. **गहतुकणि-दिभतविवरणौ** (**-णौ** B.) ; (*d*) C. **इचदो णहिमिरअणोभसिओ**. R. **इचदो णहमिरअणोगसिओ** ; BK. **अणुविसदि अत्थगिरिमिह**.

XLIV **ललिता** (— ⏑ ⏑, — ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ — ⏑, — ⏑ —) × 4. 149 (151)
(*a*) C. **-महुआसिआअणो**, R. **-मआरूसिणओआअणो**, BK. *read this stanza differently* [*see Appendix B*] (*b*) R. **दिणोव पुओ पणवास हालिओ**, C. **पुव्व पणवसस छालिओ** ; (*c*) R. **दोवासाहि** *and* C. **दोवासंहि** *for* **दाणहि** ; C. **घनइओ**, R. **गन्धगदिअओ**, RC. **गआसणो** : (*d*) R. **रम्मवणंवरो ववंणओ**, C. **रम्मो वणंगणा पखाणओ**.

XLV **विलम्बिता** (⏑ ⏑ —, ⏑ — ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ —, ⏑ — ⏑, —) × 4.
151 (153)
(*a*) C. **वणसंव अघणतमावंगसिअ**, R. **वणसंवअ घणतमावशसि**, BK. **घसन्त वन्तु व(-य. B) दिदाणमम्बरं**, (*b*) BK. **अवलम्बिउं ण रअणीमुहे** ; (*c*) C. **इह**

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XLVI एसो मेहो णादं धत्ते धूमणिहो विज्जुज्जुत्तो दारेदीदं भूमिदलं ।
सिञ्चन्तो तोयोघं घोरो हत्थिणिहो संछादन्तो लोआलोअं
अदिदुदं ॥ 163

XLVII * एसो आयादो णहन्तो अचलणिभो
लीलाउक्कोलं दाणन्तो सहि रुचिरे ।
वाचालं(?)थोखेपि छाणो(?)पवणजवो
संसरन्तो विज्जुज्जोदो भमदि दुदं ॥ 165 (165)

XLVIII बालो चन्दो मेहविमुक्को विमलकरो
रोचिरङ्गो सोहदि कन्तालिपरिगदो ।
लीलाक्खित्तो गङ्गधरेणेव सुरुचिरो
मूलारुहो णागणिवासो अधिकववुः ॥ 167

णिच्च णुकुचिअ, R. इह णिअसकुविअमिदजोसिणो, BK. गहगाहभं दिविगलन्त जोहउं ; (*d*) C. ण विरायदे, R ण विराअदे ; BK. पतोविव, R. पदीविअ.

XLVI विक्रान्ता (— — —, — — —, — — —, ⏑ ⏑ —) × 4, 162 (162)

(*a*) BK. *read this stanza differently* [*see Appendix B.*] R. एसो मोहो ओणं दं धेता ; (*b*) R. विजुंभजोथावाहि हि भूमितल, C. दारेएहि भूमिअलं ; (*c*) C. सिद्वतोघो, R. सिञ्चन्तो घोरो ; (*d*) R. सहादन्तो ; R. आदिदुतं, C. आदिदुतः.

XLVII विद्युन्माला *or* मदनवती (— — —, — — —, — — ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, —) × 4. 164 (164)

(*a*) C. आआदो णंदतो, R. मेहा णाणंदतो ; BK. नाणं दत्ते गवलणिभे, CR. अचलणिहो ; (*b*) BK. *omit this pāda*, C. लीलाउकोलं, R लीलालन्तोलं दाणतो सरुचिरा ; (*c*) BK. *omit this pāda*, R. वाअला थोंवेलि हाणो ; (*d*) C. ससरंतो विजूजो अहमतिदुत, R. सारंतो विविज़ूंजेअभमति द्दुतं, BK. संधारितोपि जुज्जोवं भमदि दुदम्.

XLVIII भूतलतन्वी स्खलितगति (— — —, — — ⏑, ⏑ — —, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ —) × 4. 166 (166)

(*a*) R. -विमुतो विमलतरो ; (*b*) R. रोचिलंगो, C. ॐचिरङ्गो, C. कन्तोलिपरिगऊ. R. कंतो उपरिगओ, (*c*) C. लीलाखितो गङ्गधूरणं सरुचिरो, R. लीलाखितो गंगधरेण इव- ; (*d*) C. मुलारुहो णंग- ; R. णंगणिवासो ; CR. -अधिकवपुः.

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XLIX विगदघणतिमिरे णिम्मलतारे खे
विकचकुमुदवणबन्धु सदारोचो ।
रजदगिरिसिहरसण्णिहिदो चन्दो
उदयदि वरतणु देहिय आणन्दं ॥ 169

L पादवसिस्सं कम्पयमाणो पडुणिणदो
सेलतडेसु पक्कममाणो पविचरिदो ।
रेणुसमूहं उद्धयमाणो 'रुणकविलो
वायदि वादो चण्डपवाही रुसिद इव ॥ 171 (169)

LI * तिमिरं णासअमाणो खे असु(?)चन्दो रुचिरो
अधिष्णु(?)बोधअमाणो — कुमुदाण्णुदअतो ।
⌣ ⌣ सोहीं कणसू — — णअणाणन्दकरो
अवहि(?)साअविकरको(?) सोहइ दधेणमही(?) ॥ 174

LII * अस(र)णिरवाहओ पातितकुण्डो(?) धरणिहरो
सरसिज(म)मदित विहङ्गलो(?) सिअणिअच्चलिअं(?) ।

XLIX विभ्रमा (⌣ ⌣ ⌣, ⌣ ⌣ ⌣, ⌣ ⌣ —, ⌣ ⌣ —, — —) × 4. 168

(*a*) R. विगदवणतीर, C. विधदधी तिरणि मलतारे खेः (*b*) CR. कुमुदवणविकच निध सदारोसो (R. सों) ; (*c*) R. रजदणगिरि- C. रजतरगिङ्- : (*d*) R. उग्रदि, C. वरतनु ; C. आणंदो, R. आणदेवा.

L भूतलतन्वी (— ⌣ ⌣, — — —, ⌣ ⌣ —, — ⌣ ⌣,
⌣ ⌣ —) × 4. 170 (169)

(*a*) BK. *omit the first three pādas of this stanza.* C. पादपसिस्सं, R. पादवसस्सं, CR. कंपग्रमाणो, R. पट्टणिणदो ; (*b*) CR. सेलतटेसुं पक्कग्र माणो ; (*c*) R. -समूहे उंछग्रमाणो, C. -समूहं लंघुग्रमाणो : (*d*) C. वाग्रइ वाग्रो, R. वाग्रइ वाद : BK. एह प्रवाही, C. रुणिग्र इव, R. रुंसिल इव.

LI स्खलितविक्रमा (⌣ ⌣ —, — ⌣ ⌣, — — —, ⌣ ⌣ —,
— ⌣ ⌣, —) × 4. 172-73

(*a*) R. वेग्रसु, C. *ग्रसु, R. रुचिरेः : (*b*) C. कुदुमाणाउदग्रतो, R. कुदाणांसु-उदग्र : (*c*) R. सहिकिणं *for* सोहीकण : (*d*) R. ग्रविकरदो *for* ग्रविकरको, R. दुद्धणमहि *for* दधेण मही.

LII रुचिरमुखी (⌣ ⌣ ⌣, ⌣ — ⌣, ⌣ — ⌣, — ⌣ ⌣,
⌣ ⌣ ⌣, ⌣ —) × 4. 175

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एदअहंरहसहआमेघं(?)सिणेह पमुदिओ
गअपरो वपिसिअदाणजउ(?)विटवअणो ॥ 176 (173?)

LIII पमुदिअगहअणविवरिदसोहो गअणदलो
विलुलिदजलहरसमुदयहीणो गयणसुहओ।
किरणणिवहणिहद तिमिरो सो रुजदणिहो
पसरदि वरतणु हलधरलीलो सरदि ससी ॥ 178

LIV एदं लोअं संछादन्ता भीमा णद्दन्ति गम्भीरा।
विज्जुज्जुत्ता तोअं सम्मुच्चन्ता समुण्णदा मेहा॥ 182

LV * एदाणि पादसखो एदाणि पुप्फाणि
मन्तगन्ताणिर्ददं तफंपदि
अघासिदाणि सोदतिणोपौपमद-
तोलअरिसथदं.....असो गलंदो माइ रंणमि। 185

(*a*) BK. -रवाहद, C. -रवाहओ, R. -रवाहः वाहः पातित कुंडो धरणिहरो, C. ❀रणिहरो, BK. यावद स्तुपे धरणिधरो ; (*b*) R. सरसिजरमं मदितवहंगलो सिणि चलिअं ; (*c*) R. हिः अहरसहअरि वाधासिणेह पमुदिद ; *for c.d.* BK. *read* पगलिलिद निजरं कंदरसादा मुहादिरिआ *only* ; (*d*) R. णवरो पविसिअ दाणजला विदवं जुणो ; *see c above.*

LIII धृति (⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, — — ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, —)×4. 177

(*a*) C. -विविअरिअसोअ गअणहअल, R. -विचिअरिअरिअ सोअ गअ-णारलं ; (*b*) C. विललिअ जलहर समुदअहीणं णअण अयसह, R. विलि-अजगतु हर समदअहिण णअणछह ; (*c*) R. तिरणणिवह णिहद तिमिरो सो रजदणिहो, C. किरण णिवह णिदित तिमिरा सोजणिहो ; (*d*) C. पसरदि वणरणहलधरलीलो सरसि ससी, R. पसरदि वरअ हलधर लीलो सरिस ससी.

LIV माला (— — —, — — —, — —)×4. 181

(*a*) C. एअं लोअं सछादंतो, R. एतो लंअ संचशादतो ; (*b*) C. णदंति ; (*c*) C. विजजो एंका तोअं, R. विज्ज जोए ताअं ; (*d*) C. संमुंचंता समुणणआ, R. संमुंचं वा समुणआ मेहां.

LV प्रभावती (*The scheme of metre is not clear.*) 183

R. एदाणि पदसंमोहि दाणपु.....वाणिमुंओहंताणिादतः हंसपदीकं घोसिदा सिसोअ पतियोअ य राणि.

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LVI * परमुदक्षिण दवाअलि दाणिसुख सिरवाद-
सरवो हि दाणिण चकिते सुररणि ॥ 186

LVII कमलाअरम्मि भराइयम्मि अध गन्धबहुलम्मि सरदे ।
णाहणिय जले पिआहिमुही आरमदि एसा कमलहंसी ॥ 190

LVIII * सहआरमणोहरगन्धवहो समवाइ रोसमदजलो ।
मदणजणो छव वणपवणो असुअधिइआसुसुअपिअवो ॥ 192

LIX * जलहरणिणओ तिणिअरञ्जपअसमं थओं पवरिसएदि जलणिहि
अंडंमि सुकरिखुभिदाभिदोंबवदा विदोखुअगौमुखौ ॥ 194

LX जलधरसमं आगदओ सुखसुरभिदो कुसुमवासाकुलिदो ।
मदणजणणो सुत्तिपणासकरो पमदाजणसहाओ पवणो ॥ 196

LXI मधुकररुदेहि कथिद इवासु-विकसिद-सुगन्धमुखकमलो ।
कमलिणिपियाहिपरिवुदतणु अय[मेव हि] विभादि
पदुमसरो ॥ 198

LVI **मालकिता** (*The scheme of metre is not clear.*) 185

R. परभृदगिणा धाकुलिमाणि सुख सिरपाद संखोहिदाणिणंचंति तेसरहणाणि.

LVII **मनोज्ञगमना** (*The scheme of metre is not clear.*) 189

(*a*) R. कालअरंमि, CR. भराइअम्मि ; (*b*) CR. अथ, C. गिधवभूअमि, R. गंधवभूअमि ; (*c*) R. णाणिअ, C. णुणुइ, R. पिआहि सहि ; (*d*) R. आरमत्रि .

LVIII **ललितगति** (*The scheme of metre is not clear.*) 191

R. सहआर मणोहर गधपअंमि सरदे णंणिअजले विआहि सहे समइ रोसमदजलो असुअसअंसि इल छअं विअ वोमदवं जणे इव वण च वणो .

LIX **रति** (*The scheme of metre is not clear.*) 193

R. जलहर णिणाद तिणिअरे अवं समंथओं ववरिसहिदु जलणिहितथंमि छकरिखुभिदों वपदा विभोखुग–अणमुहो .

LX **भुजगमुखी** (*The scheme of metre is not clear.*) 195

C. जडभरसमं आगअओ छरभिकुछमां कुओ। मदणजणणो सओछतिनासकरो दंअजदण सहाओ पवणो ॥ R. जलभर समआगतओ छछरहि कुढमो कओ। मदणजणणो सहिअस्छ वितिनासकरो दाअजणसहाअदा पवणो ॥

LXI **द्रुतपदगति** (*The scheme of metre is not clear.*) 197

(*a*) C. मधुकरगुरु ते एककथित ; (*b*) C. इवासुविकसितं छमनमुखकमलो R. इवासखि विकसित छगंवमुखकमलो ; (*c*) R. पिआहि परिवदतअणुं (*d*) C. अपिअयमपि दाइ वदुमसरो, R. वापिअभम विभाइ वदुमसरो.

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LXII एसो गगणतले मेहो भीमो भयजणणो दिट्ठो ।
भूमिं णवजलधाराहिं सिञ्चयदि सहि गज्जन्तो ॥ 201 (186)

LXIII * एसो मेहो सिहरिणिहो लीणो (?)
धारापादेरदिहसदो (?) भूमिं ।
आमोक्खन्तो पाउस सलिलं — —
समुण्णओ (?) गअणतले जादि ॥ 203

LXIV गिरिचरवारणरूवं खुभिदमहण्णवणादं ।
पटुपवणेण विधूदं भमदि वलाहकयथं ॥ 205 (188)

LXV ससिकिरणलम्बहारा उडुगणकिदावदंसा ।
गहगणकिदङ्गसोहा जुवदि विय भादि राई ॥ 207 (190)

LXVI उडुगणकुसुमवदी गहगणकिदतिलका ।
रजणिकरमभिमुखी वजदि विय अमु रजणी ॥ 209 (192)

LXII **कनकलताश्रिता** *or* **कनकजलजन्निसा**
(— — —, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, — — —) × 4 200 (185)
(*a*) C. **एसो गअणअले**, R. **हि सा भअणअले गगणदलो** ; (*b*) CR. **भअजणणो** ; (*c*) B. **न च**, K. **नव-**, CR. **णवजलहर धाराहि** ; (*d*) B. **सिञ्चयवि**, CR. **सिञ्चति**, R. **यहं**, KCB. **सह** .

LXIII **पीनश्रोणी** (— — —, — ⏑ ⏑, — ⏑ —, — —) × 4 202
(*a*) R. **लिणो** *for* **लोणो** ; (*b*) C. **धारापातैरदिहस्दो (?)** ; (*c*) C. **अलारंतो पुअस साओतो** ; (*d*) C. **आमुओ गअणअले**, R. **आमुंतो गअणतले** .

LXIV **शशिरेखा** (⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ — —, ⏑ — —) × 4 204 (187)
(*a*) BK. **-वारणरूपं** ; (*b*) C. **खुहिदमहाणवणादं**, R. **महणणवणादं** ; (*c*) BK. **पटुवणेण**, CR. **विधूअं** ; (*d*) C. **भमइ वलाहअयूथं** .

LXV **शलभविचलिता** (⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ —, ⏑ — —) × 4. 206 (189)
(*b*) CR. **उडुगणाकआवयंसा**, BK. **उडुगणरुदावतंसा** ; (*c*) CR. **गहगणाकिअङ्ग-**, BK. **गहगणाकदम्ब-** ; (*d*) CR. **युवदि विअ**, BK. **यदि दिव** .

LXVI **मणिगणनिकरश्रुता** (⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ —) × 4 208 (191)
(*a*) BK. **उटुगणाकुसुमवती**, C. **-कुसुमवती**, R. **कुसुमदी** ; (*b*) K. **गहगणाकिअतिलआ**, CR. **-किअतिलआ** ; (*c*) CR. **रअणिआअरणिाहमुही** ; (*d*) C. **अरि विहरदी रअणी**, R. **अइ हरदि रणु** .

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LXVII आकम्पन्तो धरणितलं विक्खोभन्तो गगणतलं ।
विज्जुज्जोदो दवविभवो एसो मेहो पविचरिदो ॥ 211 (194)

LXVIII पंकजसण्डे विमलजले सारसकेहिं समणुगदो ।
कुन्दणिकासो ससिधवलो हंसजुवाणो पविचरिदो ॥ 213 (196)

LXIX वासन्तो कुसुमसमुदितो पदोसो कुसुमसुरभिणो ।
सासन्तो पियरहिदजणं संपत्तो एस णवसरदो ॥ 216

LXX एस समुण्णदे अम्बरके मेघरवं सुणिऊण गजो ।
रोसवसेण समुज्जलिदो हिण्डदि काणणए कुविदो ॥ 218 (201)

LXXI अब्भमम्मुधरेहि पिणद्धं विद्दुद्दोदपभादवणन्तं ।
वादाघुण्णिदकम्पिदपत्तं उम्मादेदि व हत्थिसमूहं ॥ 220 (203)

LXVII सिंहक्रान्ता (— — —, — ⌣ ⌣, ⌣ ⌣ —) × 4 210 (193)

(*a*) BK. अंकम्पन्ते गगणतलं, C. आवन्तौ ; R. आवंवन्तो ; CR. धरणिअल (-लं B.), (*b*) BK. *lack this pāda*, C. विखोभतो, R. विवोभंतो, RC. गअणअल (-लं R.) ; (*c*) K. विद्दुज्जोवा, B. विद्यु जोवा, CR. विजुं लोअतपवितो, B. दवेविभवे K. दवविभवे ; (*d*) CR. एसो मोहे (-हो B) पविचरो हरओ णम सवाअहर .

LXVIII हरदयिता (— ⌣ ⌣, — — ⌣, ⌣ ⌣ ⌣, —) 213 (198)

(*a*) C. पंकअसंडे ; (*b*) CR. सारसएहिं समुणगओ, B. सारसकहि ; (*c*) C. कुन्दणिआसो ; B. ससि धवले, CR. ससिधवलो : B. हंसयुवाणो, R. पविरिददो .

LXIX कुसुमसमुदिता (— — —, ⌣ ⌣ ⌣, ⌣ ⌣ ⌣, —) ? × 4 215 (198)

C. वासअतो कुसुमसमुदितो एदोदो ससुहि सरहिणो। सासन्तो विअरएदजं एसं वसोइ असए सरसो ॥ R. वासअतो कुसुम समुदिते दाए एदो सो ससहि सरहिणो सो सतारहिदजणं स पतोल असही सरसो .

LXX दोषवक (— ⌣ ⌣, — ⌣ ⌣, — ⌣ ⌣, —) × 4 217 (200)

(*a*) R. एस समुण अधरके, C. एस समुणे अञ्चरके, BK. एस मुल्लसवंमम्बरके ; (*b*) R. मेघावलुंगिऊण गओ, C. मेहरवं लगिऊणगओ, BK. मेहवेलगिकं (-क B) गजो ; (*c*) BK. रोस वगोशे (-से B.) एणसे मुज्ज (-ज्ज B) -लिदो, C. सेरासरवसेण समुज्जलिओ, R. सेरासावसेण समुंजलिओ ; (*d*) C हिंडइ काणणए, R. घिडण काणणए, B. हिददि काणए, K. हिन्दुदि कारणए .

LXXI कुसोदता (— — —, ⌣ ⌣ —, ⌣ ⌣ —, —) × 4 219 (202)

(*a*) BK. अभ्रधर्मवं अम्भूहारहि पिणद्धं, C. अंहहवधरोपि पिणद्धं, R. *omits*

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LXXII जलधरणाद-समुव्विण्णो पगलिददाण-समुक्कुलो ।
वणगहणं कुविदो हत्थी सरभसगव्विदओ जादि ।। 222 (207)

LXXIII एदे खिदिधरवरसदिसा भीमा पटुपटहसमरवा ।
णीलासिदखगदिदरसणा मेघा णभतलमभिपदिदा ।। 224 (110)

LXXIV परिधूणमाणो किरणपदं अभिरुहमाणो उदयगिरिं ।
उडुगणबन्धू तिमिरभरे उदयदि चन्दो गगणतले ।।
226 (212)

LXXV मेहसमूहं किण्णवलाकं विज्जुपिणद्धं पेक्खिय एसो ।
उद्धियरोसो भीमणिणादो धावदि हत्थी भुज्जवणम्मि ।।
228 (205, 214)

this stanza, (*b*) BK. विज्जुजोवदवणत्तोरदीद्धम्, C. पिज्जो अधणंतयुदीप ; (*c*) BK. वादाधुणिअं पिअणाअं ; (*d*) C. उंमादेदि व हधि समूहं, BK. उम्मादेइ व हच्छि समूहं .

LXXII संज्ञिसा (⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ — ⏑, ⏑ — —, —) × 4 221 (206)

(*a*) BK. जलहरणाद समुच्चिअओ (-च्चिओ. B), C. जलहरणाद समुंविण्णो, R. जलहरणं समुंविद ; (*b*) BK. पगलिददाणसमुक्कुलो (-समुक्कुलो B), CR. पगलिअ दाणमहगन्धो ; (*c*) BK. वणगहणं कुविदो हत्थी, C. वणगहणे कुविते हत्थी, R. वणगहणे कुविदो हंथि ; (*d*) B. सरभमन्तरितो यादि, K. सरभमत्तरितो यादि, C. सरसभसं विदअं जाइ, R. सरभस गंविदअं जाइ .

LXXIII चपला (— — ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ —) × 4 223 (209)

(*a*) BK. खिति-, CR. खिदिधरपरिसरित्र ; (*b*) BK. नीमा पटुपटहसमरदा CR. हिमा पटुपडह समरवा ; (*c*) BK. नीलासितखगविदरगणो, CR. णिलासिदेखगति- ; (*d*) CR. मेहणाहणा अणिमभिन्नदिता ; B. -तलमभियदिदा .

LXXIV कमल लताक्षी (⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ — —, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ —) × 4 225 (211)

(*a*) BK. परिधुनमान, C. किरणपहं, R. किरणपवत्त ; (*b*) B. अभिरुहमणाबुदय गिरि, K. अभिरुहमाणो, C. अभिरुहमाणो ; BK. उडुगणबन्धु, R. वञ्चगणबन्धु (*c*) BK. कुमुदसखो *for* तिमिरभरे ; (*d*) CR. उदअदि चन्दो गअणतले .

LXXV पुष्पसमृद्धा (— ⏑ ⏑, — — —, ⏑ ⏑ —, —) × 4 227 (204, 213)

(*a*) BK. मेहसमूहं पीणवलाकं *and* चित्तवलाहं, CR. मेहसमूहे किण्ण वलाहे ; (*b*) CR. भीमनिणादं विज्जुपिणाद्धं BK. विज्जपलित्तपिरेकय एसो *and* भीसण-

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LXXVI गयणतलङ्गणहिंडणओ किरणसहस्ससविभूसिदओ ।
विहुणिय मेहपडं[सु]अओ उदयदि चन्दणडो गयणे ॥
230 (216)

LXXVII कुसुमसुगन्धीय सुपवणो तरुवरलासो पमदवणे ।
बहुकुसुमम्मि णवसरदे विचरदि रम्मे णलिणिवणे ॥
232 (218)

LXXVIII कुसुमाकिण्णे णिम्मल सलिले णलिणिसण्डे छप्पदमुहले ।
अदिसे रम्मे सारससुदिदे समदो हत्थी एसो विचरिदो ॥
234 (220)

LXXIX मेघविदाणं अवधुणमाणो कम्पयमाणो कुसुदवणाणि ।
तोयसमूहं अवकिरमाणो वायदि वाओ कुविद इवासु ॥
236 (222)

णादं विज्जुपिणद्धम् ; (*c*) CR. पेखिअ सो भीमणिणादो, BK. उद्धियरोसो भूमिनिनोदो *and* परिक्यसोभी भीसणणादो ; (*d*) CR. धावइ हत्थी रूखवणम्मि. BK. धावदि हत्थी भद्दं(हू)वणम्मि *and* वाचति हत्थी चूदवणन्तम् .

LXXVI द्रुतपादगति (⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ — ⏑, ⏑ — ⏑, ⏑ —) × 4. 229 (215)
(*a*) CR. गगण- (C. गअण-) तलङ्गणहिंडणओ ; (*b*) CR. किरणसहंसविभूसणओ, B. -विभूमिदडं ; (*c*) CR. विहुणिअ मेहपडतअओ, BK. दिहुणियमेहपडणूमसु ; (*d*) CR. उदअदि चंदणडो, BK. ❀ ❀ दि ससी गगणेविदुसम् .

LXXVII अतिचपला (⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ — —, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ —) × 4. 231 (217)
(*a*) BK. -सुगन्धिअसुम(-प. B)वाणा C. -सुअंधीअसुपवा, R. -सुअंधिअ सुपवणो ; (*b*) BK. तरुवरलोसे पमदवणं *occurs as c.*, C. तरुपलासोपमदवणे ; (*c*) C. बहुकुसुमभि णवसरदे, BK. बहुकुसुअंसी णवसरदे *occurs as d.* : (*d*) RC. बिअरइ : C. रमेण वणे, BK. विवरणणो णलिणि वणे *occurs as b.*

LXXVIII विमला (⏑ ⏑ —, — — —, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ —) × 4 233 (119)
(*a*) R. कुसुमाकणो णंमल- ; (*b*) C. छप्पअमुहले, R. खंअमुहले ; (*c*) CR. अदिसअरंमे सारसमुदितं. BK. सव(-च. B)भूमध्ये सारसमुदिते ; (*d*) BK. हत्थी पविचरिदो .

LXXIX रुचिरा (— ⏑ ⏑, — — ⏑, — —) × 4 235 (221)
(*a*) R. *omits this stanza*, BK. अवधूणयमाणो ; (*b*) BK. कम्पयमाणो ; (*c*) C. तोअसमूहं ; (*d*) C. वाअइ वाओ कुविअ .

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LXXX विधुणियजलधरमिदपहो जदिगणमुणिगण-परिपठिदो ।
उदयगिरिसिखरतटमुकुटो विचरदि गगणतले एस सुरो ॥
238 (228)

LXXXI गगणतलङ्गणमभिरुहमाणो रजदमहागिरिसिखरसरूपो ।
फडियमहामणिणियरणियासो पविचरिदो णवसरदि मियङ्को ॥
240 (230)

LXXXII जदिगणमुणिगणवन्दिदतेजो पवितदकिरणसहस्सपिणद्धो ।
विधुणिय तिमिरपटं जगदीवो उदयदि गयणतले एसो सूरो ॥
242 (226)

LXXXIII गिरितटविचरो विघूण्णिदो असणिघणरवेण कम्पयं ।
अभिपददि दुदं महीतलं पदुतरणिणदो महाघणो ॥ 244 (224)

LXXX अति चपला त्वरितगति
(⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, —) × 4 237 (227)
(*a*) CR. विधुणिअजलहरउसिदपहो, BK. विधुणियजलधरमसितपरं ; (*b*) CR. अदिगणम्म(-मु R)णिगणपरिवभितो. KB. दिय(पB.)गण मुणिवर पठिदो ; (*c*) BK. -शिखर-. CR. -सिहरउ(-इ R)महणिलओ ; (*d*) CR. वअरइ, *for* विचरदि. B. गगणातमसुख रवि. K. गगणातमसुखी. K² गगणातलम्मि. CR. अरणलअभूमसुखी .

LXXXI मदकलिता (⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ — ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ —, —) × 4 239 (229)
(*a*) C. गअणतलङ्गण अहिरुहमाणो, R. गणअअलंगणअ महीरुहमणो ; (*b*) BK. रजतमहागिरिशिखरसरूपो. CR. रुजतमहागिरिसिहरसरुपो : (*c*) R. पडिक महाणिअर-. C. ❀ ❀ महाणिणिअर-, BK. रजदमओ विपपियकलसोसू : (*d*) CR. पविअरिदौ. BK. पविचरिदो विअ निसि चन्दो .

LXXXII कमललोचना
(⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ —, ⏑ ⏑ —, —) × 4. 241 (225)
(*a*) RC. य च-C) तिगणमुणिगणवादित तेजो, BK. दिअभूमिगणवियद्धिअ- ; (*b*) C. पवितकिरणसविणधो. R. पवित किरण सविणंधे, BK. पवितत किरण सहसस पिणहो : (*c*) BK. धुणिअ तिमिरपटन्त गदीवा. C. तिमिरपडं, R. तिमिरं *and omits* -पटं- ; (*d*) BK. उदयंत्याहदलअ सुस्तरो, C. गअणअलेअ .

LXXXIII अपरवक्त्र (⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ -, — ⏑ —, ⏑ —) × 4. 243 (223)
(*a*) BK. गिरितटविचरे. CR. गिरिअडविअरघुंणिदो. BK. विकणिदो *for* विधुणिणदो ; (*b*) BK. असनिघटरवेणकम्पयम् C. असणिपणरवेएकपअ.

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LXXXIV मेहरवं णवसरदे ।
णिसमिय कुद्धो भमइ गयवरो ॥ 247 (233)

LXXXV विज्जुकसाहि पहदं मरुद्धि ।
परुददि गयणं पसमियगदतारं ॥ 248 (234)

LXXXVI मेहरवाउलं रुद्धगहकदम्बं ।
पसमिददिवाकरं रुददि विय णहदलं ॥ 249 (235)

LXXXVII फुल्लतरुसण्डए सुरभिपवणहदे ।
विअरदि पमदवणे हंसो सहचरिपरिवुदो ॥ (236)

LXXXVIII ताराबन्धु एस णहे विक्किरमाणो मेघपडं ।
किरणसहस्स-विभूसिदो उदयदि सोमो रजणिकरो ॥
250 (238)

R. -रवेहि कंपअ, (*c*) RC. दु(मदु- C)मं *for* दुदं, CR. महीअलं *for* महीतलं ; (*d*) BK. महारवो .

LXXXIV च(तुरस्र)-वि(वर्द्धिता) प्रतिष्ठा (*For the scheme see the Introduction* § 5.) (*a*) CR. मेहरव, BK. महरवं ; (*b*) C. णसवरदे, BK. सावसरर ; (*c*) K. णिपक्कुद्धौ, B. णियक्कुद्धौ ; (*d*) BK. भस्वइ ; C. असहप्पवरो. R. असहअंपवरो .

LXXXV च. वि. सुप्रतिष्ठा (*For the scheme see the Introduction* §5.) (*a*) CR विजुंकसाहि, BK. विज्जुलदाहि ; (*b*) C. हदंमरुद्ध, R. अहिहहदमं, BK. अभिहयकं ; (*c*) BK. चारुंददि वगणं, C. दिवगअणं, R. पंरुददि गअणं ; (*d* R. पसमिअगदतारो, C. ॐ वामिअगततारे, BK. यसमिह गतारम् .

LXXXVI च. वि. गायत्री (*For the scheme see the Introduction* § 5) (*a*) K मेघरवानु, B. मेघरवाणुण, R. मेहरवाउदं, C. महरवाउलं ; (*b*) K. णद्धगहकंदकं, B. णद्धगहवंदकं, CR. *omit* रुद्धगह-, R. -कदवं, C. -कन्दर : (*c*) C. वसामिअ दिवाअरं, R. संमिअ दिवाकरं, BK. एसमिद दिवाकरं ; (*d*) CR. रुअदि विअ णहअलम्, K. रुददि विपणहदलम् .

LXXXVII च. वि. उष्णिक् (*For the scheme see the Introduction* § 5) (*a*) C. *omits this stanza.* BK. युल्लीयतरुसंडे ; (*b*) BK. -पवणहतं R. -पवणाहए ; (*c*) BK. विअरदि, R. विअरह, BK. पदमदवणे ; (*d*) R. पंसो *for* हंसो, BK. सहरि परितुदो, R. सहसहपरिवुदो .

LXXXVIII च . वि . अनुष्टुभ् (*For the scheme see the Introduction* § 5.) (*a*) BK. तारावसणाहि ; R. सहअउह *for* एस णहे (*b*) K. विरिकिरमाणो,

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LXXXIX एसो सुमेरुवणकम्मि देवयसिद्धयपरिगीदे ।
अदिसुरभिगन्धवणचारी पविचरदि विहङ्गमजुवाणो ॥
251 (239)

XC पादवसीसं कम्पयमाणो सुरभिगजगण्डसुवासिदो ।
उपवणतरुगणलासणओ विचरदि वरतणु वणपवणो ॥
252 (240)

XCI कुमुदवणस्स विभूसणओ विधुणिय तिमिरपटं गगणे ।
उदयगिरिसिहरमधिरोहन्तो रजणिकरो उदयदि विमलकरो ॥
253 (241)

XCII जदिगणमुणिगण-सन्थुदओ सुतविदकणककिरणयसण्णिभदेहो ।
दुदमिह णहतलमभिरुहमाणो पविचरदि [जुवदि] एसो
दिवसकरो ॥ 254 (242)

B. दिकिरभाणो, CR. मेहपडं ; (*c*) BK. किरणसहस्रसविभूसितओ, B. किरणसहस्रसभूमितऊं C. किरणसहं सिविठसिओ, R. किरणसहंसलि रसिओ ; (*d*) CR. उद अदि, CR. एसो *for* सोमो, CR. वअणिअरो .

LXXIX च . वि . बृहती (*For the scheme see the Introduction § 5.*)
(*a*) CR. सुमेरुवणअम्मि, BK. सुमेरुवणकम्मी ; (*b*) BK. (दिय B.) देव सिद्धपरिगीदो, C. देवअसिद्धपरिगीओ ; (*c*) C. अतिसुरभिवणचारि, KB. सुरभिसुगन्धचारी ; (*d*) BK. विचरदि वि णहंगमगतिविदो, CR. परिचरदि गअ सुवाओ .

XC च . वि . पंक्ति (*For the scheme see the Introduction § 5.*)
(*a*) B. पादनसंपुंकवयमाणो, K. पादवसंपकंपयमाणो ; (*b*) BK. सुरभिसुगन्ध-धासुवादिओ-दिउ B.), C. ससरभि गगडोसुवासिओ : (*c*) C. वनतरुगणलासणओ BK. उदवणासरुवरलासणओ : (*d*) CR. विअरइ : C. वरतरुवणपवणो, BK. वरतरुवणपदणो .

XCI च. वि. त्रिष्टुभ् (*For the scheme see the Introduction § 5.*)
(*a*) B. विभूषणऊं, CR. विहूसणओ : (*b*) C. निधुणिअतिभिरपडं गणओ : (*c*) CR उदअदि गिरिसिहररोही : (*d*) CR. रअणिअरो सुविमलअरो.

XCII च. वि जगती. (*For the scheme see the Introduction § 5.*)
(*a*) CR. जदिगणमुनिगण संतुदओ, BK. दियगण मुनिगण संथुक्त : (*b*) BK. तुतथिदवर किरण संणिभदेहो, R. कअकसंनिहिदेहो C. तविरकदवरकण असं-निहिदो ; (*c*) CR. दुतमिहणहअलमहिरुहमाणो, BK. द्र तनिहणहयलमभिरु-

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XCIII वादसमुप्पदवीचितरङ्गो फटिकमणिणिकररुचिरजलो
वीचिपरम्परघोरणिणादो पटुपवणलुलिदविहगकुलो ।
मीणकुलाकुलभीमतरङ्गो खुभिद-घणणिवहसदिसरवो
तुङ्गमहीधरसमाणणिरुद्धो रुसिद इव सपदि सलिलणिधि ॥
289 (273)

XCIV पुप्फविदाणं उद्धुणमाणो रथ इव दुदगदिरभिपदिदो
पक्कममाणो मेहतडेसुं तरुसु अवकिरिअ कमलदलं ।
उम्मिसहस्सं उद्धुणमाणो सरसि खुभिद-सलिल-कलकलो
भीमणिणादो चण्डपवाही विचरदि वरतणु वणपवणो ॥
291 (268)

हमाणो ; (*d*) BK. विचरदि तवदि (तपति B.) एस दिवसकरो, C. विश्चरदि पदवदि दिश्चसकारो, R. विश्चदिं पदिए दिवसकरो .

XCIII स्खलिता (— ⏑ ⏑, — ⏑ ⏑, — ⏑ ⏑, — — ⏑,
⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ —) ×4 288 (272)

(*a*) R. वादसमुंपदवीचि-, C. पादसमुंलदवीचि-, BK. वातसमुद्धतवीचितरङ्गे BK. स्फटिक मणिनिकरइसजनले (-द्धसजनेके. B) C. पुफलिवामणिणिकरजलो R. फलिकमणि णिकरजलो ; (*b*) R. वीचिपरवरघोणनिणादो, C. वीचिपरघोणनिणादो ; BK. पङ्कजरेणु पराग पिषङ्गे CR. पटुपवनललितदविहनकुलो BK. विलुलितकमलकुवलयदले ; (*c*) R. मीणाकुलाकुलभिमतरंगो, C. मीणाकलकुलभीमतरघुगो, BK. मोटितकल्पतरुत्थितशाखे R. खुभिदघण णिवहसरवो, C. घुभिदघणणणिससरवो ; BK. सुरयुवतियनसमक्षुतं ; (*d*) R. तुङ्गमहीरसमाण णिरुंधो रुंधो, C. तुगमहीरसमाणणिरुद्धो, BK. क्रीड़ितदानसुगन्धमहोमें ; C. रुन्धिद इव सपदि सलिल णिहो, R. रुधिद सपदि सलिलणिहि, BK. सुरगज इह सुरसरिभितिः .

XCIV पुष्पसमृद्धा (— ⏑ ⏑, — — —, ⏑ ⏑, — ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑,
⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ —)×4 290 (267)

(*a*) C. उद्धु अमाणो, R. उंपुअमाणो, R. दुदगदिरपदिदो, C. ददगतिरभिविददो, BK. हतगतिरभिपठति ; (*b*) C. पेंखअमाणो, R. पंवहुमाणो, BK. परकजमाणो, BK. मेहताडसुं, CR. सलिलतलेसु, BK. तरुसु जणयदिभयमतुलं *for* तरुसु अवकिरिअ कमलदलं ; (*c*) R. *omits c.*, C. मेहसमूहं लंदुअमाणो सरसि खुभिदं अजलकलो, BK. खुभितसलिलकलकला; (*d*) R. भिमणिणाटो BK. चण्डपदाही, C. चडववाही, BK. विचरदि, R. विश्चदि C. वाहश्चदि, BK. वपत्तणु, BK. सुह- पवणो, R. पश्चोपवणो .

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XCV * सागरं समुधंअतो रभ इव लघुगतिअभिवदिप
वदेसहमाणं कोकतरुसु जणआदि च गुणतलइ
तेणुजाल अङ्किपतो दिवसकिरमिदमिणमिन्दुकिरणो
वाधितअ सुलोअ कामो विअदि वरुण सूभूपवणो।

293 (262)

XCVI किरणसहस्सं विक्किरमाणो फटिकमणिरुचिरधवलणिहो
कुमुदवणाइं वोधयमाणो कुमुदाकरणिकरसदिसववु
गहगणवन्धु लोअपदीवो उडुगणगहगणसमणुगदो
उदयदि चन्दो रोहिणीकन्तो णवसरदि कुमुदिगणसुहदो ॥

295 (270)

XCV श्रेणी (— ⏑ —, ⏑ — ⏑, — — ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑,
⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ —) × 4. 292 (261)

R. सागरं ❀ ❀ ❀ रभइ ललघुगतिरभि पदिवा
पमेह मेहाणंतो तरुछ जणाअभि चलणा चतुन्तणा।
तलगुरेणाजालअंखिपतो दिवकिरमिणा मिदुकिरणो
बोधिदुअ सुलोककामो विअव दिवरदणु सुहपवणो॥

BK. सागरं समुद्गुणन्तो रथपदलघुगदिभिभवति
मघा (मध्या B.) दशमाहणन्ते भरुन्तु च जणाविभयमतुलम्।
रणाजालमुख्ययन्तो दिवसकरण पिण्डकरणो-
व्वोघ (-दोध- B.)यं पजाछ कामं दिवरतणयु (-णु B.) सुहपवणा॥

XCVI सम्भ्रान्ता (⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ — —, — ⏑ ⏑, — ⏑ ⏑,
⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ —) × 4. 294 (269)

(*a*) CR. फलिकमणिणिअररूदरणिहो ; (*b*) RC. कुमुदवणाइं वाबाहअहाणो, R. कंमंपवणाइं बोहमाणो ; C. कुमुदाअणिरअसदवहू, R. कुमुदाअणितरअ सदश वहुक, BK. कुमुदकलाणकरसदिसव ; (*c*) K. पमहगणवन्धु लोकपदां वो, B. महगणवन्ध लोकपदीवो, C. गणाअणिवन्धू लोअपदिवो, R. गहणिवधु लोअवादीवो ; C, उडुगहणसमभिगतो, R. उलधुगण गहगण समभिगदो ; (*d*) CR. रोहिणिकंदो ; CR. णवसरसि *for* णवसरदि, BK. णवसरदमुदित सुखजणणो.

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XCVII गगणतलङ्गणमभिरुहमाणो उडुगणगहगणसमुपगदो
हलधरआणणसुरुचिररूवो जुवदिजणसुहिदो मदकरओ
किरणपडंसुअमवकिरमाणो रजदगिरिसिहरसदिसवबु
उदयदि सम्पदि एस जगदीवो कुमुदवणरुचिरविमलकरो ॥
297 (278)

XCVIII मुणिगणसंथविदोधिकतेजो विधुणिअ [घणतम]तिमिरपडं
कमलवणाइँ विवोधअमाणो जदिगणमुणिगणपरिपठिदो ।
भुजगसहस्सविवन्दिदपादो सुतविदकणकसदिसवपुक-
करणिकरेहिं पसादिय लोअं उदयदि वरतणु दिवसकरो ॥
299 (264)

XCVII वेगवती (⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ — ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ —, —
⏑ ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ —) × 4. 296 (277)

(*a*) CR. गगणतलंगणमहिरुहमाणो उडुगणगहगणसमुपगतो, BK. उडुगण समाण गदो ; (*b*) BK. युवतिजणाणां सुरचितरूपा सुखितदयितजण भदणकरो ; *for b.* CR. हलधर आणण रुचिररूप ; R. जुपइजणसहिदमदकरो, C. ध्रवलसहिद-मदकरकरको ; (*c*) C. किरणपडंसुअपिकिरमाणो, R. किरणपडंसुअ पितिरमाणो, BK. किरणसहस्सविमुञ्चितवन्दो ; C. रजदगिरि सहिरसदिसवहू, R. रजदगिरि सिहर सदिसवहू ; (*d*) BK. सम्पदि, CR. सपदि ; C. अछज, R. अछ, BK. अरु *for* एस .

XCVIII चपला (⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ — ⏑, ⏑ — ⏑, ⏑ — —, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑,
⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ — ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, —) × 4. 298 (263)

(*a*) C. मुणिगणसंथविचथधिअतेजो विधुणिअ तिमिरवधणघव, R. मुणिगण सथविष थधिअतेजो विधुणिअ तिमिर दिवसघणघडं, BK. मुणिगणनन्त विविद्ध तेजा विधुणिअतिमिरपटं ; (*b*) C. कंलपणाइव बोहअमाणो, C जदिगणमुणिघण-परिपठितो, R. जदिगण मुणिगण परिवरिदो, BK यदिगण परिपठिदो ; CR. भुजगसहविव (-वं R.) धिदपादो, BK. भुजगसहस्रविवर्धितयासो, C. सुतविदकरणअसुसद्विसवपूक, R. सुतवितकणकसुसरिदसवपू BK. वित-विकरणचयो ;(*d*) CR. करणिअरेहि पसदिअ लोअो उदअदि वरतणु दिवसअरो, BK. उदयदि स एव यताविलोओ वेरत दिवसकरो .

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XCIX एसो चन्दो णिम्मलदेहो विधुणिय घणतममसिदपडं
लोकाणन्दो लोकपदीवो उडुगणगहगणसमणुगदो ।
पासादाणं कारयमाणो सिदपडणिवसणमिवविवुलं
लोकालोकं रञ्जयमाणो विचरदि वरतणु गयणतले ॥

301 (266)

C एसो मेहो सेलो भूओ असणिमुरजपडुपडह-समरवो
णाणाविज्जुज्जोदालेवो हि घणजलधरपटलणिचयसमणुगदो ।
णाणावण्णो ताडङ्कारीदो धवलखगरचितकुसुमजधुरो
संछादन्तो लोयं एसो भमइ चलगिरिणिवह इव सुतणुलदे ॥

303 (276)

XCIX **क्रौञ्चा** (— — —, — — ⏑, ⏑ — —, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑,
⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, —) × 4. 300 (265)

(*a*) R. घणमसिद पडणि, C. गणमसिदपडणि, BK. ❀ ❀ तमतप वसिदं ; (*b*) BK. लोकानान्दो, C. लोकाणहदो, R. दोकालणादो, BK. लोकपदांपो, R. लोकंपदीवो, C. लोकवदीवो, C. उडुणगहगणसमुपददो, R. उडुगणगण समुपगदो, BK. उडुगणउगहगण- ; (*c*) CR. पासाणां *for* पासादाणां, BK. कास्यमाणो *for* कायमाणो, BK. सितनिवसणमिद विपुलं, C. सितपड णिवसणमिपुलो, R. सिहपडणिवसणमिवविछल ; (*d*) CR. लोआलोआ रञ्जआमाणो, BK. ❀ ❀ लोकं रञ्जयमाणो, R. विआरइ वरणुगआअले, C. विआइ वतणु गआलचले .

C **मत्ताक्रीड़ा विद्युन्माला** (— — —, — — —, — — ⏑,
⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ —) × 4. 302 (274-275)

(*a*) BK. एसो मेहो सेलातुआ, C. एसो मे सोलोहोओ, R. एसो मेहो सोल होओ, C. असणिमुरज पडुपडहसमरपो, BK. असणिरवछरज पटह समरवा ; (*b*) BK. णाणाविज्जुज्जोवालोओ, C. णाविवुजो अलोपोहि, R. णापिदुजो-लोपोहि, BK. घणपटलणिचयजलधरसमणुगदो, C. थणघआडुलणिआआजलहरु-हरओ, R. घणचडुल णिआआ जलहररुु ; (*c*) C. णाणावणो, R. णापंणो C. तोडङ्गारो, R. तोलंगारो, BK. णाणावणो ताउग्लारीतुधवलखगविचरित कुसुमपभो, CR. पविआरदि रूरकुसुमजधुरो ; (*d*) R. सछादतो लोकपादा, चइ हरि णिवह इ छतजले, C. छादतो लोआ चदोपइहरिणिवहइ छतणुलतो BK. संछायन्तो लोयइयं भमइ चलगिरिणिवहइव स्तुभसलिलो .

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CI एसिका कमलगब्भगेहका रेणुपिञ्जरिद चारुपंतिका ।
सादरं मदकलोपगुञ्जिदा हिण्डदे सरोवरम्मि छप्पदी ॥
309 (283)

CII * तरुसडं अवुहिए सरोघणणादभदिहिअमनोहरो ।
असुदीण दीणागमणोणुकिदो समपेइ दायिणि कमलभोस
पादव ॥ 311

CIII कमलाककरं कुसुमिदं कलहंससंकुलं
वरहत्थिजूथ-कलुसीद-सागरोवमं ।
एस मन्द मन्द मधुवाररवाणुकूलदं-
कुरँरोरुवेइ तरिदं सरदागमे सरं ॥ 314

CI **रथोद्धत** (— ⏑ ⏑(?), ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, — ⏑ —, ⏑ —) × 4. 308 (282)
(*a*) BK. एसिका कमलगब्भागेहक, C. इंथ आकमलङ्गभगहओ, R. इव थ आ कमल गंभगेहओ ; (*b*) BK. रेणुपिञ्जरिद चारुतिका, C. ओअरेणु बीजरिद सारू पंतिआ, R. ओ अरेण पिजरिद :सारइ पंडिआ ; (*c*) BK. सादरं मदकलोप गूजिदा, CR. सारपडुरगुणं पहतिआ ; (*d*) BK. हिडदे सिखरम्मि छप्पदी, R. हिडदे सरपमीं छवआ, C. हाउदे सरवमि छंपआ .

CII **वुद्वुद** (⏑ ⏑ —, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ —, — — ⏑, —) ×4. 310
BK. *omit this.*
R. तरुसंडअं विहि ए सरोओ घणणादहिदहिअ मणोहरो ।
असदीणदीणगमणो असंकिदो समुवेइ दायिणि कमल भोस पादव ॥

CIII **उद्गत** (⏑ ⏑ —, ⏑ — ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ —, ⏑ ⏑ —, ⏑ — ⏑, —) ×4.
312-313
(*a*) C. कमलाअरं कुछमिद हलभरसंकुलं, R. कमलाअर कुछमिद करलहंस-संकुल ; (*b*) C. वरहथिअह कलसीत साअरोपमं, R. परहाथिजूह कलुसीअ साअरोवमं ; (*c*) R. अछ मद मद महुअरं ओमराणुकुलद, C. अछमंअछमं-मन्दमहुअष्टरवममराणुकुल दङ्; (*d*) R. कुर रोरुकौगइ तरिअ, सदाह मे सरायन्ते । C. कुरलोलुवेल अरिअ सदागमे सरायन्तु .

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CIV. चूदवणं पफुल्लतिलकं कुरवकसहिदं
चञ्चलसारसछप्पदं कुसुमसमुदिदं ।
माधवमासए वणे वणे जुवयिसहचरो
हिण्डइ कोइलो सदावलम्बकुहुमधुरवो ॥
316 (290)

CV मधुकाणणे भमिय एस चिरं, जुवयिसहायकसमुव्विहिदो ।
कमलाकरे सुरभिपङ्कजए अवहिण्डदे सरदि [हंसजुवा] ॥
318 (292)

CVI * कुञ्जलवमस सेविक पवाक अंशिमदे मरणिआपकंविहा ।
अभीम अभमरि हरण परिसहिआ ॥ 320

CIV वंशपत्रपतित (— ⏑ ⏑, — ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ — ⏑, — ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ —)
×4. 315 (289)

(*a*) C. सूद पण पुलइ तिलअ कुरसहिणं, R. सूदपणं वं पुलइ तिल अकुरवअ साहित्यं, BK. चूदवणं पप्फुल्लिअतलयं कुरुवकसहिदं ; (*b*) R चं अ साल सो पदं कुसुम समुदिअं, R. अचंवसालहोअवयिहदकुसुमदिअं ; BK. चारुअसो-अमलुकलिकं कुसुमससमुदिदं ; (*c*) C. माहवमासए वणे वणे जुवयिसहअरो, R. माहवमासए मणोपाणे अवसइ हअरो, BK. माधवकाणनं युवदिआ जणमदजणणं ; (*d*) C. हिंडइ कोइलो सहाकरसासवमंरवो, BK. हिंडहु कोविला फरसा वनहुररवा, R. हिडइ केदो सदावलंव सावध .

CV प्रमिताक्षर (⏑ ⏑ —, ⏑ — ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ —, ⏑ ⏑ —) ×4. 317 (291).
(*a*) CR. महुकाणणे भमिअ एस चिरं ; (*b*) R. जूपंवं मुहाइकसयं वहिआ, C. द्रवईमुहाइक समं विहिआ ; (*c*) C. सुरभि पङ्कअए, R. सुरभिषकएअ ; (*d*) C. अवहीसए सरंइ सवयि, R. अवहि स ❀ ❀ ❀ ❀
BK. कमलायरे सुरभिऊण चिरं भसली मुहासव सुणओ ।
मधुसूसिदं च सुरदि चूदवणं परिहिण्डदे सुतणु छम्पदओ ॥

CVI केतुमति नतकुट (14+16, 16+16) mātrās (?) 319
This couplet is extremely corrupt. The reading of R. is as follows :
R. मुज विलमसं सेविक चं पतरअमिसदमरणिआ ।
पतोविहा आभीम अवंदंभमरि पुथरेणु परिसहिअं ।

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CVII * हालद्दओणतिसमणिओ सरंमि रमए वूलंअ पङ्कए हरङ्कसं
गुले चपअकालिएविलोह अन्तओपकमणाहिअ ॥ 322

CVIII * अविरमे अतिभीरवोभव असज्जणोचरको सिआओसुवा
असए हिहंथिदओ सारिमगल कोधरअन्तुरिअ ॥

324 (299)

CVII हंसास्य (⏑ — ⏑, — ⏑ —, — ⏑ ⏑, — ⏑ —) ×4, 321 (296).

This couplet is extremely corrupt. The readings of R. *and* BK. *are as follows*:

R. ऊणंहदएति समणिओ सरंमिरंमए पुलअषकए ।
तरङ्ग संकुले चंपतअ कविए विलंहअंतओपक सणाहित्य ॥

BK. दिज हंसाधकंसे सलिलसरे कुमुदमोद लुद्धकोमलाकरे ।
णलिणीपत्ता मज्जो परिहिगडेदा भमणायासखिणणा भमरावली ॥

CVIII तोटक-नतकुटक, (*not clear*). 323 (298).

This is extremely corrupt. The readings R *and* BK *are as follows*

R. रअविअ मेंरदिमीरवोड असंजणणो परकोविअओ
सुवाअसहि पहंथिदओ सरिगमलको धरणं तुरिअ ।

BK. रमणीसहिओ रजनीविराम गगणाङ्गणए खगकोसिगओ ।
अनुवायस एहो विद्यति दुर्जपरिमग्गभेदे कोटरथम् ॥

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NOTES

I The fragrant breeze of the spring has a disquieting effect on young persons. The reading *vāo* occurs here in all the texts. But *vādo* occurs in XII, XXI and L, though *vāo* occurs again in LXXIX.

II The vernal wealth of the forest weakens the wild elephant by rousing its passions.

III The monkey weeps over the forest which has been shorn of its leaves in winter.

IV For the emendation of *ee* into *ede* see XVII.

V *Vomma* has been suggested by Pandit Vidhusekhar Bhattacharya.

VI Clouds moving in the sky look like so many snakes.

VII Clouds with a tremendous roar lay siege, as it were, to the sky.

IX *taḍi* = *taḍit* (Skt.).

X The description given in the verse is that of a mountain under the mid-day sun after a storm has blown over it.

XI The she-elephant bewails the damage done to the forest by the wind and lightning. *Vāda-vidārite* has been suggested by Pandit Vidhusekhar Bhattacharya.

XII *suha-sisira* = winter that is (yet) pleasant.

XIII A rutting elephant enters the lotus-lake.

XV An elephant mistakes the clap of thunder for the trumpeting of another elephant. (Cf. *Bhaṭṭi*, II. 9.).

XVI The wild goose is distressed to find her abode damaged by winter.

XIX The lengthening of the final vowel of *ettha* in this verse is an instance of poetic licence. *saṅgahiā* < **saṅgahidā* < **saṅgṛdhitā*, Cf, *gṛdhnu*. (= libidinous) in the *Uṇādi-sūtras* (cited by Monier-Williams).

XX *pavaṇāhadaā* = shaken by gentle breeze.

XXI *pādavāṇaṃ lāsī* = one who causes the trees to dance i.e. makes them tremble.

XXIV Seeing the Spring approach him the Southern Breeze has begun to blow.

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XXVI For *saṅgahiā* see XIX above. We follow here the *shorter recension.*

XXVII The reading of the *shorter recension* has been adopted here.

XXVIII The tragic fate of the rutting elephant has been described.

XXIX *jalahara-sambhatta* = nourished by clouds. The verse describes the elephant couple roaming amdist the luxurious vegetation of the tropical forest duriug the rains.

XXXI *Ramaṇi* is in case of address.

XXXII *pattha* = *prastha* (Skt.) = valley. The emended portion of this verse enclosed within square brackets has been suggested by Pandit Vidhusekhar Bhattacharya.

XXXIII The separated lover is afraid of the peculiar passion-rousing effect of the winter breeze.

XXXIV The reading of the *shorter recension* has been adopted in this verse. For, the reading of the *longer recension* stands metrically defective.

XXXV *hasire* = **haside* (= *hasite*, Skt.).

XXXIX The reading *kamala-ṇivāsiṇiā* has been accepted for for the sake of metre. The meaning would be 'dwelling amongst lotuses'.

XL *matta-madhukaragaṇe* = amongst intoxicated bees.

XLIII *timiragaṇohasio* = *timiragaṇāvahasikaḥ* (Skt.) = one who scorns masses of darkness.

XLVIII The shortening of the vowel in the final syllable of *gaṅgā* in the compound *gaṅgādhara* is an instance of licence allowed in the Pkt. poetry. *Mūlāroho cando* means the moon occuring at a time when the asterism *mūlā* rises, i.e. in the month of Jyaiṣṭha (Cf. *Karpūra-mañjarī*, HOS. p. 214). *Kantāliparigado* has been a happy suggestion made by my teacher Prof. Suniti Kumar Chatterji.

LXXV *kiṇṇvalākaṃ* = which has scattered the cranes (probably by the prospect of a shower). We follow here the *shorter recension.*

LXXVII The long *i* in *sugandhī* is another instance of metrical licence allowed in Pkt. poetry.

LXXIX In this *dhruvā* we follow the *shorter recension.*

XCVIII The editor was in the beginning for accepting the reading of the *shorter recension*, but the suggestion of Dr. S. K. De

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that the *longer recension* gives the correct reading, appearing to be more satisfactory, he has gladly modified his earlier opinion. Pkt. *bhujaga* = <*bhuaa* (=*pūjaka* Skt.) See the *Pāïasadda-mahaṇṇava* on *bhuaa*.

CIII *Aṃkura* means *sūcanā* in the technical language of the drama. (vide *NŚ*. VIII. 15)

CV *Kamalākara* here is to be taken in the sense of a lake (cf. *puṣkariṇī*, *pukharī*, *pukhur* in Bengali).

CORRECTION SLIP

Page 14 *For the line* 28 *read* '(2) Almost uniform retention of the intervocal *c*.'

Page 15 *In the line* 18 *substitute* 'rarely', *for* 'never'.

Page 16 *In the line* 6 *insert* 'at all' *after* 'not'.

Page 20 *In the line* 11 *read* अंछकिलिण्णा *for* अंछ किलिण्णा

Page 24 *In the line* 4 *read* एस कामुओ *for* एसकामुओ

Page 25 *In the line* 4 *read* करेणुआविहीणो *for* करेणुआ विहीणो

Page 30 *In the line* 4 *read* ते हिअआनन्दं *for* देहिअ आनन्दं-

Page 33 *In the line* 8 *read* यूथं *for* थं

Page 36 *In the line* 6 *read* णिम्मलसलिले *for* णिम्मल सलिले *and* अदिसेरम्मे *for* अदिसे रम्मे

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SELECT GLOSSARY

N.B. *Words preceded by the sign of equality are Skt. equivalents*

अंकुर—सूचना
अंसकिलिण्णा=अश्रुक्लिन्ना
अङ्गय=अङ्गक, अङ्ग
अदिसे-=अतिशय-
अध=अथ
अधिकवयु—वर्धितकाय
अब्भ=अभ्र, आकाश, मेघ
असुगद=अश्रुगत, अश्रुसिक्त
अहमुह=अहमुख, प्रातः
अहिय=अहिक, सर्प

उक्कोल=उत्कुल
उडु, उडु—नक्षत्र
उद्धिय=उद्धृत
उपराय=उपराग, राहुग्रास
उवेदि=उपैति
उव्वेय=उद्वेग

एत्थ=अत्र
एसिका=एषा

कदम्ब—समूह
कन्त=कान्त
कन्तालि=कान्तालि, कान्ताश्रेणी
कमलाकर—कमलयुक्ता वापी
कविल=कपिल
कसा=कक्षा
कालमेह=कालमेघ

खुभिद=क्षोभित, आलोडित

गङ्गधर=गङ्गाधर, शिव
*गजासण=गजाशन, गजभक्षक
गय=गज
गयण=गगण

घणसंरुद्ध=मेघावृत

जुहण=ज्योत्स्ना
जोहण=ज्योत्स्ना

डाहजर=दाहज्वर

णड=नट
णाग=नाक
णाहणिय=-स्नात्वा
णिच्चणिप्पह=नित्यनिष्प्रभ, सदानिष्प्रभ
णिम्मलब्भ=निर्मलाभ्र
-णिह=-निभ

तडिसणाद्ध=तडित्सनाथ, तडिद्युक्त
ताड—ताटङ्क, कर्णभूषण विशेष
*तास=त्रास
तिमिरगणोहसिअ=तिमिरगणावहसिक
तुण्ड—शिरः
तेजोसुक=तेजोऽभ्र

दवविभव=द्रवविभव
दाणहिगन्ध=दानाभिगन्ध
दारेदि=दारयति

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पंति=पंक्ति
पक्कममाण=प्रक्रममान
पठिद=पठित
पडिगज=प्रतिगज, विद्वेषीगज
पणास=प्रणाश
पणोल्लिण—प्रचालक
पत्थ=प्रस्थ
पदीविय=प्रदीप्य
पदुम=पद्म
पन्थिय=पथिक
पभाद=प्रभात, उद्भासित
परुण्णिय=प्ररुदित
*पवङ्ग=प्लवङ्ग
पवण्ण=प्रपन्न
पवण्णहद=पवणाहत
पसामिय=प्रशामित
पसादिय=प्रसाद्य
-पह=-प्रभ
परिखुद=परिवृत
पाउस=प्रावृष
पासाद=प्रासाद
*पावुद=प्रावृत
पुप्फवाही=पुष्पवाही, पुष्पगन्धी
फटिक, फडिग=स्फटिक
बलाय=बलाक, बलाका
भराइय=भरित, पूरित
भुजग—पूजक
भुज्ज=भूर्ज
मधुआसिया=मध्वासिका, मधुकरी
मधुवार—मधुकर
मन्दजोसिण=मन्दज्योत्स्न
महीहर=महीधर
माधवमास=वैशाख मास
मुक्क=मुक्त
मुहर, मुहल=मुखर
मूलारोह—*See notes on* XLVIII
रयणी=रजनी
-राय=-राज
रुसिद=रुषित
लास—लास्य
लासी—लास्यकारक
लोय=लोक, जगत्
लोयालोय=लोकालोक
वणन्त=वनान्त
वलाहय=वलाहक, मेघ
ववु=वपु
वहित्थअ=वहिःस्थ
वरुज्झइ=अवरुध्यते
वासन्त=वसन्तकालभव
विक्किरमाण=विकीरमाण
*विदारिद=विदारित
विवुल=विपुल
वियसन्ते=विकसन्ते
विसरदि—अभिसरति
*वोम्म=व्योम, आकाश
संवुद=संवृत
सङ्गहिया=संगृहिता, कामुकी
सदारोव—सदादीप्त
सन्नुथुद=संस्तुत
समन्ता=समन्तात्

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सम्भत्त=सम्भृत
समुक्कुल=समुत्कुल
समुव्विहिद=समुद्विहित
सलिलहर=सलिलधर, मेघ
सहयरि=सहचरी
सिहि-=शिखि-
सिद=सित
सुत्त=सुप्त, व्याप्त
सुर=सूर्य्य
सुहच्च, सुहद=सुखद, सुहृद

सूर=सूर्य्य
सेल=शैल
सोच्च=शोक

हय=हत
हसिर=हसित, हास्ययुक्त
हिण्डणक—भ्रमणकारी
हिण्ड—विचरणार्थे
हिमाहय=हिमाहत
हिय=हृत

MANOMOHAN GHOSH

CORRECTION SLIP

Vol. VIII, p. 338

In the Sanskrit quotation l. 1 read ०पारमितायै ॥ instead of ०पारमितय्यै ॥
l. 2 ,, ०मितेऽमिते । ,, ०मितोऽमिते ।
l. 5 ,, सर्वसत्त्व० ,, सर्वसत्व०

Vol. VIII, No. 4

p. 738, fn. 79 read शून्य and शून्येन instead of शूण्य or शुण्य and शूण्येन.
p. 741 bottom read ०न्यत्वे instead of न्यात्वे
p. 743, l. 3 read ०दुदयव्यय० instead of ०दुयव्याय०

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The Scripts on the Indus Valley Seals

II

BY

DR. PRAN NATH, D.SC. (London), PH.D. (Vienna)

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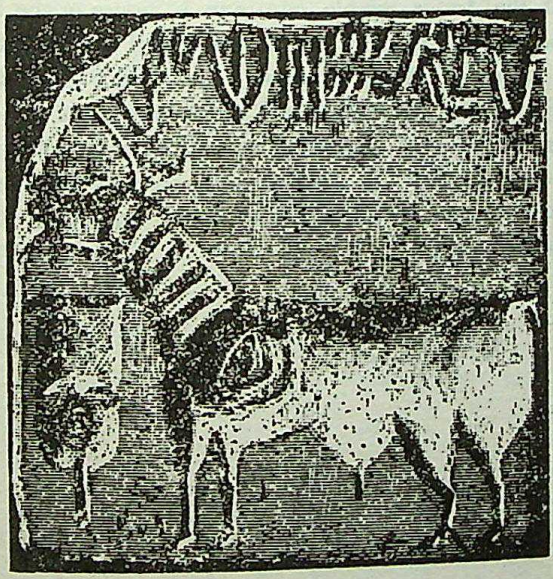
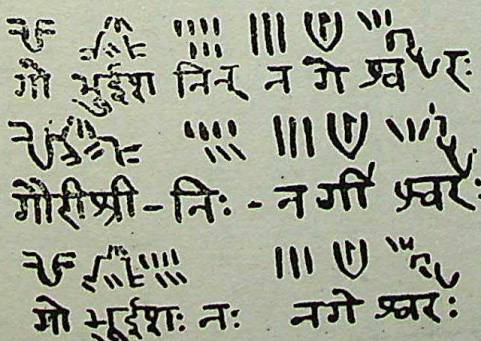
The Scripts on the Indus Valley Seals

II

PREFATORY

गो-भुईश-निन्-नगेश्वर :





From the decipherment proposed in the last article it would appear that the people of the Indus Valley worshipped gods and goddesses

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of whom some were local and others Sumerian or foreign. *Gaurīśa*, *Nāgeśa*, *Nageśa*, *Śiśna*, *Hrī*, *Śrī*, *Klī*, etc., appear to be the names of deities of the Indus people. *Inni*, *Yini*, *Sin*, *Ninsianna*, *Nanna*, *Gaga*, *Gi* or *Ge*, etc. on the other hand, are well-known Sumerian gods and goddesses, which occur frequently in the inscriptions on the Indus seals. Some, such as *Iloih*, *Illu*, etc., I would class as foreign, but they are so few in number that their occurrence may be due to a few traders of Semitic race residing at Mohenjo-daro. The gods and goddesses of the Indus people continue to figure in the Hindu pantheon at the present day. The occurrence of names of Sumerian deities was a puzzle. With a view to solve it I decided to make a thorough search in the Paurāṇik and Tāntrik literature for some clue. The discovery of the text of the goddess Cāmuṇḍā sheds a new light on the subject. This text is divided into thirteen *adhyāyas* and contains 701 short *mantras*. The following table[1] may give some idea of the nature of the text :—

1 I am thankful to the publisher Mr. Arthur Probsthain for kindly giving me permission to publish the hand-sketches of scripts and other portions of the illustrations contained in the *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization*.

Cāmuṇḍā-text	Ref. to Mantras:		Names of Gods and Goddesses probably referred to:	Sumerian Gods and Goddesses:	
ॐ ऐं किं नमः	V-95 =	Ūm̐-En-Kin-Na-Maḥ	ENKIN / ENKĪ	ENKI	Water-god, fish symbol. (*SL.*, pp. 84-87).
ॐ ऐं सीं नमः	V-112 =	Ūm̐-En-Sīn-Na-Maḥ	SĪN or SI	SĪN	Moon-god. (*SL.*, 5); *Śiva* in Tāntrik literature.
ॐ ऐं निं नमः	V-4 =	Ūm̐ En-Nin-Na-Maḥ	.....	INNINI	Earth goddess as female principle of An. (*SL.*, p. 91).
ॐ ऐं ईं नमः	VIII-6 =	Ūm̐-En-In-Na-Maḥ	... ..		
ॐ ऐं नं नमः	V-67 =	Ūm̐-En-Nan-Na-Maḥ	.....	NINNANA	,, ,, ,,
ॐ ऐं अं नमः	II-6 =	Ūm̐-En-An Na Maḥ	AN or A	AN	An = Anu, Sky god (*SL.*, pp. 89, 91-93, 94, 112 etc,)
ॐ ऐं हूं नमः	II-45 =	Ūm̐-En-Hūn-Na-Maḥ	ENHŪN	ENSŪN	
ॐ ऐं सूं नमः	XIII-26 =	Ūm̐-En-Sūn-Na Maḥ	ENSŪN or ENSU, ENHU	NIN-SŪN	Mother of Gilgamish. (*SL.*, pp. 115, 397 n., 73, 241, 242, 244 etc.)
ॐ ऐं हूं नमः	XII-15 =	Ūm̐-En-Hūn-Na-Maḥ			
ॐ ऐं क्लीं नमः	I-104 =	Ūm̐-En-Klīn Na-Maḥ	ENKLIN or KLI	KILILI	Ishtar was known as Kilili. The Indus Goddess *Kli* enjoys the same importance in the Tāntrik, Paurāṇik and Jaina cults of India as Ishtar in Assyria and Babylonia.
ॐ ऐं क्लीं नमः	XI-30 =				

Note: *S.L.* = Semitic by S.H. Langdon.

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Further search in the same direction provided me with a link which unites the Indus religion with that of the historic period in India Who were these Sumerians? Why have the names of their gods and goddesses been preserved by the Indian people if their religion and culture were not deeply rooted in the land itself? These questions prompted me to examine the marks found on pottery in the Deccan and Southern India and, to my great surprise, I found there the names of gods and goddesses like *Ka*, *Ra*, *Ma*, *Inni*, *Kli*, *Śri*, *Hri*, etc., which were known to me from my decipherment of the signs on the Indus Valley seals. In the present article I shall deal with following points :

(1) Geographical distribution of the Indus script

(2) Nature of the Indus language and the script

(3) A brief examination of the views advanced by Sumerian scholars

(4) Religion of the Indus people

(1) *Geographical distribution of the Indus script*

In my last article I have stated that a linear script is the basis of the inscriptions of Crete, Elam and the Indus Valley. The pottery marks indicate the use of linear signs throughout southern India. About these marks Dr. E. H. Hunt in his article on "Hyderabad Cairn Burials and their Significance" in January, 1924, issue (vol. liv) of *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* writes : "Pot Marks. These present a very interesting problem. Their occurrence is widespread over South India and they have received various titles, such as potters' marks and owners' marks. Largely as a result of these titles, they have been considered as having no special interest. Now these marks are not part of the pot as originally made, but have been scratched on afterwards, and often in the most casual manner. They are not put on by the potter. The expression owners' marks is equally open to criticism." (p. 150). He adds : "It is obvious that many of these pot marks are the work of ignorant persons who have attempted to copy symbols. Tribal owners' marks they may be, but not the owners' marks of individuals. The same mark turns up in burials in the same group, and in group after group, though these be a hundred miles and more apart. We must presume that centuries at least separate burials which produce the same marks and combinations of marks ; and there is a strong probability that they are symbols of some kind which were of importance in their day."

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I have already mentioned that a careful examination of these pot marks shows that the cult of *Ka*, *Ra*, *Ma*, *Inni*, *Śli*, *Hri*, *Kli* etc., was popular throughout southern India. The cult of *Ka* and *Ra* continued its hold in Egypt for a long time. The god *Prajāpati* as *Ka* is frequently mentioned in the Vedic literature of India. Tāntrik texts associate the god *Rāma* with *Ra*. The following comparative tables will give an idea of the wide area over which the use of the linear script extended.

(A)

SIGNS FOUND IN THE INDUS-VALLEY AND CRETE COMPARED

INDUS-VALLEY	CRETE	INDUS-VAL.	CRETE	INDUS-VAL	CRETE
CCCXIV	ME. P.164	159	ME. P.164	CXXVI	ME. P.163
84	"	XCIII	ME P.166	91, 189	ME. PL.I P.1.a.
CLXXXIV	"	CCLXIV CCLXVII	"	CCXXXVIII	" P.1.b
CCLXXXV	"	CXIX	ME. P.163	CCXXVIII	" P.1c
CCCIV	ME. P.163	CCLXX	ME. P.166	XLVI a	" P.6.a
CLIX	ME. P.164	CXLI	ME. P.164	CXLV + CXLVI	" P.11.c
CVI	"	CLVIII	ME. P.167	(71)	ME. P.179
CCXCIII	"	CCXXXI + CCXXXIV	" P.168	VI	"
CLVII	"	CCCI	" P.172	L	"
463.	ME. P.165	CLIX	Sign No. 15 ME. 14. 232-33.	VIII	"
	"	CXII	"	XLVI	"
LXVIII	"	IX	"	(72)	ME. P. 173
	"	558	" P.171	(74)	ME. P.176
CLIX	"	CCXXXI or	" P.163	XCIII	Sign No. 112 ME. Pb. 232-33

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(B)

SIGNS FOUND IN THE INDUS-VALLEY AND ELAM COMPARED.

INDUS	ELAM	INDUS	ELAM	INDUS	ELAM
I	I	CLIII	980, 1005	LX	917
II	Pl. II 10f	CLIV	841	471	1007
VI	Pl. X 71	CLIV	842	CCLIII	311
XIV	Pl. II 11	CLVII	84	CCLV	312
XIII	Pl. III 22.	CLVIII	87	CCLVI	314
XVI	Pl. VII 43.2.	CLX	45	CCLVII	315
XIX	1537	CLX	32	CXVIII	733
XXVI	Pl. IV 24f	159	MD. PL. VII 44z.	CLXX	489
XXVIII	1548	CCXCVI	1127	XLVI	415
XXa	1248	CCCXIV	297	CCXXXI	Pl. III 23f.
CXII	865	CCXCVI	1124	CCCIV	237
CXIII	726	CCC	1122	(Under the neck of same animal.)	271
CXXVI	36	CCXCII	1096	CCCXLIV	508
CXXXVI	387	CCCI	1136	XCIII	136
CXXXVII	587	CCXCVI	1126	463	746
CXXXVIII	458	136	1164	CXXVI	243-44
CXLI	595	385	811	CCLXXXV	135

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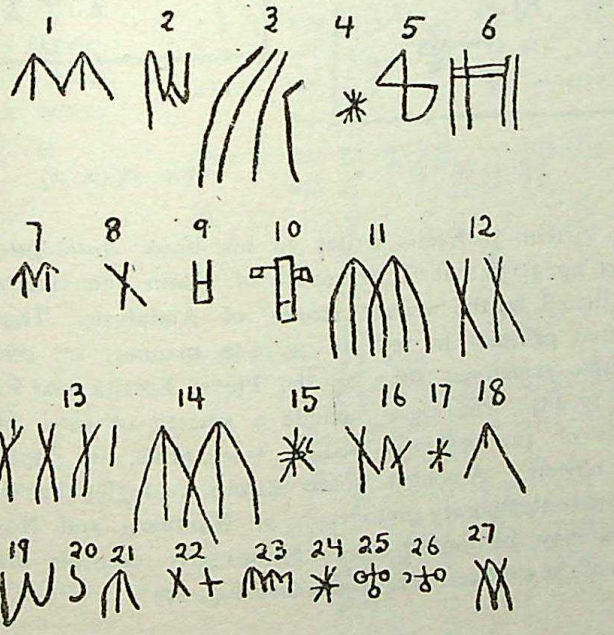
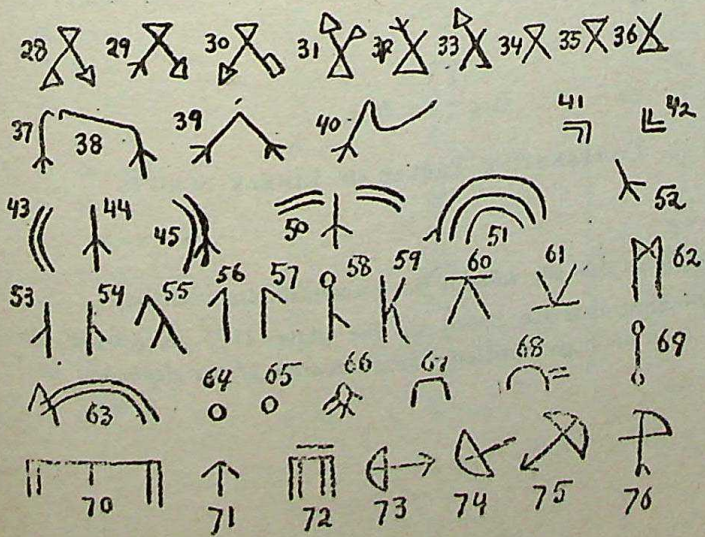
(C)

South Indian Pot-Marks

[For signs 1-27 see : *Indian Ant.*
" " 28-76 see : *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland,* Vol. liv ; Jan. 1924.]





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(D)

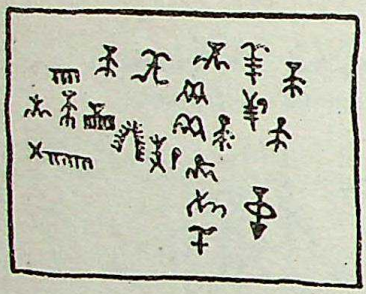

FIG. 17 (p. 17)

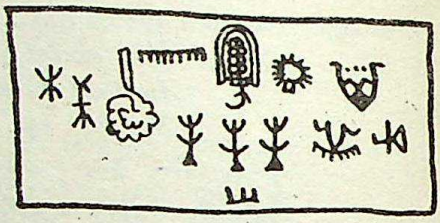

FIG. 18 (p. 38)

Sir Arthur J. Evans writes in his book *Anthropology and the Classics*, pp. 37-38 that "In the south of Spain the chain of evidence is continued by the 'written stones' of Andalusia. The signs here are often painted in red, in a rude manner, on the slabs of megalithic structures, such as the Piedra Escrita near Fuencaliente, (Figs. 17, 18). The signs include a variety of men and animals, symbols of the heavenly bodies, trees, arms, and implements, and other objects. Amongst some curious analogies that they present with the contemporary pictographs of Northern and North-Western Europe, may be noticed certain figures that resemble linear degenerations of the ship and crew signs (see Fig. 17)".

(E)

COMPARATIVE TABLES OF LINEAR SCRIPTS

NOTE :

*—denotes that the value is not known independently.

4-37—Sign lists are based on the plates II-V given by F. Petrie in his book entitled *The Formation of the Alphabet.*

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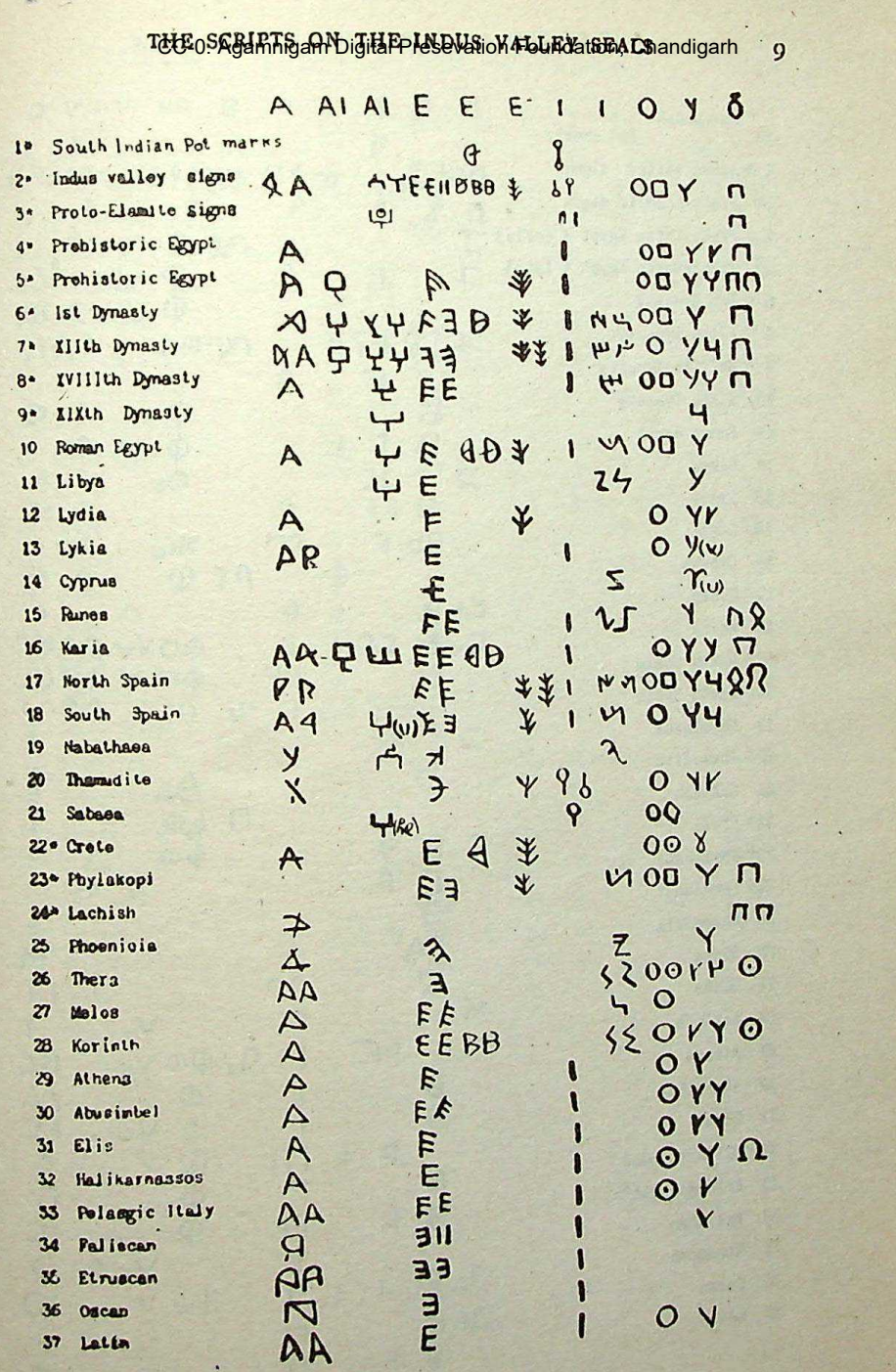

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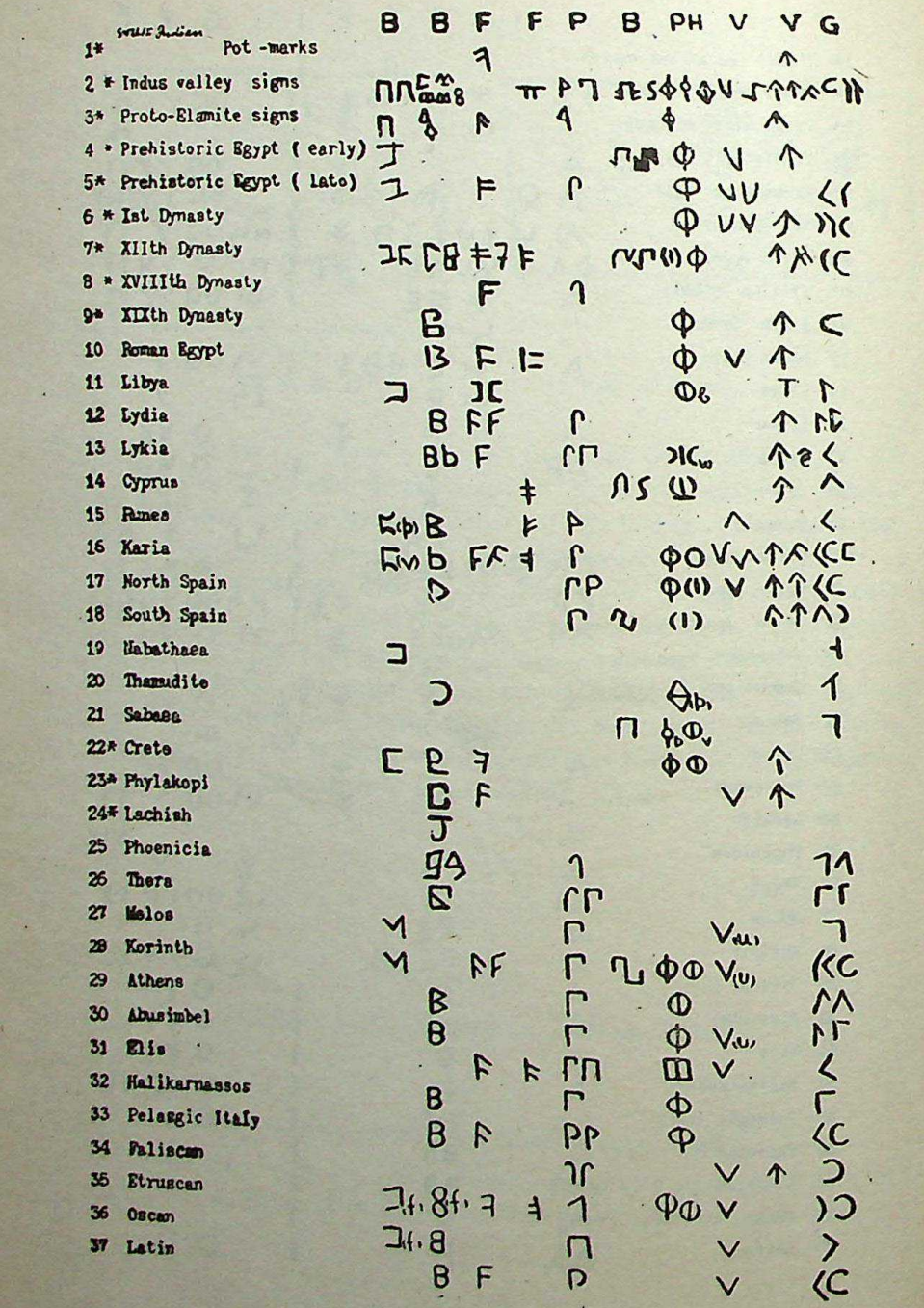

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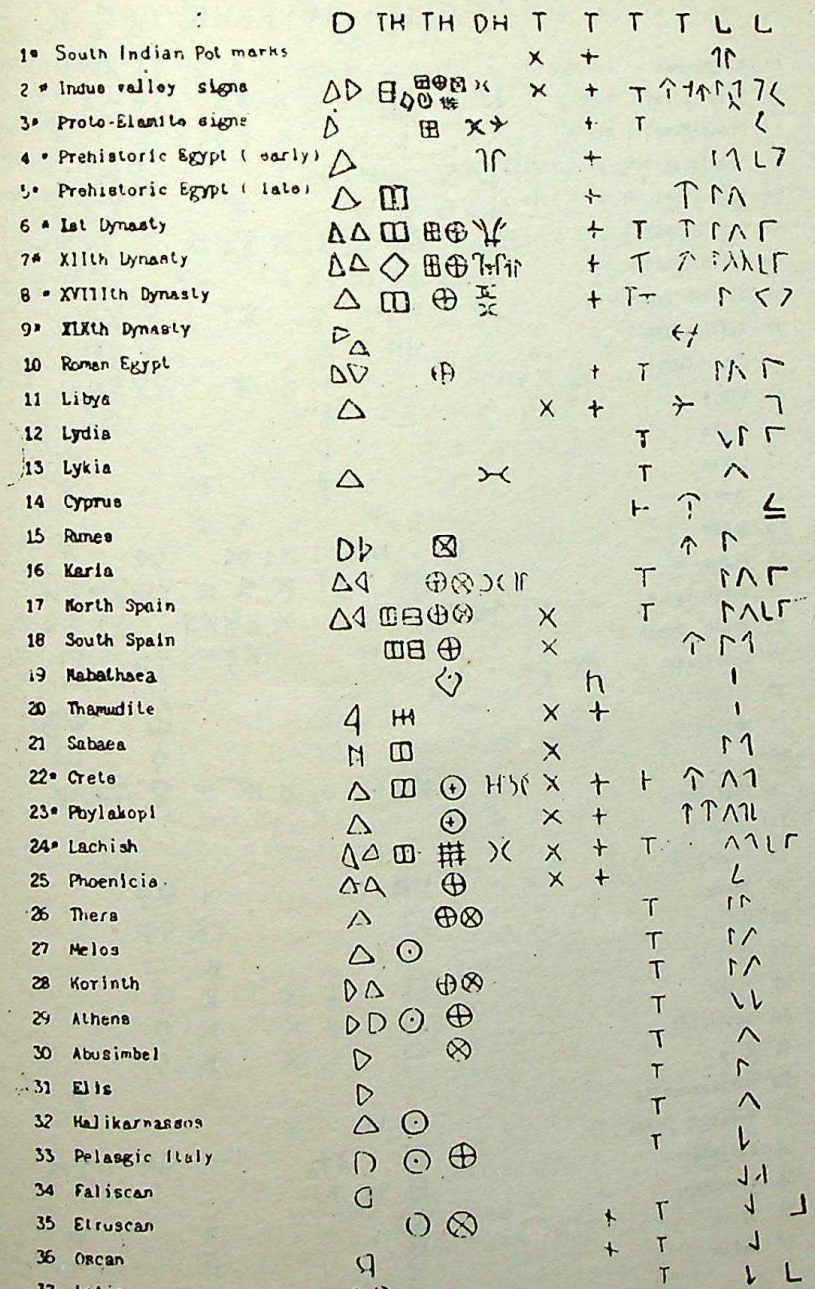

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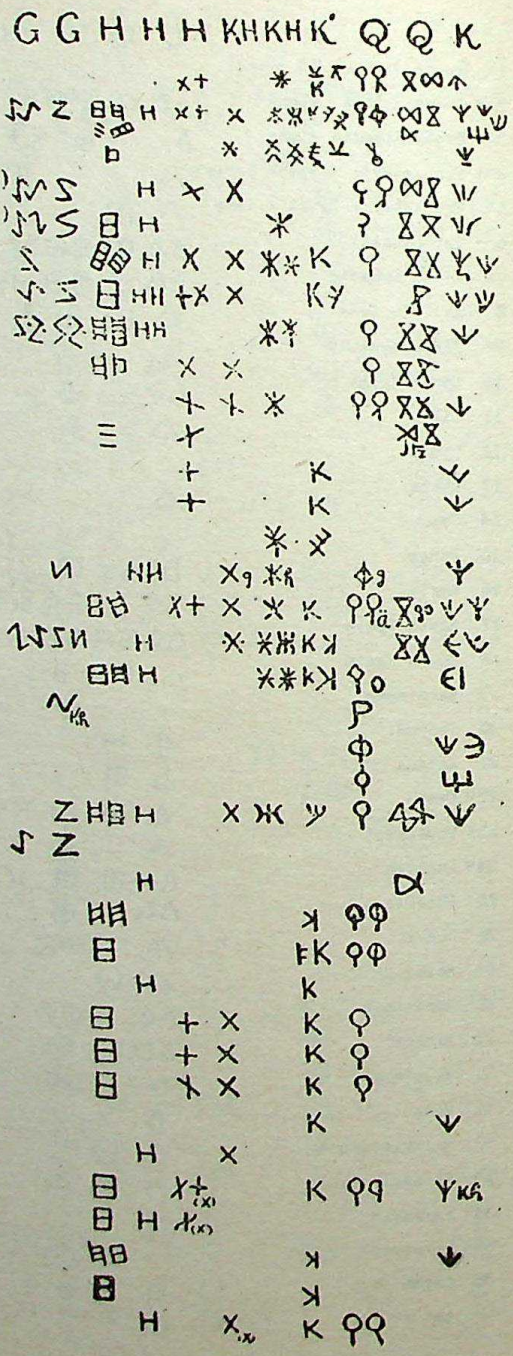

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M M M M N SH Z Z SS S S

1 South Indian Pot marks
2 Indus valley signs
3 Proto-Elamite signs
4 Prehistoric Egypt
5 Prehistoric Egypt
6 1st Dynasty
7 XIIth Dynasty
8 XVIIIth Dynasty
9 XIXth Dynasty
10 Roman Egypt
11 Libya
12 Lydia
13 Lykia
14 Cyprus
15 Runes
16 Karia
17 North Spain
18 South Spain
19 Nabathaea
20 Thamudite
21 Sabaea
22 Crete
23 Phylakopi
24 Lachish
25 Phoenicia
26 Thera
27 Melos
28 Korinth
29 Athens
30 Abusimbel
31 Elis
32 Halikarnassos
33 Pelasgic Italy
34 Faliscan
35 Etruscan
36 Oscan
37 Latin

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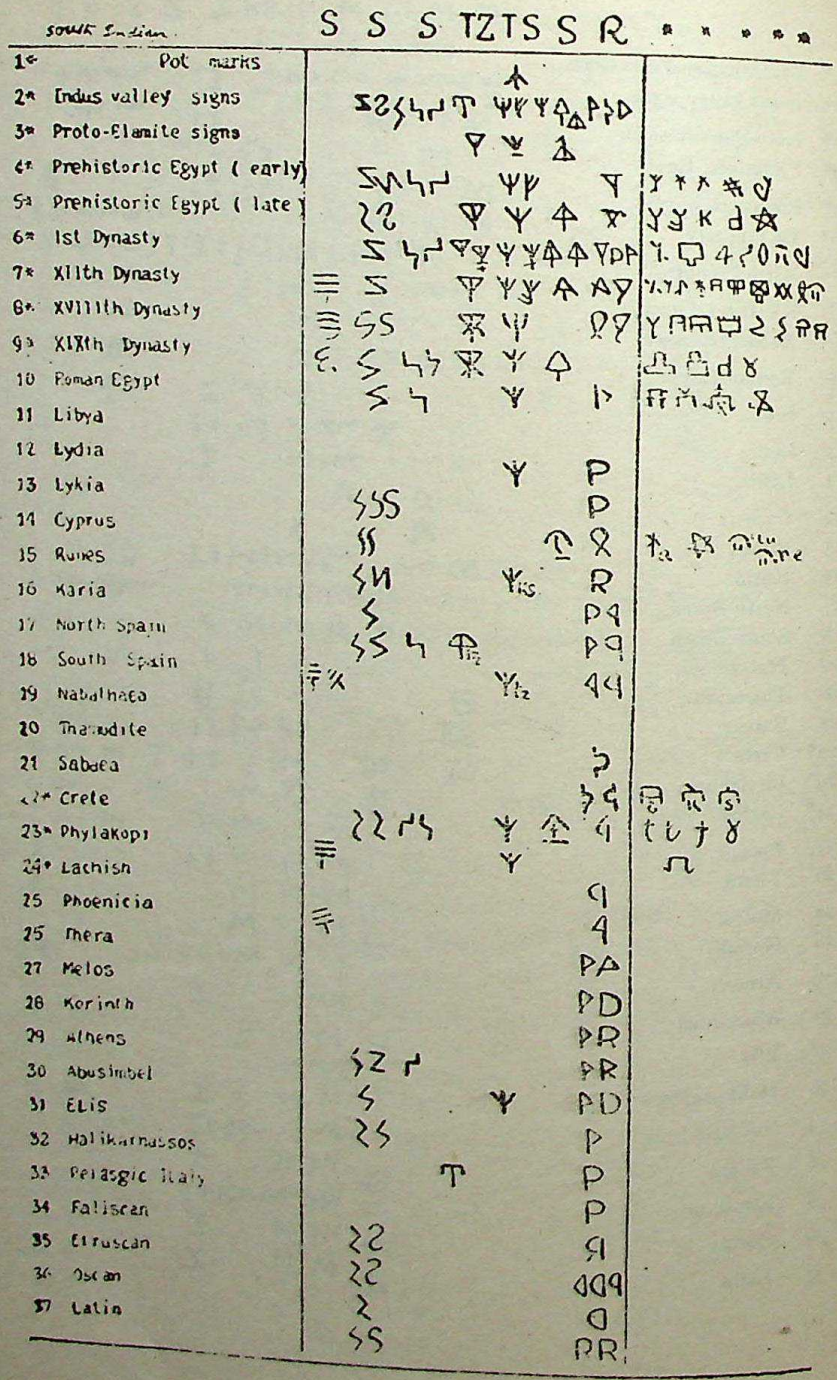

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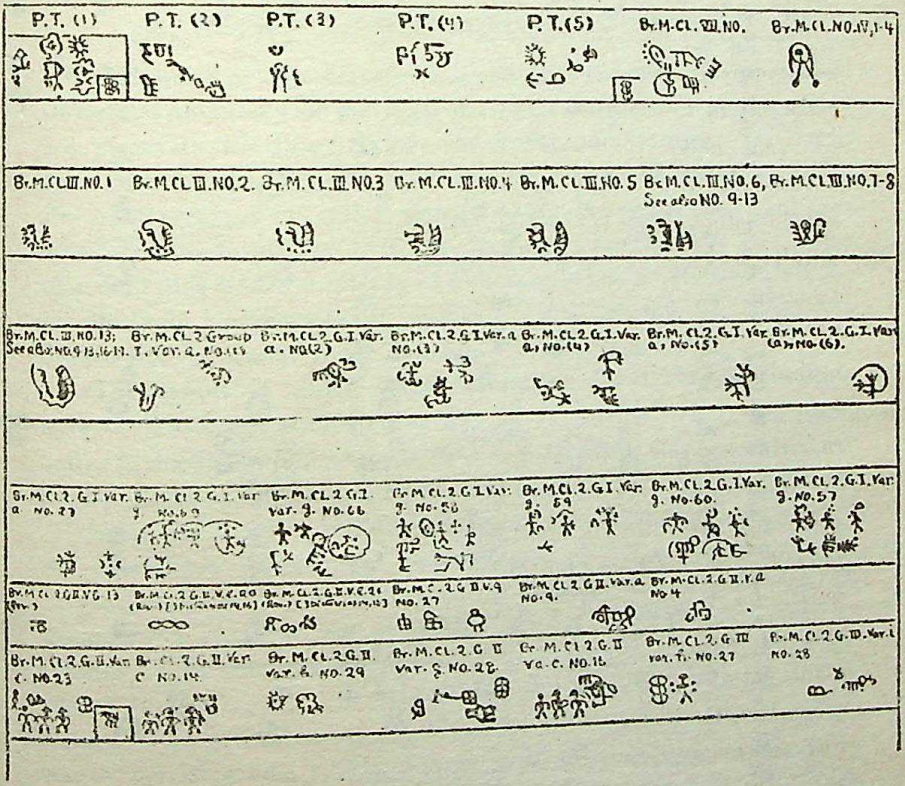
(F)

SIGNS FOUND ON PUNCH-MARKED COINS.



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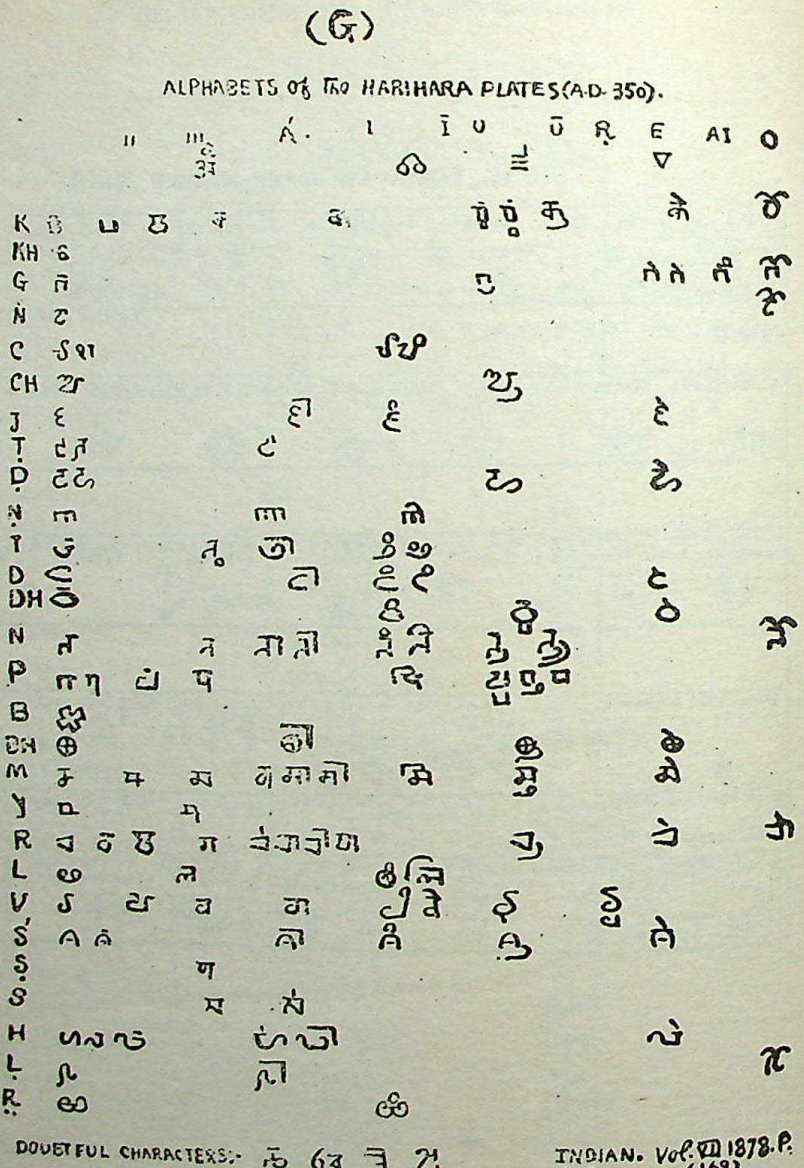
(G)



About the characters used in the above plate Mr. Lewis Rice while editing "Chera or Gangā Grants of A. D. 350 and 481" remarks :

"The great peculiarity of this inscription, and what seems to me to constitute its chief interest, is the primitive old characters, different from any yet published that I have met with, in which it is mostly

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written, and the signs changes from that to Devanagari, apparently without any rule." [*Ind. Ant.*, vol. vii. 1878, p. 171]. He goes further and says that "The primitive old character, to which I have referred, evidently has an affinity to those used in the edicts of Aśoka, but still does not correspond with either the earlier or the later alphabets employed in them." [*Ibid.*, p. 171].

(2) *Nature of the Indus language and the script*

From the above tables it would appear that the linear script was in use at least between 3000 and 4000 B. C. and continued down to a very late period in the different countries of Asia and Europe. The Indus signs resemble the Chinese script in being divisible into two parts, viz., (1) strokes, and (2) radical signs. As far as my decipherment goes there is reason to suspect that the language spoken by the people who used this linear script was of a monosyllabic nature like Chinese. On this point I may quote the following passage from Dr. Caldwell's *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Language* :—

"The manner in which various languages deal with their roots is strongly illustrative of their essential spirit and distinctive character; and it is chiefly with reference to their differences in this particular that the languages of Europe and Asia admit of being arranged into classes.

Those classes are as follows :—(1) The monosyllabic, uncompounded, or isolated languages, of which Chinese is the principal example, in which roots admit of no change or combinations, and in which all grammatical relations are expressed either by auxiliary words or phrases, or by the position of words in a sentence. (2) The agglutinative languages, in which grammatical relations are expressed by internal changes in the vowels of dissyllabic roots. (3) The agglutinative languages, in which grammatical relations are expressed by affixes or suffixes added to the root or compounded with it. In the latter class I include both the Indo-European and the Scythian groups of tongues.....Probably all languages consisted at first of isolated monosyllables" (pp. 191-192).

From the above quotation it is clear that Dr. Caldwell thought that possibly all the languages of the Scythian and Indo-European groups were originally monosyllabic like Chinese. His conclusion would seem to be supported by the tentative decipherment of the Indus and proto-Elamite inscriptions. The words occurring in these inscriptions, when joined together, at once suggest well-known Sanskrit words, as the following table will show.

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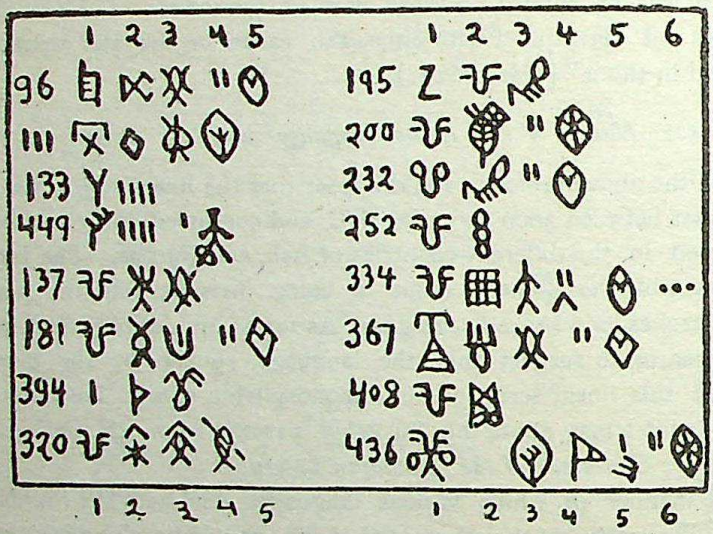
PLATE [H]



95	क्षी की (श्री) मो ई शः	195	ग गो रीशः
	ही की „ „ „	200	गो ही इशी ? ई शः
449	जिनि इ इश्वर	232	गौ रीशः ई शः
	जि नि इ इ शरः	252	गु हः
133	य इन् (येन्)		गो हः
136	श् री की	334	गो ही ईशः री शः
	श् री ही		„ „ „ शे शः
137	गो श्री मो	367	सती ? निः मो ई शः
	गो लीशः मो		सीता ? निः मो ई शः
			शता ? नीश मो ईशः
181	गो मृ गी ई शः	408	गो महः
394	इ का मः		„ मही
	इ रामः	486	गौरीशः शेष पाश ईशः
320	गो हः मः मे		गौरीः „ „ „
	गौ रः मः मे	200	गो श्रीः ई शः
111	ही इ श्री शेष		

Note :—In the decipherment given above, three *sas* of Sanskrit have not been distinguished.

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The inscription No. 181 in the above Plate [H] is in pure Sanskrit. The reading of other inscriptions also suggests that the language of the Indus people is very closely connected with the Sanskrit language. It differs from Sanskrit in that it is monosyllabic in its nature while Sanskrit is polysyllabic. A hint as to the possible monosyllabic nature of original Sanskrit may also be obtained from the meanings of Sanskrit words given in the dictionaries. The majority of the words have more than one meaning assigned to them ; some have ten different meanings, and others many more. This characteristic of the Sanskrit language prompted some poets to write poetical works like the *Rāghava-Pāṇḍavīya*, describing stories of the two great epics of India in the same verses. The *Pañca-nalī* of the *Naiṣadha-carita* is another example. Here each verse has got five different meanings. Among the old Paṇḍita class there is a belief that Vedic Sanskrit contains an enormous number of *yaugika* words, i. e., words the meaning of which had nothing to do with the current accepted meanings of those words. Hitherto the only chance of ascertaining their meaning was to look up to the grammar of Paṇinī and the old *Dhātupāṭha*, and then make conjectures. The meanings of certain of the Vedic hymns were not clearly understood as far back even as the time of Yāska (300-500 B. C.). Some scholars, like Kautsa, were ready even to go so far as to say that the Vedas are meaningless, if not as a whole, at least in part. The Tāntrik cult, which seems to have some intimate connection with the religion of the Indus people, assumes the language of certain hymns to be monosyllabic. The interpretation of the *Gāyatrī* hymn may be cited on the point (see Appendix A). Similarly in the *Sītopaniṣad* of the Śaiva cult the word *Sītā* is explained as a compound word consisting of three syllables, viz, *Sa-i-ta* (see Appendix B). It is interesting to note that in the better Sanskrit dictionaries the meaning of each syllable is given, and in the majority of cases these refer to different gods. We have also got monosyllabic dictionaries, having such names as *Varṇa-bijākṣara-koṣa*, *Ekākṣara-koṣa*, *Mātṛkā-nighaṇṭu*, etc. It is a pity that oriental scholars have not thrown any light on the origin of the meanings of these syllables. The technical question of the monosyllabic nature of ancient Sanskrit would never have been raised here, if it were not likely to prove important in future in the decipherment of the inscriptions on the seals. A monosyllabic language from its nature requires a complicated system of writing. Take for instance the Chinese language. According to Mr. H. H. Dubs "It is mono-

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syllabic, tonic, and uninflected, that is, all words are composed of single syllables, and each word has as an integral part of its pronunciation a certain inflection of the voice. There are no conjugation, declension, or definite parts of speech. Such a language is inherently adapted to a hieroglyphic method of writing. A polysyllabic language leads naturally to a separation into its phonetic elements, but a monosyllabic language leads to the representation of each word by a different symbol. The inflection of a word is inherently difficult to represent alphabetically" (p. 8). He says further :

"Another result of this monosyllabic character of the language was the small number of sounds possible. The language does not use all possible monosyllabic phonetic combinations, but confines itself to a few, and so has only about 340 monosyllables in actual use, the actual number of which varies with different dialects" (pp. 8-9). "In general the characteristic of written Chinese is that there is a different written symbol for each different meaning" (p. 9).

I would like to draw attention to the last sentence quoted above, because it seems possible that the Indus people also used different signs to express different meanings of words with similar phonetic values.

(3) *A brief examination of the views advanced by Sumerian scholars*

The Sumerian scholars, who have contributed chapters on the seals in the recently published volumes on *Mohenjo daro and the Indus Civilization*, appear to hold views about the nature of the script differing essentially from mine. They seem to regard the Indus script as pictorial in its nature. Messrs. Smith and Gadd write that the signs "are pictographs, as in all other early scripts" (p. 407). The occurrence of some pictorial signs cannot be held to prove that the script itself is pictorial ; nor has this point been discussed in detail. If we regard the Indus script as hieroglyphic in its nature, the question arises, of what type is it? Chinese or Egyptian? In Chinese the signs are composed of two units, i.e., strokes and radicals, and generally all the signs are divisible. Egyptian and Sumerian hieroglyphic signs differ to a large extent in this respect from the Chinese. The Sumerian scholars would seem, as far as I can judge, to base their opinion that the Indus signs are pictorial in their nature on the apparent shapes of the following classes of signs :—

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(a) Homo-signs,

(b) Fish-signs,

(c) Bird and scorpion signs.

Let us examine each class and see what the signs may mean.

(*a*) *Homo-signs.*

Messrs, Smith and Gadd write, "It is rather noticeable that, whereas men in various attitudes are well represented, there are few parts of the body among the signs ; seemingly the only exceptions are the hand and foot, if, indeed, Nos. CCLV, CCXLVII are correctly so interpreted" (p. 408). Dr. Langdon would identify the homo-sign with ovals appended as representing a man of the water-carrying class, but he gives no reason why the two ovals should denote water-bags. My decipherment (see Table No. XII of the first article of the series) indicates that this sign denoted the word *īśara* or *īśaḥ*. This sign often comes after the sign which I dicipher as *go*. Thus we get the word *go-īsar* or *go-īsaḥ*. In some inscriptions we find another sign after *go*, the reading of which according to the same syllabary would be *rīśa* (see inscription No. 107). When we combine these two we get the word *gorīśa*. This is one of the most sacred and popular names of the Indian god *Śiva*. In some cases a semi-circle, the value of which, according to my syllabary, is *l* is added to the homo-sign (see Inscription No. 1), thus giving the reading *golī-śara* or *golīsaḥ*. The change of *la* to *ra* has been recognised by Indian grammarians in the phrase *ralayor ḍaḷayor abhedaḥ*, i.e., *ra* and *la*, and *ḍa* and *ḷa* are interchangeable, and so are not fundamentally different. From these readings the conclusion suggests itself that in the Indus script, the homo-sign indicates some supreme being, and that it does not refer to any particular class of human beings.

As far as the Vedas and the Upaniṣads are concerned, they abound in passages referring to the Supreme Being by words like *Puruṣa, Ādipuruṣa* etc. The cult of representing the supreme God by the homo-sign does not appear to be confined to India. This cult was so widely spread that it appears to have reached the extreme corner of Northern Europe on the one side and a corner of Asia, viz, China, on

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the other. The following figure may be reproduced as illustrating this :

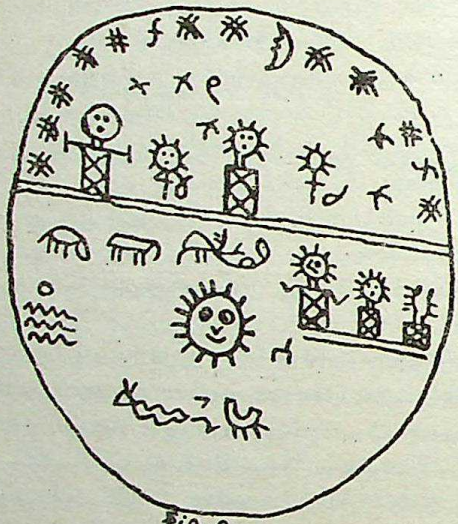

Fig. 9.

Sir A. J. Evans writes, "It is interesting to observe that it is in the extreme north of Europe, where the conditions most approach those of the Reindeer Period, that purely pictographic methods have remained the longest. The Lapp troll drums, used as a means of divination by the native shamans, show a variety of linear figures and symbols which had a traditional interpretation. Thus in the simple example given in fig. 9., taken from Scheffer's Lapponia, we see, in the upper compartment, according to the interpretation preserved by Scheffer, four Lapp gods, with rayed heads, one of them identified with the Norsk Thor, above which are the crescent moon, twelve stars, indicated by crossed lines, and seven flying birds—resembling the simplification of the same figures seen in the Cretan linear script."—*Anthropology*, pp. 28,29.

With the help of Egyptian and Sumerian mythology we might be tempted to identify some symbols of the Lapp troll drums. For instance, the symbol according to the Egyptian dictionary represents the goddess 'Sati'. The symbol below the figure of the sun, i.e., is very like Muṣhuśśū as illustrated by Professor

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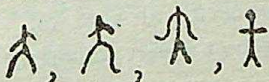
Langdon in his *Semitic Mythology* (see p. 131). The figure is very like some signs found in the proto-Elamite inscriptions, Nos. 1411-1413.

From the above it should not be regarded as strange if the homo-sign should represent *Īśara* or *Īśaḥ*, according to the Indus syllabary. Similar ideas are associated by the Chinese with the homo-signs found in their ancient sacred literature.

According to Prof. Suzuki " t'ien (heaven) and t'ai (great) and jên (man) all seem to have developed from the common source representing a human figure with outstretched arms, that is . To avoid confusion, this archetypal character was later differentiated into the three forms, , while t'ai (great), retained its original type more faithfully than the others ; for it is engraved on the ancient vases thus :  and finally "(p. 174). He goes on to say that " *t'ien* primarily signified simply something above, and not something great which is above. The latter explanation is too philosophical to be the conception of the natural man. *T'ien*, as we have it engraved on the ancient vessels, appears in the following forms : ." (p. 174).

See *A Brief History of Early Chinese Philosophy* by D. T. Suzuki. London, 1914, p. 174.

Further he says that according to Confucius *T'ien* means Heaven or Heavenly Destiny (T'ien ming) or the *Great Ultimate*. (*Ibid.* p. 21).

The proposed reading of the homo-sign seems well supported by the above passages.

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(*b*) *Fish-signs.* This term has been used by Sumerian scholars. Messrs. Smith and Gadd write:

"The suggested 'fish' signs are more puzzling, since the modifications to which the original (?) CCCXXXI is subjected are not particularly natural as indicating different kinds of fish, and it is by no means certain that a fish is intended at all, but the comparison suggests itself at once, and it is hard to find a better." (p. 408).

In the *Kālī-vilāsa tantra*, where we find the description of the script called *Dida* (probably an Iranian word) and where the signs which we find constantly occurring in the proto-Elamite and Cretan seals and which I have previously identified as *mī*, and where the Indus goddess Siñjinī is also mentioned, we read *Pūrvoktaṃ kathitaṃ devi likhitaṃ makarasya ca. Makaraṃ ca yathā devi tathaiva mīna-ketanam* meaning: "O goddess we have already described writing of different varieties of *ma*. Fish-sign is the same as *ma*." The questions as to why *ma* is written like a fish, and why the god Śiva is represented by a monogram resembling a man, and so on, will be dealt with later on.

Since the text is very important, it is given below :—

श्री देव्युवाच

पृच्छाम्येकं महाभाग योगीन्द्र योगनायक ।
कामबीजादिबीजानां कथ्यतां लिखनक्रमः ॥ ३ ॥

श्री सद्योजात उवाच ।

यत्रकल्पे भवेद्रामो रावणश्चापि राक्षसः ।
तत्कल्पसम्मतं नित्यं चतुर्युगस्य सम्मतम् ॥ ४ ॥
कथयामि महेशानि लिखनं सर्व्वसम्मतम् ।
जम्बुद्वीपस्य वर्षे च कलिकाले च भारते ॥ ५ ॥
क्षीरपीठात्मकं वर्णं युगाद्यास्तनसंयुतम् ।
त्रिंशत्कोष्ठात्मकं बीजं स्मरणात् फलदायकम् ॥ ६ ॥
चन्द्रिकार्द्धगता नित्या चपला चपलेक्षणा ।
चपलान्तर्गतं पुष्पं विद्युत्कोटिप्रदीपकम् ॥ ७ ॥
अनिमेन्दुमुखी सिद्धिः पुष्पमध्ये च संस्थिता ।
चन्द्रार्द्धबिन्दुसंयुक्तं कामबीजमितीरितम् ॥ ८ ॥

Kāma-bīja system of writing *MA.*

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चन्द्रिकान्तर्गतो नित्यो हरः पद्मदलेक्षणः ।
हरस्य मध्यविन्दौ चाणिमा शशिमुखी विशेत् ॥ ९ ॥
चपलान्तर्गतो नित्यः हरः पद्मदलेक्षणः ।
हरस्य मध्यविन्दौ च सदा शशिमुखी वसेत् ॥ १० ॥
चन्द्रविन्दुसमायुक्तं मन्मथं परिकीर्त्तितम् ।
हरवर्णेषु चासीनः शिवः पद्मदलेक्षणः ॥ ११ ॥
पूर्वोक्तं कथितं देवि लिखनं मकरस्य च ।
मकरश्च यथा देवि तथैव मीनकेतनम् ॥ १२ ॥
चपलान्तर्गता बुद्धिः प्रफुल्लकमलेक्षणे ।
चपलानुगतं पुष्पं विद्युत्कोटिसमप्रभम् ॥ १३ ॥
पुष्पमध्ये स्थिता नित्या रेचिका लिखनक्रमः ।
अतःपरं प्रवक्ष्यामि श्रीबीजलिखनं शृणु ॥ १४ ॥
मङ्गलाया मध्यविन्दौ ईश्वरी कमलेक्षणा ।
ईश्वरी पद्मगर्भा च पुष्पमध्ये च रेचिका ॥ १५ ॥
चन्द्रविन्दुमयी नित्या श्रिया लिखनमीरितम् ।
अतः परं प्रवक्ष्यामि चाङ्कुशं वरवर्णिनि ॥ १६ ॥
चन्द्रिकान्तर्गता नित्या सुस्थिरा कमलेक्षणा ।
सुस्थिरान्तर्गता नित्या सिञ्जिनी ब्रह्मपूजिता ॥ १७ ॥
चन्द्रविन्द्वात्मिका नित्या लिखनं त्वङ्कुशस्य च ।
हरस्य मध्यविन्दौ सा विशालाक्षी सुशोभना ॥ १८ ॥
हरिणाक्षीषु चासीना युवा च ह्यणिमा गुणा ।
चन्द्रविन्द्वात्मिका विद्या दिदं लिखनमीरितम् ॥ १९ ॥
एवं सर्व्वत्र बोद्धव्यः बीजानां लिखनक्रमः ।
विना लिखनविज्ञानबीजानां नगनन्दिनि ॥ २० ॥
विफलं जायते सर्व्वं जपयज्ञार्च्चनादिकम् ।
सर्व्वं तस्य भवेद् व्यर्थं किं पुरश्चरणादिभिः ॥ २१ ॥

इति श्रीकालीविलासतन्त्रे ऊनत्रिंशत्तमः
पटलः समाप्तः । (Luzac & Co.), pp. 73-74.

Manmatha system of writing *MA*.

Fish-sign is also the same as *MA*.

Recikā system of writing.

Writing of *Śrī-bīja* described.

Aṅkuśa script :—

Dida script :-

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(c) *Bird and scorpion signs*

The gods and goddesses at the time of the Indus Valley civilization were represented by animals, birds, trees, etc. Such representation continued down to a much later period, though in a different form. For instance, in the Paurāṇik mythology the gods and goddesses are represented as having their *vāhanas* (i.e., birds and animals upon which they ride). Since the material on this point is very abundant, I must reserve discussion thereof for a future occasion. If, however, the representations of animals, birds, scorpions, etc., appearing on the Indus seals are intended merely to supplement the inscriptions by indicating the particular god or goddess referred to, they cannot be held to prove that the script itself is pictorial.

Sumerian scholars have shown keen interest in the question whether the script reads from right to left or from left to right. Dr. Langdon considers that the script reads from right to left. He writes, "But even more conclusive is the internal evidence. The determinative No. 87 stands at the left end of a large number of lines. Now if the left were not the end of the line, how can we explain a text like that in Seal 52, where the material is too much for one line, and runs over into the second line by one sign? This is the postfix No. 87, and stands immediately below the left end." (vol. II, p. 427).

Dr. Langdon's argument does not appear to support his conclusion. For instance, if an inscription runs into a second line and the second line begins immediately beneath the left-hand end of the first line, this would rather indicate that the inscription reads from left to right. The practice followed in modern times is that the second and subsequent lines begin from the same side from which the first line commences. If, therefore, the sign left over from the first line appears at the left side in the second line, it would seem to be more probable that the writing runs from left to right. If the signs are engraved in different places on a seal, probably each is a separate unit conveying a particular idea. Since my system of decipherment is based on the values of the radicals and strokes, I read the script in the direction in which it seems to present an intelligible reading, which is from left to right, as in the case of the Brāhmī script, which Dr. Langdon himself evidently felt was somehow connected with the Indus script. Ordinarily writing begins from one side and stops wherever the sentence or record is complete. So, if a vacant space is generally found on the right side, this would mean that the script reads from left to right,

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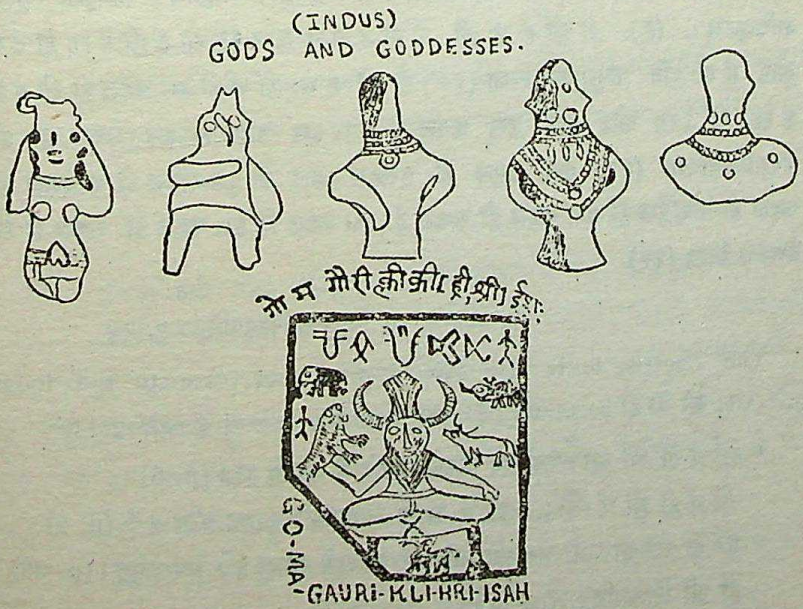
and vice versa. The following table will give an idea of the side from which the writing of the Indus people started.

Seal No.	Vacant space on the left in *cm.*	Vacant space on the right in *cm.*
2	1	1½
5	0	1
7	0	1
15	0	2
18	0	2
144	0	1½
254	0	1

From the above table it is clear that the writing began from the left, and not from the right, since the vacant space is always on the right side, except in those cases where the signs are so few that for the sake of symmetry they are engraved in the middle. As to the system of writing followed in the proto-Elamite inscriptions we shall discuss this when we take up the question of their decipherment.

(4) *Religion of the Indus people*



The names and symbols on Plates annexed would appear to disclose a connection between the old religious cults of the Hindus and Jainas with those of the Indus people. A close and careful examination of

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the South Indian pottery marks would also seem to show that signs associated with Tāntrik cults were used there, for these marks, when deciphered according to my syllabary, give the names of the well-known Tāntrik deities, *Klī*, *Śrī*, *Hrī*, as well as *Ka*, *Ra*, *Ma*, *Na*, *Ni*, *Bhu*. *Inni*. Egyptian pottery marks, it may be noted, indicate the existence of the cult of *Ka* and *Ra* in that country. Certain signs found in Spain considered along with signs found on the Indus seals would suggest the conclusion that the Tāntrik cult was very widespread.

Klī, *Śrī* and *Hrī*.—These goddesses were held as important by many theological schools in ancient India. The following twelve schools, for instance, are recorded in the *Tripurā-tāpiny upaniṣad* of the Śaiva cult.

(१) शक्ति-शिव-विद्या, (२) लोपामुद्रा विद्या, (३) क्रोधमुनि विद्या, (४) मानवी विद्या (५) चान्द्री विद्या (६) कौबेरी विद्या (७) अगस्त्य विद्या (८) नान्दि विद्या (९) प्रभाकरी विद्या (१०) षण्मुखी विद्या (११) परमशिव-विद्या (१२) वैष्णवी विद्या।

The above schools have been explained by the commentator in the following manner :—

अथ द्वादशविद्यामुद्धरति एव मित्यादिना। आदिविद्या तु क ए ई ल ह्रीं, ह स क ह ल ह्रीं, स क ल ह्रीम्। अत्राद्यखण्डं वाग्भवकूटं, द्वितीयं कामकूटं, तृतीयं शक्तिकूटम्।...(६) ह्रीं क्लीं हं सः क्लीं लं ह्रीं ह स क ह ल ह्रीं सो हं क्लीं हं सः ह्रीं हं सः सोहं हं सः इति षण्मुखी विद्या (१०), ह्रीं क्लीं हं सः क्लीं लं ह्रीं हस कहल ह्रीं सो हं क्लीं हं सः ह्रीं हंसः सोहं हंसः हस कएल ह्रीं हस हस कहल ह्रीं हस सकल ह्रीं इति परमाशिवविद्या (११) हस कएल ह्रीं हसहस कहल ह्रीं हस सकल ह्रीं कएईलह्रीं हस कहल ह्रीं कए ईल ह्रीं हस कहल ह्रीं सकल ह्रीं हस कहल ह्रीं हस कहल ह्रीं सकल ह्रीं इति वैष्णवी विद्या (१२)

त्रिपुरातापिन्युपनिषत् पृ, २४

The Tantrik texts also give a prominent place to the Indus godesses क्ली श्री ह्री as would be clear from the following passages :—

"ओं ऐं ह्रीं श्रीं आनन्देश्वराय विद्महे सुधादेव्यै धीमहि ॥३॥ (p. 3)
ओं एं ह्रीं क्लीं एं ग्लौं:...कुट २ ठः ठः स्वाहा इति दशधा पठेत्॥" (p. 5)
ॐ ह्रीं श्रीं क्लीं नमो भगवति माहेश्वरि अन्नपूर्णे स्वाहा इति मत्रं जपेत्। (p. 29)
ह्रीं श्रीं शिवशक्ति...(p. 27)
ओं ह्रीं श्रीं फट् स्वाहा...(p. 14)

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ऐं क्लीं सौः सर्वतत्त्वेन तनुत्रयाश्रयं जीवं शोधयामि...(p. 27)

ॐ ह्रीं सर्वविघ्नकृद्भ्यः सर्वभूतेभ्यो हुं फट् स्वाहा..."(p. 33)

भैरवीचक्र published by Harisaṅkara Śivaśaṅkara,

Moradabad, 1923

"अमृतं द्रव द्रव निर्झर निर्झर ऐ ह्रीँ कुलकुण्डलिनी अमृतं कुरु कुरु स्वाहा ॥"

कौलावलीनिर्णय, p. 21

Luzac & Co., *Tantrik Texts*, vol. XIV

It is interesting to note that the *Purāṇas* and the Jaina religious books both assign high places to these gods. The following passages from Jaina religious books will show how Hindus and Jainas agree in honouring these gods :—

'ॐ ह्रीं श्रीचंद्रप्रभजिनेंद्र। अत्र अवतर अवतर" (जिनवाणीसंग्रह. पृ. ३४३)

ॐ ह्रीं क्ष्रीं भूः स्वाहा पृ. १२. ६.

ॐ ह्रीँ क्रौँ वौषट् षष्टिसहस्रसंख्येभ्यो नागेभ्योऽमृताञ्जलिं प्रसिञ्चामि स्वाहा ॥

त्रैवर्णिकाचार of सोमसेन भट्टारक, पृ. १२७ जैनसाहित्य प्रसारक कार्यालय सः (२८२५)

"ॐ हुं फट् इति अस्य मन्त्रः पृ. १५८"

"ऐं श्रीं ह्रीं क्लीं स्वाहा पृ. २५७"

"ॐ ह्रीं श्रीं क्लीं ऐं अर्हं अष्टम नन्दीश्वर द्वीप पूर्वदिशावर अकृत्रिम जिनचैत्य चैत्यालय जिनबिंबा अत्रावतरावतर सं वौषट् स्वाहा। आह्वाननम् ॥ १ ॥ अत्र निष्ठत तिष्ठत ठठ स्वाहा। स्थापनम् ॥ २ ॥"

नंदीश्वर पूजा पृ. १

ॐ ह्रीँ क्ष्वीँ भँवी क्ष्रूं हं सः...त्रैवर्णिकाचार पृ. ६१. हं भं वं मं हं सं तं—पृ. ६१

"ॐ ह्रां अर्हद्भ्यो नमः। ॐ ह्रीं सिद्धेभ्यो नमः। ॐ ह्रीं आचार्येभ्यो नमः। ॐ ह्रीं पाठकेभ्यो नमः। ॐ ह्रीं सर्वसाधुभ्यो नमः।.....ॐ ह्रां अर्हद्भ्यो हूं फट्। ॐ ह्रीं सिद्धेभ्यो हूं फट्।...ॐ ह्रां अर्हद्भ्यो हूं वषट्।...ॐ ह्रीं सिद्धभ्यो हुं वषट्।... ॐ ह्रां अर्हद्भ्यः ठठ।... ॐ ह्रां अर्हद्भ्यो घेघे..."—त्रैवर्णिकाचार, पृ. २४

ॐ ह्रीं ह्रौं असुमुर असुमुर सुकुरुभव...पृ ३७.

ॐ ह्रां ह्रीँ ह्रूँ ह्रौँ ह्रः असि आ उ सा...पृ. ४५. ततः भँवी क्ष्वीँ हंसः। पृ. ४६.

ॐ ह्रीँ श्रीं क्लीं ऐं अर्हं असि आ उ सा...पृ. ४६.

See also पृ. ४७, पृ. १२४—१५५.

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The names *Klī*, *Śrī*, and *Hrī*, moreover, constantly appear at the beginning of sentences in the Jaina works *Nandīśvara-pūjā* and *Ṛṣi-maṇḍala-pūjā*, and in other works also. From the Jaina religious texts it would seem that *Hrī* enjoyed much popularity. It may also be noted that the inscription on the Indus seal No. 449 reads, according to my decipherment, *Jineśvara*, or *Jineśaḥ*.

Ka.—The sign for *Ka* occurs frequently among the South Indian pottery marks. In Vedic mythology, it will be remembered, the god Prajāpati is called *Ka*. In the Harihara plates (*circa* 350 A.D.) the figure of a pot stands for *ka*. The passages quoted below throw considerable light on this association of *Ka* with the gods and with a pot.

प्रजापतिः संवत्सरो महान् कः ।

तै, ब्रा. ३ कां. १० प्रपा. १ अ. ४.

एको नैकः सवः कः किं यत्तदपदमनुत्तमम् ।

श्रीविष्णुसहस्रनामस्तोत्रम् । Luzac & Co., Tantrik Texts, vol. xv, p. 52.

ब्रह्मज्योतिः ककारे च विष्णुज्योतिस्तथैवच ।
रुद्रज्योतिः ककारे च ईश्वरस्य तथैव च ।।१५ ॥
ककारे श्रीशिवज्योतिः ककारे च परं शिवः ।
सर्ववर्णेषु बोद्धव्यं ककारमुपलक्षणम् ॥१६ ॥

श्री कालीविलासतन्त्र, पृ. ८४.

क= (See Table G)

ॐ कलशस्य मुखे विष्णुः कण्ठे रुद्रस्समाश्रितः ।
मूले तस्य स्थितो ब्रह्मा मध्ये मातृगणः स्मृतः ॥
कुक्षौ तु सागराः सप्त सप्तद्वीपा वसुन्धरा ।

(संस्कारसमुच्चय पृ: २५ Nawalkishore Press, Lucknow, 1926)

Ni or *Nin.*—The well-known and most widely spread *svastika* sign appears to me to stand for the name Niḥ or Nin. Where the cross represented *ha*, the reading would be Niḥ, otherwise Nin. According to the *Kālī-vilāsa-tantra*, *Ni* refers to the great eternal light. (निः शब्दोऽयं महाज्योतिर्निर्विकारो निरञ्जनः ॥३३॥)

Nini, *Inni* and *Ehu.*—These are well-known names, which refer

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to the Earth goddess (see the Appendix to my first article, *IHQ.* vol. VII).

Seṣa, *Sisa* and *Ma*.—These names appear to stand for the serpent deity, which seems to be connected in some way with the god Śiva and the Earth goddess.[1] The word *Ma-ṇi* occurs several times in the Indus inscriptions. The mythological association of the *maṇi* ('jewel') with the serpent in Sanskrit literature suggests that *maṇi* when used in this connection may also have had an older meaning.

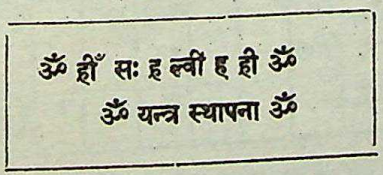
Nāga, *Nāgeśa*, *Śeṣa*, etc.—These words are frequently found in the Indus inscriptions. In fact the worship of serpent deities seems to have been popular. It is interesting to note that Jaina mythology also assigns an important place to Nāgas and Nāgakumāras, etc. In the following passage from the *Traivarṇikācāra* of Somasena Bhaṭṭāraka we find instructions for preparing a *karṇa-piścācinī-yantra*, which, it will be noticed, resembles an Indus seal. Did the Indus seals function as *yantra-mantras* ?

"कर्णपिशाचिनीयन्त्र यन्त्रं विलिख्य पूर्वोक्तविधिना कांस्यभाजने। तस्याग्रे जपं कुर्यात् काञ्जिकाहारमुक्तिभाक् ॥ ३ ॥

पुर्वाक्त विंधानपुर्वक कांसीके वर्ननपर मंत्र लिखकर उस यंत्रके सामने जपकरे।... .....इसतरहका यंत्र बनवाये

ॐ जोगे मग्गे०

ॐ ह्रीँ सः ह ल्वीं ह ह्री ॐ ॐ यन्त्र स्थापना ॐ



अथ मंत्र :—ॐ जोगे मग्गे तच्चे भूदे भव्वे भविस्से अकेव पकवे जिनपार्श्वे श्रीं ह्रीं स्त्रीं कर्ण पिशाचिनीं नमः। इत्ति मंत्रः"—पृ. १५७

1 अथ शिवषष्ठाक्षरी स्तोत्र—महादेवं महावक्त्रं महाध्यानं परायणम्। महापापहरं देवं मकारं त नमाम्यहम् ॥ ३ ॥ चिदानन्दलहरी—Sarasvati Press, Cawnpore [1924]. See p.24.

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It is interesting to find how Tāntrik texts kept the Indus tradition intact.

(I)

	SRI(RIṢA), HRI, KLI, SLI(LIṢA)	NIN NIḤ	MA	KA	RA	SA, HA	GE. GA	ṆA	SISA SEṢA (शेष)	I, E	U(3)	ILA ISA (इळा)	BHU INNI
EG.													
EG.													
SO.													
SO.													
SO.													
SO.													
TR.													
TR.													
TR.													
IN.													
CR.													
SP.													

EG: EGYPT; SO: SOUTHERN INDIA; TR: TROY; IN: INDUS; CR.: CRETE
SP. = SPAIN.

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